

Chris H. Reintges

COPTIC EGYPTIAN (SAHIDIC DIALECT)

A Learner's Grammar

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RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG · KÖLN

²² ΠΕΧΕ ²³ ΙC ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΖΙ ²⁴ ΧΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΤΗΡQ ΝΤΑ ²⁵ ΠΤΗΡQ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ
 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑ ΠΤΗΡQ ²⁶ ΠΩΖ ΨΑΡΟΕΙ
 ΠΩΖ ΝΝΟΥΨΕ ΑΝΟΚ ²⁷ ΤΜΑΥ
 QI ΝΠΩΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΝΑ ²⁸ ΖΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΝΜΑΥ

Jesus said »I am the light, which is upon all of them. I am the
 universe. The universe came forth from me and the universe
 reached to me. Split (a piece of) wood and I am there. Lift a
 stone and you will find me there.« (Gospel of Thomas, Logion
 77)

To the memory of Martin Honcoop

bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek
 Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
 Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über
<http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

BN 3-89645-570-2

2004

ÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG
 O. Box 45 06 43
 50881 Cologne
 Germany

www.koeppe.de

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With kind support from the Faculty of Arts, University of Leiden, The
 Netherlands

Production: Druckerei Franz Hansen, Bergisch Gladbach / Germany

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem und alterungsbeständigem Papier.
 Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the requirements
 to ensure permanence and durability. of the ANSI

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Acknowledgements

With a production time of almost seven years, this book would have taken too long had it been a script for a Hollywood movie. Fortunately, my field is that of Ancient Egyptian and Coptic languages studies, which, –though equally vibrant and glamorous as the visual arts–, develops at a more relaxed pace. This leaves open the possibility of exploring new paths and approaching old problems from a different angle. The present book approaches Sahidic Coptic, the classical dialect of Coptic Egyptian, from a modern linguistic perspective. Writing a comprehensive grammar of Sahidic Coptic that is of interest to both a broad linguistic and Egyptological readership is a rewarding though difficult task, given our incomplete knowledge of this language where many issues are far from resolved. Although there is still a long way to go, it has been my ambition to provide a well-balanced and coherent description of Sahidic Coptic that does justice to the complex design of the language system.

The humble beginnings of this book date back to Fall 1997, when I started working on a concise grammar of Sahidic Coptic that included up-to-date teaching material. The project with the cryptic name 'Coptogram' was part of an interdepartmental program 'renewal of teaching material' of the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University, The Netherlands. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Faculty of Arts of my university.

My greatest debts are to my colleague Jacques van der Vliet for his collaboration and coaching of this project from the beginning to the end. His profound knowledge of Coptic language and culture and his keen philological eye saved me from many errors. I benefited greatly from his constructive but firm criticism, which always helped me to present a more articulated and transparent analysis of Coptic language facts. Without his support, this book would not exist.

I want to thank Inge Bakkeness for helping me to devise up-to-date teaching material and Joost Hagen for his able assistance with the glossaries. I am indebted to Jeroen van de Weijer for the correction of my English and for his encouragement and advice when writing was difficult.

I am grateful for the positive feedback of colleagues and friends during the time that this book took shape. A heart-felt thank you to my friend and mentor Antonio Loprieno who provided me with detailed comments on the first version of this book. Frank Kammerzell, who disagrees with me about every aspect of Ancient Egyptian and Coptic syntax, forced me to rethink many of my ideas and come up with a better analysis.

I had the pleasure of working with Sabrina Bendjaballah, Lisa Cheng, Sandra Chung, Edit Doron, Melanie Green, and Anikó Lipták, whose collaboration was and remains a constant source of inspiration. The Leiden linguistic community was a stimulating environment for my Egyptian and Coptic research. I want to thank Dörte Borchers, Maarten Kossmann, Harry Stroemer, Johan Rooryck, Rint Sybesma, and Ewa Zakrzewska for discussing many aspects of Coptic grammar with me. I want to thank Jacqueline Lecarme and Sofia Torallas Tovar for their continuing interest in my research. I owe great debts to my teachers of Ancient Egyptian and Coptic, Professor Ursula Kaplony-Heckel and Professor Joris Borghouts.

I had the opportunity to present the main findings of my research at the Fifth Conference on Afroasiatic Languages (Paris, June 2000), the 26th GLOW Colloquium (Lund, Sweden), the First International Colloquium on Languages in Contact in Antiquity at the *Instituto de Filología*, CSIC (Madrid), the Colloquium of African Languages and Linguistics (Leiden), and seminars at the *Université 8* (Paris), the Oriental Institute (University of Chicago), the School of African and Oriental Studies (London), the Department of Near Eastern Studies of

the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), and the Linguistic Research Centre of the University of California, Santa Cruz (UCSC). The comments and questions of these audiences were much appreciated.

Finally, I want to thank my friends Dennis Bosch, Lilian Stigter, Elisabeth and Christine Mauder, Anthi Revithiadou, Adam Albright, Alex Johnson Southard, Yona and Stephanie Sabar for their love and support in difficult times. I am grateful to my Tai-Chi Chuan instructors Sifu Mark Horton and Maarten van Zeijl from the Hong Ying Chinese Martial Arts Institute in Leiden for their patient teaching and encouragement.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Martin Honcoop, whose untimely death leaves me with great sorrow. It also teaches me that there is no borrowed time and that as long as we live we can always make a difference.

Introduction

This book offers a comprehensive grammar of Sahidic Coptic, the main reference dialect of Coptic Egyptian. Coptic Egyptian (not to be confused with Egyptian Arabic) is the vernacular of late-antique and medieval Christian Egypt (from about the third to the eleventh century CE) and represents the final developmental stage of Ancient Egyptian. With its rich literary sources, Coptic is an ancient language of great cultural importance. It also provides an interesting case of the emergence of a language through intensive contact (Egyptian-Greek) in a bilingual speech community. For this reason, the study of the Coptic language is of central interest for scientific disciplines as diverse as Egyptology, Ancient History, comparative religion, and various fields of linguistics (e.g. comparative Afroasiatic linguistics, language typology, historical syntax). This study therefore has a dual purpose: on the one hand, it serves as a teaching grammar for the language learner by providing an introduction to Sahidic Coptic. On the other hand, it contains the synthesis of extensive research on Coptic clause structure, which makes it a suitable reference tool for philologists and linguists alike.

This introduction sets the stage for the following description of Sahidic grammar by supplying some background information on the language, its historical development and its literary documentation. It

also provides an orientation to the overall organisation of the book, its theoretical background, its data sources and its methodology.

0.1 The Coptic language

The modern term Coptic derives from Middle Arabic *qubṭī*, itself a corruption of the Greek adjective (*ai*)*gypt(ios)* 'Egyptian'. It designates both the members of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt as well as the indigenous language, which is now extinct. Ancient speakers of Coptic Egyptian called themselves *nə-rəm-n-kême* 'the people (*rəm*) of Egypt' (*kême* lit. the black country) and used the derived abstract noun *tə-mənt-rəm-n-kême* 'what belongs to the people of Egypt' to refer to their language (Crum 1939:110a).

0.1.1 Classification

Coptic is the last descendant of the Ancient Egyptian language, which is the oldest attested language of the Afroasiatic phylum. The earliest Ancient Egyptian records date back to the third millennium BCE. According to the main working hypothesis in Afroasiatic linguistics, the family tree divides into six branches: Ancient Egyptian, Semitic (e.g. Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic), Berber, Cushitic (e.g. Somali, Oromo), Chadic (e.g. Hausa) and Omotic (e.g. Maale). Ancient Egyptian is the only autonomous branch of Afroasiatic that is represented by a single language.

In the course of more than four thousand years of uninterrupted language history, Ancient Egyptian went through several stages. In Loprieno's (1995) model of Egyptian diachrony, this development comprises two macrostadia with distinct typological characteristics. On the one hand, there is Earlier Egyptian, which includes Old Egyptian in the third millennium BCE and Middle Egyptian (ca. 2000-1750 BCE). On the other hand, there is Later Egyptian, which consists of Late Egyptian (ca. 1500-800 BCE), Demotic (800 BCE-200 CE) and Coptic (200-1400 CE). In this model, grammatical features shared by Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic are accounted for in terms of language continuity. The major typological differences between Coptic and its Pre-Coptic Egyptian predecessors are, however, not equally well explained as instances of normal generation-to-generation transmission

of a language with only small degrees of structural change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:9-10). In recent work (Reiðtges 2001, 2004b), I propose to trace the 'non-Egyptian' features of Coptic grammar to linguistic change through intensive language contact. From this perspective, Coptic emerged from widespread bilingualism within a speech community, with Greek as the politically and culturally predominant language. Greek superstratum influence manifests itself not only in the relexification of the native word stock, but also in restructuring of Egyptian syntax according to a Greek model. The Hellenization of Egyptian syntax is manifest in the typological shift from a rigid to a free word order language in which discourse structure and sentence form are closely related. Coptic Egyptian can therefore be classified a bilingual language variety with two parent languages, Egyptian and Greek.

0.1.2 Language history

Coptic Egyptian is actually a dialect cluster with at least six regional varieties, two of which gained supra-regional importance: Sahidic Coptic (from Arabic *'as-Ṣa'īd* 'Upper Egypt'), and Bohairic Coptic (from Arabic *'al-buḥairā*, a province south-west of Alexandria), the vernacular of the Delta and Lower Egypt. The homeland of Sahidic Coptic was probably not located in the Theban area, but rather in the region of antique Shmun/Hermopolis (modern El-Ashmunein), from where it spread southwards (Layton 2000:2 §4).

Sahidic is renowned as the classical dialect of Coptic Egyptian for its early records and its rich literature. It was probably the first Egyptian vernacular into which the Scriptures were translated. A Sahidic version of the Scriptures was completed about 350 CE, but it might have had antecedents dating back to the third century CE (Shisha-Halevy 1991a:195, Orlandi 1998:121). The earliest biblical manuscripts display some spelling variation and the sporadic occurrences of other dialect forms. By the sixth century, its orthography was fully standardized. Sahidic served as the literary *lingua franca* throughout Egypt during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. Sahidic literary manuscripts were collected and copied in the monasteries of the Fayyūm, Sohāg, Esna, and Edfu from the ninth to the eleventh century, when Coptic was on the retreat as a literary language.

Prior to the Arabic conquest of Egypt in 641 CE, Sahidic was the predominant literary dialect of Coptic. Its hegemony was broken by Bohairic from the eighth and ninth century onwards. By the eleventh century Bohairic had replaced Sahidic as the official church language and became the sole representative of Coptic Egyptian, which survived as the liturgical language of the present-day Coptic Orthodox Church.

In the course of the Islamisation and Arabization of Egypt in the early Middle Ages, Coptic was replaced by Arabic in all public sectors. By the eleventh century Coptic no longer existed as a spoken Egyptian vernacular, but continued to be used as an ecclesiastical language. The appearance of Coptic grammars, glossaries and text editions in Arabic in the thirteenth century signal revived cultural awareness and interest in the ancient vernacular (Vycichl 1991), but also reveals the rather fragmented knowledge of the language. As of yet, attempts to revitalize the language have not shown lasting results. A deeper understanding of the classical dialect and other Coptic varieties is a precondition for such endeavours to be successful.

0.1.3 Coptic literature

The term Coptic literature covers the entire literary production written in Coptic Egyptian and thus includes original works in Coptic as well as translations from Greek. Where a Greek source is missing, the distinction between original and translated literature becomes a moot point. The originality of some work can generally not be determined on the basis of linguistic criteria alone. The frequency of Greek loan words in a Coptic text is, for instance, not indicative of its original or translated character, as already pointed out by Lefort (1950:66-7). Since the Coptic Bible translations played a crucial role in the development of the literary language, the syntactic or stylistic features of a text do not always provide a clue for its provenance. The homogeneity of the language material suggests that both translated and original literature were written in a highly conventionalised literary variety, that of *Standard Sahidic*.

The predominantly religious character of most Coptic literature can be directly related to the socio-cultural environment from which it emerged and the communicative purpose it was used for. At the roots of the literary production lies the translation of the Greek Bible into

Coptic Egyptian.¹ Its historical context is the Christianisation of Egypt in the third and fourth century CE, although the first Sahidic biblical manuscripts date from the second half of the third century. Spreading from the capital Alexandria to the metropolises of Lower Egypt, the new religion was particularly successful among the upper and middle classes of the urban population. These classes had become alienated from the traditional Egyptian religion of the countryside, but were also opposed to the official culture of the foreign societal top (Orlandi 1998:118-21). Christianity provided the ideological superstructure for a newly defined cultural and ethnic identity. For the translation of its sacred books, the early Christian Church resorted to a standardized form of the urban Egyptian-Greek variety of its target group. Significantly, this language policy was taken over by the competing Gnostic and Manichean circles, which approached the same target group. For both religious movements, translated literature served as a vehicle for the proliferation of new ideologies.

The writings of Pachomius (around 290-346 CE) and his successors represent the first examples of an original production. The main focus is on monasticism: while the rules and catechism are straightforward, many of the other works are replete with Bible quotations and remain very obscure. Pachomian literature had an essentially prescriptive and educational character without much consideration for style or rhetoric. In this respect, it differs radically from the extensive works of Apa Shenoute, the abbot of the White Monastery near Sohāg (ca. 350-466 CE), which spans a broad range of topics including moral instruction, Bible exegesis, polemics against the retreating pagan culture, and theological controversy with Origenist and Gnostic heresy. In integrating Greek literary conventions and styles into theological discourse, Shenoute's oeuvre represents a turning point in the historical development of Coptic literature.

In the wake of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, a permanent schism occurred between the orthodox churches of Constantinople and Egypt, the latter remaining monophysite (i.e. adhering to the dogma that in the person of Jesus there is a single divine nature). The literary production of this period was mainly apologetic and directed towards

1. The Old Coptic magical texts represent a remnant of pagan culture. See Satzinger (1991) for relevant discussion of the orthography and linguistic features of these texts.

an internal and monastic audience.

The reorganisation and solidification of the Coptic Church under Bishop Damian (569-605 CE) was an important stimulus for a revived literary production that continued in the first century after the Arab conquest. Coptic orthodox literature of this time is no longer restricted to the monastic environment and reveals a desire for producing original works in Coptic. According to Orlandi (1986:75), the literary works have a pronounced nationalistic character, aiming "to put Egypt in the foreground, in terms of both its good and its bad achievements".

The compilation of homiletic and hagiographic literature in the eighth and ninth centuries had a propagandistic purpose: to create a feeling of ethnic solidarity among the Christian minority and to strengthen their faith in the tradition of the national church. The decline of Coptic literature in the following two centuries is closely connected to the death of Coptic as a spoken language. In the Egyptian Middle Ages, Christianity was concentrated in the few functional monasteries left where literary works continued to be copied and rearranged according to their specific use within the community.

To conclude, Coptic literature, both original and translated, has a very narrow focus, being largely restricted to the domain of religion and spirituality. Its primary purpose was an ideological one, communicating the set of beliefs, ideals and norms, as well as the horizons of expectations of Coptic orthodoxy. The literary production is therefore embedded in a "discourse of persuasion", intended to maintain authority and power in the hands of the dominant institutions of the Christian Church. At the same time it functioned as the vehicle of cultural and ethnic identity of the Christian minority in Egypt.

0.2 About this grammar

0.2.1 Aims and scope

This comprehensive grammar provides an up-to-date treatment of the structure of Sahidic Coptic that is accessible to a broad linguistic and Egyptological readership. It is a data-oriented and strictly synchronic study of the language system. In terms of organisation, it follows the classical model of reference grammars with chapters on phonology, morphology, tense-aspect-mood marking, and clause structure.

Designed as an introductory grammar, it comprises a large amount of didactic material, which is inspired on modern language teaching. In presenting new analyses for several areas of Sahidic grammar (the deictic system, verb conjugation, clause structure), this book will also be of interest for the Coptological and linguistic specialist.

0.2.2 Theoretical background

The idea of a combined teaching and reference grammar is not new: it goes back at least to Georg Steindorff's *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (A teaching grammar of Coptic), Chicago: 1951. This grammar continues a longstanding research tradition on Coptic linguistics (see Till 1961, 1966; Polotsky 1944, 1987 and 1990; Shisha-Halevy 1986; Layton 2000 for representative studies). In bringing together Coptic philology, descriptive linguistics, and syntactic theory, it adds an innovative element to that research tradition. Many of the analyses advanced in this study are inspired by recent work in Afroasiatic linguistics (see Holes 1995, Benmamoun 2000 for Arabic dialects, Shlonsky 1997 for Modern Hebrew, Newman 2000 and Jaguar 2001 for Hausa, and Stroemer 1995 for Oromo). Throughout the later production stages of this grammar, I regularly consulted Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum's *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, Cambridge 2002 as a model.

To address the interdisciplinary interest of Egyptologists, Coptologists, and linguists, the Coptic language facts are presented in a non-technical fashion. Yet, despite its empirical focus, this grammar owes a lot to current theorizing in the area of comparative syntax. My own background in the generative Principle-and-Parameters framework and the more recent Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1981, 1995) provided the necessary analytical tools and theoretical insights for the syntactic part of this grammar. My ideas about the syntax-discourse interface were focused by recent advances in functional linguistics and pragmatic theory (e.g. Prince 1978, 1981; Givón 1984 and 1990; Dik 1989; Lambrecht 1996). I leave it to the reader to decide whether this admittedly eclectic approach has resulted in a coherent picture of the language system of Sahidic Coptic.

0.2.3 Data sources

The grammatical description of Sahidic Coptic is based on extensive corpus-linguistic research on language material which so far has not been studied from a linguistic perspective. Most examples in this grammar have been taken from apocryphal, monastic, homiletic, and hagiographic literature. These literarily and historically important texts constitute a corpus of sufficient size and variation to provide a representative view of the grammatical options of Sahidic Coptic. Due to the primarily narrative character of the texts, it is possible to determine contextual variables with great precision. Since the focus of the present study is on the function of linguistic structures in narrative discourse, Scriptural Sahidic and Shenoute's literary corpus are almost entirely excluded from the present investigation.²

0.2.4 Research methods

This grammar aims at an optimal integration of language description and crosslinguistic generalization, gained in the formal, functional-cognitive and typological study of language. To achieve this goal, linguistic and philological methods have been applied side by side. The language facts are presented in theory-neutral analytic terms, as is common practice in typological and comparative research. Most of the traditional terminology has been retained, although it is at times misleading or not entirely adequate. Modern linguistic terms are introduced in sufficient detail in each unit. In addition, there is an elaborate grammatical index at the end of the book. The translation of all Coptic examples provides all lexical and grammatical information in parentheses. In a transcribed example like *afī ušafē eroi* [ʌxi oʃʌʃe epoi] 'Say (afī) [ʌxi] a word (u-šafē) [oʃʌʃe] to me (ero-i) [epo-i]' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24), all lexical items and grammatical formatives (separated by hyphenation) can be traced back in the Sahidic Coptic and Greek glossaries (see Loprieno 1995 for a similar mode of data presentation).

2. I consider the corpus of the *Pistis Sophia*, whose language shows a close resemblance to the Scriptural idiom as a reliable source of information for standard Sahidic. Despite its complicated manuscript tradition, extensive use has been made of corpus of texts related to the *Vita of Saint Pachômios*.

0.2.4 Preview

The book consists of twelve units besides this introduction, which together provide a complete description of Sahidic Coptic grammar. Each unit discusses a separate grammatical topic and is accompanied by a list of key terms and a series of exercises. To provide an orientation to the organisation of the book, I present a summary of the contents of each unit:

UNIT 1 deals with Sahidic orthography and phonology with particular attention for the correspondence between sounds and letters. For dead languages like Coptic Egyptian, it is often difficult to gain relevant information on suprasegmental phonology (syllable structure, consonant clusters, accentuation). This unit reviews the available evidence for Sahidic prosodic structure. Another topic concerns the lexical transfer of borrowings from Greek into Coptic.

The first part of the grammar (units 2-5) explores the nominal domain. UNIT 2 starts with the morphology of simple nouns and pronouns. Coptic has an impoverished noun derivation with the pronominal determiner functioning as the morphological exponent of grammatical number and gender. This contrasts with an elaborate pronominal system in which each person, number and gender distinction correlates with a distinct pronominal form. Moreover, there are three sets of pronouns (free pronouns, bound pronouns, and clitics), which display a high degree of allomorphic variation.

UNIT 3 is about phrasal syntax. Coptic makes productive use of a range of patterns to create complex noun phrases from simple nouns. This unit surveys the most common types of nominal compounds, adjectival modification, possessive noun phrases, noun coordination and prepositional phrases, which have an essentially nominal syntax.

UNIT 4 takes a closer look at the rich deictic and quantificational system of Sahidic Coptic. Most demonstratives assume different forms depending on whether they function as pronominal determiners or pronouns. The description of the deictic system focuses on the discourse functions of the various demonstrative pronouns and articles. The remainder of this unit discusses the syntax and the semantics of question words and quantificational expressions.

UNIT 5 is concerned with nominal sentences, so called because a noun phrase is used as the main predicate. Nominal sentences have a transparent syntax, consisting of two or three (pro)nominal

expressions; yet they denote a variety of predicative relationships (class membership, identification, property assignment, and so forth).

With more than twenty different verbal tenses, aspects, and moods, the verbal-inflectional system represents one of the most complex areas of Sahidic grammar. The descriptive analysis of the tense-aspect-mood system in the second part (units 6-9) thus constitutes the core of the book. UNIT 6 is concerned with the formation of verbal stems from semantically and phonologically underspecified lexical items (so-called roots). Coptic stem formation encodes two dimensions of verbal meaning: one dimension is situation aspect or "Aktionsart", which concerns the contrast between events, activities and processes on the one hand, and mental or physical states and conditions on the other. The other dimension is objective case, which refers to the morphological expression of the relationship between the verb and its direct object. Coptic verb stems are not inflected for tense, aspect, and mood. All this information is encoded in a conjugation base, which occurs independently of the verb as a free functional morpheme.

UNIT 7 starts out with a general introduction to the syntax of such tense-aspect-mood markers. The main focus of this unit is on the absolute tense system with particular attention for the contrastive behaviour of the various present, past, and future tenses. Such time-indicating morphemes come in pairs of triplets, whose members share the same temporal value, but differ from one another with respect to other categories of verbal meaning, such as aspect and mood.

UNIT 8 continues the investigation of the Sahidic conjugation system by exploring relative tenses and moods. Relative tenses, as the name suggests, relate some event with respect to another event rather than the present moment. In this way, they serve similar functions as temporal connectives like *after*, *when* and *until* in English. Within the same formal system, Coptic has not only an Imperative, but also a formally distinct Jussive, Conditional, and Inferential mood. These basic moods express the speaker's attitude or belief concerning the likelihood, desirability, or necessity for some situation to occur.

UNIT 9 examines the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods discussed in the preceding two units. The negative conjugation system shows a variety of patterns by means of which negative polarity is expressed. Such negative markers may negate an entire clause, but may also be more limited in scope,

negating only a single clausal constituent.

The focus of the third part (units 10-12) is on Sahidic clause structure, with particular attention for the relation between information structure and sentence form. This part is theoretically more advanced; it re-examines many clausal patterns of Sahidic Coptic in the light of recent advances in syntactic typology. UNIT 10 is concerned with word order. Coptic Egyptian may be described as a discourse-configurational language in which topic and focus prominence involves a departure from the canonical subject-verb-object (S-V-O) ordering. Not all word order alternations are morphologically fully productive. Coptic has retained verb-initial V-S(-O) order in existential and possessive sentences.

The topic of UNIT 11 is relative clause formation. Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types: postnominal relative clauses that modify a preceding noun phrase and free relative clauses that function as definite noun phrases themselves. Another topic of this section concerns nominal cleft sentences, in which an initial focus constituent is equated with a relative clause.

The concluding chapter of this grammar (UNIT 12) is concerned with finite and non-finite subordinate clauses, which function as dependent constituents within some larger construction. A major division of subordinate clauses concerns the opposition between argument clauses that belong to the core of the matrix verb phrase, and adjunct clauses that belong to its periphery. Of particular relevance are topics like clausal coherence and switch reference (i.e. the contrast between same-subject and different-subject clauses), sequences of tenses, and indirect speech-acts (reported speech, indirect questions and commands).

Unit 1

Sounds and spelling

This Unit addresses two interrelated topics: one concerns the Copto-Greek alphabet, i.e. the notation system in which Coptic texts have been codified, and the other concerns its sound system, or phonology. Section 1.1 discusses the main aspects of Coptic orthography, while section 1.2 presents several types of evidence for the pronunciation of a particular letter or grapheme. There is not always a one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes, since some phonemes may be expressed by more than one grapheme and, vice versa, some graphemes may have more than one phonological interpretation. Section 1.3 is about suprasegmental phonology, i.e. the phonological structure beyond the individual sounds or phonemes, with particular attention for vowel length, syllable structure, and stress placement.

Section 1.4 addresses the question of language contact and linguistic borrowing. The Coptic word stock has a considerable Greek component. The transfer of Greek lexical material was not confined to content words, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, but also involved a considerable amount of function words, such as sentence conjunctions, discourse markers, manner and time adverbials, and even some prepositions. The variant spelling of Copto-Greek loan words not only reflects ongoing sound changes in the source language Koine Greek, but also the absence of certain phonological oppositions in the borrowing language Coptic Egyptian.

1.1 The Coptic writing system

Coptic, like many other ancient languages of literature, has been passed down to us through large corpora of texts. These texts were written down in a highly standardised notational system of alphabetic signs representing the different sounds of the Coptic language. The origin of the Coptic writing system lies in occasional Greek transcriptions of native words in Egyptian texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the first three centuries CE, the use of such transcriptions became increasingly common and entire corpora of texts with a predominantly magical character were written down in a Greek-derived alphabet. The Christianisation of the country in the fourth century CE constituted a turning point: the abandonment of the pagan literary tradition and culture manifested itself in the replacement of hieroglyphic writing and Demotic, its cursive variant, by Greek script. The Copto-Greek alphabet will be introduced in section 1.1.1. Besides the alphabetic letters, Coptic writing makes use of a few special signs or diacritics, which will be briefly discussed in section 1.1.2. Section 1.1.3 completes this review of Coptic orthography with a list of the most common abbreviated spellings of so-called *nomina sacra* (lat. "sacred names"), e.g. $\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$ for $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 'Lord'.

1.1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

In its present form, the Copto-Greek alphabet consists of thirty-two letters, twenty-four of which are taken from Greek and eight from Demotic writing. The Demotic-based letters are φ , ϱ , ζ , ξ , ψ , σ , τ . With the exception of the letter τ , these signs represent phonemes that were absent in Greek, but which are part of the Coptic-Egyptian sound system. Table 1 below presents the alphabetic signs of the Copto-Greek alphabet, the conventional transcription and the Greek and modern (Bohairic Coptic) name of each letter.

LETTER	CONVENTIONAL TRANSCRIPTION	GREEK AND BOHAIRIC NAME OF THE LETTER
α	a	Alpha
β	b	Beta/Vita
γ	g	Gamma
Δ	d	Delta/Dalda
ϵ	e	Epsilon/Eje
ζ	z	Zeta/Zita
η	\bar{e}	Eta/Ita
θ	th	Theta/Thita
$\epsilon\iota$ or ι	i, y	iota/iuta
κ	k	Kappa/Kabba
λ	l	Lamda/Lawla
μ	m	Mu/Mi
ν	n	Nu/Ni
ξ	ks, x	Xi/Eksi
\omicron	o	Omikron/Ow
π	p	Pi/Bi
ρ	r	Rho/Row
ς	s	Sigma/Sima
τ	t	Tau
$\omicron\Upsilon$ or Υ	u, w	Ypsilon/He
ϕ	ph	Phi
χ	kh, ch	Chi/Ki
ψ	ps	Psi/Ebsi
ω	\bar{o}	Omega/Aw
φ	\bar{s} , sh	Shai
ϱ	f	Fai
ψ	kh (Bohairic only)	Khai
ζ	h	Hori
ξ	kh (Akhmimic only)	No name recorded
χ	\check{c} , t ^s	Djandja
σ	k ^j	Shima/Itshima
τ	ti	Ti

TABLE 1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

There is no uniform transcription system for Coptic letters. The various transcription conventions applied in Coptic reference works not only reflect different research traditions, but also different scholarly views on the phonological interpretation of particular alphabetic signs. A more detailed discussion on grapheme-phoneme correspondences will be postponed to the next section. For now, it suffices to note that the letters of the Copto-Greek alphabet fall into three different classes, depending of whether they represent one or two phonemes:

a) Monophonemic letters

The by far largest group of alphabetic signs are monophonemic letters, which are characterized by a one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes: λ , β , γ , Δ , ϵ , ζ , η , ι , κ , λ , μ , ν , \omicron , π , ρ , ς , τ , υ , ω , ϖ , χ , ψ , ϕ , θ .

b) Biphonemic letters

The Coptic-Greek alphabet contains a number of biphonemic letters, which represent a sequence of two adjacent phonemes: ϕ ($\pi + \zeta$), θ ($\tau + \zeta$), χ ($\kappa + \zeta$), ξ ($\kappa + \varsigma$), ψ ($\pi + \varsigma$), \uparrow ($\tau + \iota$), α ($\tau + \omega$).

- The Greek-based letters ϕ and θ do not only appear in Greek loan words to reflect the aspirated stops ϕ /p^h/ and θ /t^h/, but are also regularly employed in native Copto-Egyptian words, whenever a sequence of π/τ and ζ occurs at a morpheme boundary, e.g. $\epsilon\epsilon$ 'the manner' (< τ - 'the (sing. fem.)' + $\zeta\epsilon$ 'manner').
- The Demotic-based letter \uparrow constitutes an isolated example of syllabic orthography and expresses an entire syllable /ti/ rather than a sequence of two phonemes, e.g. $\uparrow\mu\omega\pi\alpha$ (AP Chaîne no. 210, p. 57:27) vs. $\uparrow\mu\omega\pi\alpha$ 'punishment' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:8).
- The Demotic-based letter α is only marginally attested as a biphonemic grapheme, which renders a sequence of τ and ω , e.g. $\alpha\pi\tau\omicron$ 'cause to exist' (< τ - (causative prefix) + $\omega\pi\tau\epsilon$ 'to exist').

c) Digraphs

The Copto-Greek alphabet has two digraphs (i.e. pairs of letters, which represent a single phoneme) $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\gamma$, which may have a vocalic /i u/ or a consonantal interpretation /y w/ (see below, section 1.3.1.2). The digraph $\zeta\pi$ that represents an aspirated alveolar liquid /r^h/ in word-initial position seems to be restricted to Greek and Latin loan words, e.g. $\zeta\pi\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'Roman' (Eud. 42:24) (< $\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ /r^hɔːmajos/). (see below, section 1.4.2).

1.1.2 Diacritics and interpunction

The orthographical system of Sahidic Coptic is enriched with several non-alphabetical signs or diacritics, which provide an extra clue for the pronunciation of the word in question.

- The most important diacritic is the so-called superlinear stroke (i.e. a line above a consonantal letter, e.g. $\bar{\nu}$), whose main function is to indicate a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ɔ/ (see below, section 1.3.1.3).
- The function of the diaeresis (two points above the digraph $\epsilon\iota$) is not entirely clear. There is, however, some evidence that the diaeresis represents a diphthong (i.e. a combination of two vocalic segments) /eɪ/ or a hiatus (i.e. a sequence of two separate vowels) /e'ɪ/.
- The circumflex (a curved line above the digraph $\epsilon\iota$), on the other hand, seems to indicate a purely vocalic pronunciation /i:/ or /i/.

Since Coptic manuscripts show a high degree of variation in the use of diacritics, the examples quoted in this grammar will be presented without diacritic marks. Editors of Coptic manuscripts make use of Greek interpunction, where the semicolon (;) is used as a question mark and the colon (:) represents a full stop. Other text editions adopt the original interpunction as found in the manuscript.

1.1.3 *Nomina sacra*

In Coptic manuscripts, so-called *nomina sacra* (lat. "sacred names"), i.e. certain important biblical names and concepts are not fully spelled out, but appear in an abbreviated form, which is indicated by a horizontal line. A list of some common *nomina sacra* is presented in table 1.2.

NOMEN SACRUM	ABBREVIATED SPELLING	GLOSS
ΙΗΣΟΥΣ	ΙϞ	Jesus
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ	ΧϞ	Christ
ΚΟΙΝ	ΚϞ	Lord
ΣΩΤΗΡ	ϞΗΡ	Saviour
ΘΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ	ΘΙΛΗΜ (var. ΘΙΕΛΗΜ)	Jerusalem
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ	ΠΝΑ	Spirit
ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ	ϞΡϞ	cross
ΔΑΥΕΙΔ	ΔΑΔ	David

TABLE 1.2 Abbreviated writings of *nomina sacra*

1.2 Segmental phonology

This section discusses the main aspects of Coptic segmental phonology. It presents an inventory of the different sounds of the language as well as their distinctive phonological features. For dead languages like Coptic, which has no native speakers to consult, it is generally difficult to detect the sound behind a particular letter. Moreover, there is the problem of identity between the Greek-based letters of the Coptic alphabet and the corresponding sign in Greek. Since the vast majority of Coptic sounds are rendered by Greek letters, one may plausibly assume that there was a great deal of overlap between the phonologies of both languages. Yet, there is not always a simple, one-to-one correspondence between the phonological value associated with a particular letter in Greek and in Coptic.

Finally, there are a number of Greek-based signs that are by and large restricted to lexical and grammatical borrowings. Their marginal status suggests that these are best regarded as loan phonemes, i.e. phonemes

that have been adopted from a foreign stock, but have never been fully integrated into the native phoneme inventory.

1.2.1 Consonantal phonemes

The following description of the Coptic phoneme inventory makes use of a minimum of linguistic terminology and symbols, which can be looked up in any introductory textbook to phonology. For the sake of convenience, I will introduce the most important analytic concepts and customary categorizations of speech sounds at the beginning of each section.

1.2.1.1 Features of consonants

Phonemes are not the minimal units of articulated speech, but rather have an internal structure, which is composed of distinctive phonological features. The phonological features of consonants can be described alongside two dimensions. One dimension is the manner of articulation, which concerns the constriction of the airflow, and the other is the place of articulation, which concerns the regions of the vocal apparatus where a particular sound is made. In the manner dimension, there is a basic distinction between voiced sounds, which are produced with vibration of the vocal cords, and voiceless sounds, which lack this vibration. The relative degree of constriction imposed by the lips and the tongue on the airflow in the mouth distinguishes the following classes of consonants:

- Stops like /p/ in *pile*, which are produced by a complete interruption of the airflow.
- Fricatives like /f/ in *file*, where the airflow is constricted to form a turbulence, but is not fully interrupted.
- Affricates like /tʃ/ in German *Zelle* 'cell', which occupy an intermediate position between stops and fricatives: like stops, they are produced by an initial closure, but differently from stops, the initial closure of affricates is released gradually, so that it ends like a fricative.
- Liquids like /r/ and /l/, which, unlike fricatives, are characterized by a non-turbulent airflow.
- Nasals like /n/ in *Nile*, which are produced by a lowering of the velum (the back portion of the roof of the mouth).

In the place dimension, one can distinguish more than eleven different points of articulation. Languages make a selection of which points of articulation they utilize for the expression of different consonantal phonemes. The most important place of articulation features for the description of the Sahidic consonantal phoneme inventory are the following ones:

- Labials like /b/ in *bit*, which are articulated by the lips. Labial consonants can be further subdivided into bilabials and labiodentals. In the former, the constriction of the airflow is made by the two lips; in the latter, it is produced by an approximation of the lower lip and the upper teeth, such as /v/ in *voice*.
- Coronals like /t/ in *tea*, which are produced by the front portion of the tongue. Coronal sounds can be subdivided into dentals, dental-alveolars and alveopalatals: dentals like /θ/ in *thin* and dental-alveolars like /s/ in *sun* constrict the tongue blade at the back of the upper teeth.
- Alveopalatals like /č/ in *chin* and /š/ in *shun*, on the other hand, are produced with a constriction farther back, at the point where the roof of the mouth starts to approach the soft palate.
- Velars like /g/ in *good*, which are produced by the tongue body.
- Laryngeals like /h/ in *house* have the vocal cords as articulators.

1.2.1.2 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

An important source for Coptic phonology are variant spellings of one and the same lexical item, which suggest that two sounds had roughly the same pronunciation. The distinctiveness of two sounds, on the other hand, can be established on the basis of minimal phonological pairs, i.e. pairs of words with distinct meanings that differ only by one sound.

This section takes a closer look at the phonological interpretation of consonantal graphemes in Sahidic Coptic. (The full stop indicates a syllable boundary and the colon represents vowel length).

Β should be phonologically interpreted as a labio-dental

voiced fricative /v/ rather than a bilabial stop /b/, as in the traditional classroom pronunciation. The beta (vita) **Β** contrasts with the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ represented by the letter fai **ϣ**, which appears from minimal pairs like **ΒΑΙ** /vaj/ 'thunder' and **ϣΑΙ** /faj/ 'carrying'. In literary Sahidic, the frequent variation between **Β** and **ϣ** in pre- and postvocalic position (e.g. **ϣΩ** ~ **ΒΩ** 'hair', **ΖΩΒ** ~ **ΖΩϣ** 'thing') indicates that the voiced-voiceless opposition of bilabial fricatives was partially neutralized.

- Ϣ, ϣ** indicate the voiceless dental /s/ and voiceless alveopalatal fricative /š/, e.g. **ϢΑϣϣ** /sa:šəf/ 'seven'.
- Μ, Ν** represent the bilabial and dental nasals /m/ and /n/, respectively, e.g. **ΜΑ** /ma/ 'place' and **ΝΑ** /na/ 'to have mercy'.
- Λ, Ρ** express the dental/alveolar liquids /l/ and /r/, which are two distinctive phonemes in Sahidic Coptic, as evident from minimal pairs like **ΛΟ** /lo/ 'to stop' vs. **ΡΟ** /ro/ 'mouth'.
- ϢΙ, ϣΥ** represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, which typically occur prevocally at the beginning of a word (e.g. **ϢΙΩΤ** /yot/ 'father', **ϣΥΟΠ** /wop/ 'to be holy'), or intervocally in a vowel-glide-vowel sequence (e.g. **ΤΟΙΕ** /to:ye/ 'part', **ΖΙΟΥΕ** /hi:we/ 'to beat'). The glides /y/ and /w/ have /i/ and /u/ as vocalic counterparts, which are indicated by the same alphabetic letters (see below, section 1.2.2.2).

Δ, Γ, Ζ represent the voiced dental /d/ and velar /g/ stops and the voiced dental fricative /z/, respectively. They are loan phonemes, which are by and large restricted to Greek borrowings. There is some evidence that the digraph ΝΓ represents a word-final velar nasal, e.g. ΜΟΥΝΓ /muŋ/ for ΜΟΥΝΚ 'to make, form', ΑΝΓ /aŋ/ 'I'. The graphic variation between Ζ and Σ, e.g. ΑΝΖΗΣΕ vs. ΑΝΧΗΣΕ 'school', reflects the absence of a phonemic contrast between the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives /z/ and /s/.

Χ represents an alveo-palatal voiceless affricate /tʃ/.

Its single-segment status is evident from the selection of the definite article: the short forms Π- (singular masculine), Τ- (singular feminine), Ν- (plural) are selected, when the following words start with one consonant, while the corresponding long forms ΠΕ-, ΤΕ-, ΝΕ- precede words beginning with a cluster of two or more consonants (see section 2.2.1.1 of Unit 2 for a more detailed discussion). Words with an initial χ select the short form of the definite article, showing that it is treated as a single consonant, e.g. Τ-ΧΑΛΗ /t-ʃa.me/ 'the calm'.

Ϝ marks a voiceless palatalised velar stop /kʲ/, as in English *cute* /kʲu:t/ (e.g. ϜΙΝΕ /kʲi:ne/ 'to find'). It may vary with the velar voiceless stop κ /k/, e.g. ΚΕ vs. ϜΕ 'other'.

Ϛ expresses a voiceless glottal fricative /h/. It disappears from the phonological representation in intervocalic position, e.g. ΝΑΗΤ /na.et/ 'merciful' (< ΝΑ /na:/ 'to have mercy' + ϚΗΤ /het/ 'heart'). The letter hori (Ϛ) is also used to render Greek aspiration.

The phoneme chart in table 1.3 below gives an overview of the approximate pronunciation of the Sahidic consonantal graphemes.

MANNER OF ARTICULATION	PLACE OF ARTICULATION					
	bilabial	labio- dental	dental/ alveolar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	π /p/		τ /t/		κ /k/	ʔ /ʔ/
voiced stops			Δ /d/		Γ /g/	
palatalised stops					Ϝ /kʲ/	
voiceless fricatives		ϙ /f/	ϙ /s/	ϙ /ʃ/		Ϛ /h/
voiced fricatives		ϛ /v/	Ϛ /z/			
voiceless affricates				χ /tʃ/		
nasals	μ /m/		ν /n/		ŋ /ŋ/	
liquids			λ /l/	ρ /r/		
glides	οϙ /w/			ει /y/		

TABLE 1.3 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is a sound that is produced by a complete but brief contraction of the vocal cords. In English, it appears in words that begin with a vowel, e.g. *Ida* /ʔay.da/. Although the glottal stop /ʔ/ has no separate letter in the Copto-Greek alphabet, it is nevertheless part of the Sahidic consonantal phoneme inventory. The presence of a word-internal glottal stop is rendered by a sequence of two identical vowel graphemes in Sahidic Coptic, e.g. ΜΗΗΩΕ /mɛʔe.ʃe/ 'crowd' (see below, section 1.3.1.4).

1.2.2 Vocalic phonemes

Vowels mainly differ from consonants by a less radical degree of constriction of the airflow imposed by the lips and tongue. The phonological features of vowels are described in terms of the rounding of the lips and the exact position of the tongue. Vowels may be front or back. Front vowels are pronounced with the middle of the tongue raised to the highest part of the palate and back vowels with the back of the tongue raised towards the back of the palate. According to the degree of raising, a further distinction is made

between high, higher-mid, lower-mid and low vowels. (The mid-position serves as some kind of neutral reference point, which roughly corresponds to the location of the tongue body during the articulation of the vowel /e/ in English *bed*). Another distinction is between rounded and unrounded vowels, depending on whether the vowel in question is produced with rounded, protruded lips or not.

1.2.2.1 Vowel quality and quantity in Greek and Sahidic Coptic

The Copto-Greek alphabet has seven vocalic graphemes α (ε) ε η ο ω ογ, all of which were adopted from Greek. In addition, there is the superlinear stroke (̄), which may indicate a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/. Although the distinction of long and short vowels was phonemic in Classical (Attic) Greek, vowel length was expressed orthographically only in those cases where long and short vowels differed not only in quantity but also in quality: ε /e/ corresponds to η /ɛ:/, and ο /o/ corresponds to ω /ɔ:/.

In most Coptic grammars, it is tacitly assumed that the corresponding letters of the Coptic-Greek alphabet ε, η and ο, ω indicate a contrast in quantity though not in quality. There is, in fact, little evidence for this assumption. To begin with, distinctive vowel length was already being lost in Egyptian Koine (i.e. the variety of Greek spoken in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman period) by the mid-second century BCE. It is therefore hard to see how vowel quantity could have been re-introduced into the Copto-Greek alphabet by the time it replaced Demotic writing, unless it was part of the Egyptian phonological system.

This does not seem to be the case, however, since vowel length in Sahidic Coptic is entirely predictable from prosodic features, such as syllable structure and stress and is not orthographically expressed. The distribution of long and short vowels is roughly as follows. (A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots).

- Stressed closed syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a consonant) contain short vowels, e.g. κωτ /k'ot/ 'to build'.
- Stressed open syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a vowel) have long vowels instead, e.g. the κω in κωτε /k'ɔ:te/ 'to turn'.

- Unstressed open syllables, on the other hand, have short vowels, e.g. the κε /ke/ in κελαχ /ke.l'ɔ/ 'pitcher, jar'.

Given that Sahidic vowel length is determined by syllable structure and stress placement, it seems more likely that the pairs of vowel graphemes (ε, η) and (ο, ω) express a difference in vowel height, i.e. quality rather than one in quantity: ε /e/ vs. η /ɛ:/, ω /ɔ/ vs. ο /o/.

1.2.2.2 Sahidic vocalic phonemes

The following notes elaborate on the phonological status of the various Sahidic vowel graphemes:

- α represents the low unrounded back vowel /a/, much like the *a* in German *Mann* /man/ 'man', e.g. απε /as.pe/ 'language'.
- ο represents mid-high back rounded vowel /o/; its approximate pronunciation is the *o* in German *Ober* /o:bər/ 'waiter', e.g. οβτε /ov.he/ 'tooth'.
- ω represents the mid-low back rounded vowel /ɔ/ and is pronounced like the *o* in English *not* /nɒt/, e.g. ωντ /ɔ:nh/ 'to live'.
- ογ marks a back, high rounded vowel /u/, and resembles the *u* in English *pull* /pul/, e.g. ογχα /u:tʰa/ 'to become healthy'.
- (ε)ι expresses the high unrounded front vowel /i/, when it has a vocalic interpretation and was pronounced like the *ee* in English *bee* /bi:/. In Sahidic orthography, this vowel is generally rendered as a digraph ει in word-initial position, while its monographic variant ι is more common in word-final position, e.g. εινε /i:ne/ 'to bring' vs. χι /tʰi/ 'to take'. In word-medial position, ει alternates with ι, e.g. μοειτ /mɔjt/ 'way' vs. σγινε /shi:ne/ 'woman'.
- η represents the lower-mid unrounded front counterpart /ɛ/ of ε and comes close in pronunciation to German *ä* in *hält* /helt/ 'holds', e.g. η(ε)ι /ɛj/ 'house'.

ε marks the higher-mid unrounded front vowel /e/, much like the *e* in English *very* /veri/, e.g. εΒΟΤ /e.vot/ 'month'. It functions as the default vowel of the Sahidic Coptic vowel system, i.e. a vowel that is used as a placeholder in certain prosodic positions, but lacks any contrastive function of its own. As a default vowel, ε may alternate with schwa /ə/, e.g. τρεϣ- /tref/ vs. τρε̄- /trəf/ 'to cause him to do something'.

The behaviour of the default vowel is particularly clear in verbal stems. The characteristic vowel of the verbal stem is preserved when there is no adjacent direct object, e.g. εωτμ /sotəm/ 'to hear'. However, if a nominal object is attached to the verb, the stem vowel is replaced by the default vowel ε, e.g. εετμ nai /setəm.nai/ 'to hear (εετμ) these (nai)'.

Υ As a separate letter (i.e. not as part of the digraph οΥ), it is generally restricted to Greek loan words. This suggests that γ functions as a loan phoneme and probably represented the high front rounded vowel /y/-like German *ü* in *fünf* /fünf/ 'five', e.g. ζΥΛΗ /hü.le/ 'firewood, matter'.

In literary Sahidic, however, γ frequently varies with η and ε in both native and loan words, e.g. ΕΥΚΕ (AP, Chaîne no. 211, 60:23) for Egyptian βΕΚΕ /βe.i.ke/ 'wage', ΕΥΧΗΛΑ (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:6) for Greek σΧῆμα /sk^he.i.ma/ 'monkish garment'.

The approximate pronunciation of the Sahidic consonantal graphemes is summarized in table 1.4. (Vowel lengthening is indicated by colon):

	FRONT, UNROUNDED	CENTRAL, UNROUNDED	BACK, ROUNDED
HIGH	(ε)ι /i/ /i:/		οΥ /u/ /u:/
HIGHER-MID	ε /e/ /e:/	/ə/	ο /o/ /o:/
LOWER-MID	η /e/ /e:/		ω /ɔ/ /ɔ:/
LOW		α /a/ /a:/	

TABLE 1.4 Sahidic vowel phonemes

1.2.2.3 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

The phonemic contrast in vowel quality is positionally restricted, since certain vowels may only appear in the nucleus position of stressed syllables only, cf. table 1.5.

STRESSED SYLLABLES	UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES
(ε)ι /i/ /i:/	οΥ /u/ /u:/ (ε)ι /i/
ε /e/ /e:/	ο /o/ /o:/ ε /e/ /ə/
η /e/ /e:/	ω /ɔ/ /ɔ:/
α /a/ /a:/	α /a/

TABLE 1.5 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

The distributional behaviour of Sahidic vowel phonemes is regulated by the following constraints:

- The vowels η /e/, ο /o/ and ω /ɔ/ are restricted to stressed syllables.
- The vowels α /a/ and (ε)ι /i/ are positionally variable; i.e. they may occur in both stressed and unstressed syllables. In the latter context, the unstressed vowel is always short.
- Schwas /ə/ (reduced vowels) never receive stress. The vowel ε /e/ is stressed only if there is a schwa /ə/ or another ε /e/ in the same phonological domain.

The contrast in vowel height between the front unrounded vowels ε /e/ and η /e/ and the back rounded vowels οΥ /u/ and ο /o/ is utilized in various apophonic patterns (i.e. changes in the vocalism of a word for morphological purposes):

- Gender and number marking, e.g. ΡΡΟ 'king' ~ ΡΡΩ 'queen', ΠΕ (singular) ~ ΠΗΥΕ (plural) 'heaven'
- The pronominal paradigm of prepositions, e.g. ΕΡΟ 'to you (woman)' ~ ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ 'to you (plural)'
- The possessive demonstratives, e.g. ΠΩ-ϣ 'his one' (singular masculine) ~ ΝΟΥ-ϣ 'his ones' (plural).

1.3 Suprasegmental phonology

The focus of this section is on suprasegmental phonology, i.e. aspects of phonological structure that are to some extent independent of the feature content of individual phonological segments. Section 1.3.1 deals with Coptic syllable structure and syllabification. This leads to section 1.3.2, which is about the assignment of stress. Section 1.3.3 looks at some aspects of Coptic allomorphy, i.e. alternations in the phonological shape of morphemes.

1.3.1 Syllable structure and syllabification

Syllables are the minimal units of prosodic organization. As far as their internal structure is concerned, the syllable has traditionally been regarded as containing an obligatory nucleus preceded by an optional consonantal onset and followed by an optional consonantal coda. The nucleus and the coda form an additional subconstituent, known as the rhyme in linguistic literature. In a syllable like *gif* /gɪf/ in English *gifted* /gɪf.tɪd/, for instance, the /g/ constitutes the syllabic onset, the /ɪ/ the nucleus and the /f/ the coda. The constituents of the traditional syllable are depicted in figure 1.1.

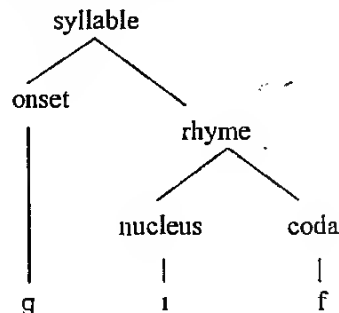


FIGURE 1.1 The internal structure of syllables

1.3.1.1 Syllable types and consonant clusters

Sahidic Coptic is a language with a rich inventory of different types of syllables. It ranges from so-called degenerate syllables, i.e. syllables consisting of a syllabic nucleus only, which may be followed by a consonantal coda, e.g. the vowel *h* /ɛ/ in bisyllabic words like *hne*

/ɛ:pe/ 'number' or *hnt* /ɛ:p/ 'to be counted to', to relatively complex structures like *soy* /k'ouʃ/ in *carasoy* /sa.ra.k'ouʃ/ 'hare', where a closed syllable has a diphthong as its vocalic nucleus. Despite this variety, it is possible to make out four main syllabic patterns, which are exemplified in table 1.6 below. (Capital C stands for consonant and capital V for vowel. A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots):

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	VOWEL LENGTH	STRESS PATTERN	EXAMPLES
closed syllables (CVC)	short vowel (V)	stressed or unstressed	stressed <i>ʒaq</i> /ʒ'af/ in <i>ʒaqte</i> /ʒ'af.te/ 'enemy' vs. unstressed <i>tan</i> /ton/ in <i>tanʒoyt</i> /tan.h'ut/ 'to rely on'
open syllables with short V's (CV)	short vowel (V)	always unstressed	unstressed <i>xe</i> /t'e/ in <i>ʒaxe</i> /ʒa:t'e/ 'word' or <i>ca</i> /sa/ in <i>caeh</i> /sa.v'e/ 'wise' (fem.)
open syllables with lengthened V's (CV:)	long vowel (V:)	always stressed	stressed <i>co</i> /s'o:/ in <i>cōth</i> /s'o:təm/ 'to hear' or <i>eh</i> /v'e/ in <i>caeh</i> /so.v'e/ 'wise' (fem.)
degenerate syllables (V, V:, VC)	short or long vowel (V, V:)	stressed or unstressed	stressed <i>oy</i> /u/ in <i>oytaʒ</i> /u:tah/ 'fruit' and <i>ac</i> /as/ in <i>acne</i> /os.pe/ 'language' vs. unstressed <i>a</i> /a/ in <i>anaʒ</i> /a.n'aʃ/ 'oath'

TABLE 1.6 A typology of Sahidic Coptic syllable structures

The onset of the syllable may contain extra phonological material to form a consonant cluster up to three consonants, e.g. the *cōp-* /sk'ɪr/ in *cōpaʒt* /sk'raht/ 'to rest'. It appears that consonant clusters are not allowed in coda position. Instead, clusters of two consonants are broken up by a schwa /ə/, thus *hnt* /ɛ:rəp/ and not /ɛ:rp/.

1.3.1.2 The glide-vowel alternation

Coptic makes a systematic distinction between vowels and consonants. The digraphs (ε)ι and ογ, however, may have either a vocalic or a consonantal interpretation. The non-distinctiveness between the high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the corresponding glides /y/ and /w/ in Coptic writing is not accidental, but indicates that these phonemes share the same phonological features: the glides /y/ and /w/ are the consonantal variants of the vowels /i/ and /u/. The consonantal or vocalic realization of (ε)ι and ογ is not random, but predictable from their position within the syllable:

- (i) In the onset position, when the digraphs (ε)ι and ογ are followed by a vowel grapheme, they have a consonantal interpretation and represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, e.g. ειωτ /y'ot/ 'father' and ογοπ /w'op/ 'to be holy'.
- (ii) If, on the other hand, (ε)ι and ογ are preceded by a word-initial consonant, they function as syllabic nuclei and represent the vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, e.g. πι /r'i/ 'cell' and νογβ /n'uβ/ 'gold'. Sahidic Coptic has degenerate syllables that consist of a syllabic nucleus only. In this context, the digraphs (ε)ι and ογ are consistently interpreted as vowels, e.g. ογταζ /u.tah/ 'fruit'.
- (iii) The digraphs (ε)ι and ογ may also represent the second part of a diphthong, i.e. a sequence of two vowels in the nucleus position of the syllable, which may but need not share phonological features in common. Sahidic Coptic has a rich inventory of such diphthongs, as we can see in table 1.7 below. (Diphthongs are transcribed with an inverted breve /aj/, /au/).
- (iv) A sequence of three adjacent vowels is a phonologically unstable pattern, which is generally avoided. In Sahidic, a triplet of three different vowels gives rise to a vowel-glide-vowel sequence, where the intermediate vowel surfaces as the corresponding glide, e.g. ζιογε /h'i.we/ 'to beat', ροειογε /r'o.i.we/ 'stalk', τοιε /t'o.ye/ 'part', ταιο /ta.yo/ 'to honour'.

	VOWEL + (ε)ι /i/	VOWEL + (ο)γ /u/
α	αει, αι /aj/, e.g. σαειν /sajn/ 'physician'	αγ /au/, e.g. ναγ /naγ/ 'to see'
ε	εει, ει /ej/, e.g. πει- /pej/ 'this'	εγ /eu/, e.g. πεγ- /peγ/ 'their'
η	ηει, ηι /ej/, e.g. ηι (var. ηει) /ej/ 'house'	ηγ /eu/, e.g. σνηγ /sneγ/ 'brothers'
ο	οει, οι /oj/, e.g. οεικ /ojk/ 'bread'	ωογ /ou/, e.g. σαρασωογ /sa.ra.k'ou/ 'hare'

TABLE 1.7 Sahidic diphthongs

1.3.1.3 The superlinear stroke

Languages that employ an alphabetic notation system for the written expression of sounds indicate suprasegmental features (if at all) by means of a limited set of diacritics marks. In Coptic, the most important diacritic is the superlinear stroke (̄), which provides us with some insight into Coptic syllabification, i.e. the assignment of syllable structure to a string of consonants and vowels. As briefly noted in section 1.1.2 above, the superlinear stroke indicates the presence of a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/ in the nucleus position of a syllable immediately before the coda consonant. The *schwa* sounds like the colourless vocalic segments in English *elephant* /eləfənt/. As a marker of a reduced syllabic nucleus, the superlinear stroke is never used in combination with vowels, but found with all consonants. In this function, it may vary with the default vowel ε /e/ in word-initial, -medial, and -final position. (In the translation of the Coptic examples, morpheme boundaries are indicated by hyphens).

Examples: (word-initial) πρω̄με εναρχων /en.ar.khō:n/ (for ηαρχων /ən.ar.kho:n/ 'the magistrate (lit. the man (πρω̄με) being (ε̄ν-) magistrate (αρχων)' (BHom 261:15), ε̄μπατογκωλ̄ζ /em.pa.tu.ko:ləh/ (for η̄πατογκωλ̄ζ /əm.p.tu.ko:ləh/) 'before they summon (the congregation) (ε̄μπατ-ογ-κωλ̄ζ)' (praec. Pach. 90), π̄q-ραν /pəf.ran/ (for πεqραν /pef.ran/) 'his (π̄q-) name (ραν)' (Onnophr. 205:8); (medial) αqερ μαρτυρος /af.er.martiros/ (for αq̄p μαρτυρος /af.ər.martiros/) 'he (Apa Mena) became (α-q-ερ) a martyr (μαρτυρος)' (Mena, Mir. 6a:12), νεγ̄εν

/ne.wen/ (for $\text{ne}\gamma\bar{n}$ /ne.wən/) '(there) was (ne- (o) $\gamma\bar{n}$)' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30), (final) $\text{na}\gamma\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ /nah.rən/ (for $\text{na}\gamma\bar{p}\bar{n}$ /nah.rən/) 'in front of' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:14).

The *schwa* can even be reduced to such an extent that it is no longer audible. The acoustic effect of this phonological process is a syllabic consonant, i.e. a consonant that constitutes the most sonorant part of the syllable and hence, fills the nucleus slot. An example of a syllabic consonant in English would be the /n/ in *even* /i:.vən/ or the /l/ in *bottle* /bɒtl/. In Sahidic Coptic, only the sonorants m , n , p , l , v /m n r l v/ can function as syllabic consonants; their nucleus functions may but need not be indicated by the superlinear stroke, e.g. $\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$ /tɛt/ 'fish', $\text{q}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$ /fɛt/ 'worm', $\gamma\bar{n}\bar{x}$ /hmɛt/ 'vinegar'.

1.3.1.4 Vowel gemination

A rather striking feature of Sahidic orthography is the double writing or gemination of vowel graphemes, which gives rise to a sequence of two identical vowel graphemes like aa , ee , hh , oo , ww in words like $\text{maax}\bar{x}\bar{e}$ 'ear', $\text{meey}\bar{e}$ 'to think', $\text{mnhw}\bar{e}$ 'crowd', boone 'evil', $\text{xawm}\bar{e}$ 'book'. There is reason to assume that vowel gemination does not express a lengthened vowel, which are not rendered orthographically, but rather indicates an intervocalic glottal stop /ʔ/. V²V. Vowel gemination represents a stressed lengthened vowel that is interrupted by a glottal stop, a process that has come to be known as vowel breaking. The phonological interpretation of words like $\text{mnhw}\bar{e}$ or $\text{xawm}\bar{e}$ would therefore be /mɛ²e.ʃe/ and /t²ɔ².me/, respectively. Since only long vowels can be broken, Sahidic vowel breaking is limited to stressed, open syllables.

1.3.1.5 Consonant gemination

In Sahidic Coptic, quantity or length in duration is not only a property of vowels, but may apply to consonants as well. Unlike vowel length, however, which is determined by prosodic features, the opposition between plain and geminate consonants is phonologically distinctive, which appears from minimal pairs like po /tɔ/ 'mouth' vs. $\text{p}\bar{\text{p}}\text{o}$ /ɛr.tɔ/ 'king', mo /mo/ 'give!' (Imperative singular masculine) vs. $\text{f}\bar{\text{m}}\text{o}$ /ɛm.m'ɔ/ 'in' (the pronominal form of the locative preposition n/m 'in'). Lengthened consonants typically span a syllable break and fill the

coda and onset position of two adjacent syllables. In Sahidic Coptic, geminate consonants are subject to severe positional restrictions: the syllable preceding the geminate must be unstressed and contain a phonologically reduced nucleus, while the syllable following the geminate must be stressed and contain a lengthened vowel. The presence of the schwa /ə/ in the unstressed syllable is orthographically expressed by a superlinear stroke on the first consonant of the geminate, e.g. $\gamma\bar{\text{a}}\text{lw}$ /həl.l'ɔ/ 'old woman', $\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\text{e}}\text{o}$ /tɛv.v'ɔ/ 'to purify', $\text{v}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{e}}$ /vɛr.r'e/ 'to be young'.

1.3.2 Word stress

Word stress is a relatively abstract phonological category, which, unlike length, has no uniform phonetic correlate. Stress is manifest in different suprasegmental features, such as increased duration and loudness, heightened pitch, and, sometimes, subtle differences in vowel and consonant quality. Recall that the vowels u /e/, o /o/, and w /ɔ/ occur only in stressed syllables (section 1.2.2.3) and that geminate consonants bridge the gap between a phonologically reduced, unstressed syllable and a stressed open syllable (section 1.3.1.5).

1.3.2.1 Basic properties of the Sahidic stress system

Sahidic Coptic is a language with a binary stress distinction, i.e. syllables are either stressed or unstressed. Moreover, stress assignment is non-recursive, which means that there is at most one main stress per word, independent of its length. The internal structure of the syllable determines where stress falls. More specifically, the part of the phonological material that is relevant for stress marking is the syllabic rhyme (i.e. the vocalic nucleus and the consonantal coda), while the internal complexity of the consonantal onset is not.

Sahidic syllables fall into two classes, depending on the number of segments contained in the rhyme. On the one hand, there are so-called light syllables, whose rhyme contains only a plain vowel, e.g. the ne /ne/ in $\text{te}\gamma\bar{n}\bar{e}$ /tɛh.nɛ/ 'forehead'. On the other hand, there are heavy syllables, whose rhyme is made up of at least two segments, which may be (i) a short vowel and a consonantal coda, e.g. the on /on/ in con /sɔn/ 'brother', or (ii) a lengthened or 'broken' vowel, e.g. the w /ɔ/ in $\text{c}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ /s'ɔ:.nɛ/ 'sister' or the ee /e²e/ in $\text{meey}\bar{e}$ /m'e²e.we/ 'to think'.

- The plural form of the definite article *τῶν* 'the', e.g. *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* 'the bakers (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*)' (praec. Pach. 117) vs. *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* 'the dwelling (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) places (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) of (*τῶν*) all (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) the souls (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*)' (Ac. A&P 198:73).

1.3.3.2 *τ*-deletion

Clusters of two voiceless dental stops /t/ are often simplified:

τ-DELETION

t → ∅ / ___ t

Note that the reduction of a sequence of two *τ*'s to a single one is not restricted to word-final position, as in *ἐντ* (< *ἐντ* + *τ*) 'to bring (*ἐντ*-) me (-*τ*)' (Test. Is. 234:22), but may also occur word-internally, as in *πετερε* (read *πετερε*) (< *π-ετ-τ-ερε*) 'what I was doing' (Onnphr. 207:16).

1.3.3.3 Vowel elision

At a morpheme or word boundary, sequences of two or more vowels may be simplified by deleting one vocalic segment. Unlike labial assimilation and *τ*-deletion, vowel elision is an optional phonological process. The deleted vowel may but need not be identical with the neighbouring one, e.g. *πετῆλα* (< *π-ετ-τ-η-λα-α-α-α*) 'what I shall do' (Ac. A&P 200:100).

1.4 Greek loan words

The emergence of Coptic is the result of intensive language contact in a bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) speech community. Greek was not only the language of the literate elite, but also the language of the Holy Scriptures and the new religion and hence a language of great cultural importance. The impact of this prestige language on the native vernacular was pervasive. Although no clear statistics are available at present, it is estimated that approximately forty percent of the Coptic vocabulary consists of Greek loan words. The following discussion on language contact phenomena will begin with a typology of Greek loan words, with particular attention for the grammatical constraints on

lexical borrowing: which categories are borrowed and how is foreign lexical material integrated into the native syntax (section 1.4.1). We also take a closer look at the Coptic spelling of Greek loans, which may diverge considerably from the Greek model (section 1.4.2).

1.4.1 A typology of Greek borrowings

The transfer of Greek lexical material into the Coptic vocabulary was not restricted to content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives), which have a clear link to Hellenistic and Christian culture (e.g. *ψυχή* 'soul' (< *ψυχή* /psük^hei/), *ἐκκλησία* 'church' (< *ἐκκλησία* /ekkleisia/), *βαπτίζει* 'to baptize' (< *βαπτίζεσθαι* /baptizest^hai/), *μακάριος* 'blessed' (< *μακάριος* /makarios/), but also involved a variety of Greek function words (i.e. grammatical words with no descriptive-lexical content), such as sentence conjunctions (e.g. *ὥστε* 'such that' (< *ὥστε* /ho:ste/), discourse markers (e.g. *δέ* (< *δέ* /de/), manner and time adverbials (e.g. *κακῶς* (< *κακῶς* /kakō:s/) 'badly', *τότε* (< *τότε* /tote/) 'then, at that time'), and even some prepositions (e.g. *κατά* 'according to' (< *κατά* /kata/)). Despite the massive influx of Greek items, paradigmatically organized words like determiners, pronouns, numerals, and tense markers are all drawn from the native stock. To fit into Coptic phrase structure, Greek loan words underwent minor morphological changes in the course of borrowing.

1.4.1.1 Copto-Greek nouns

Greek nouns are commonly borrowed as a whole without any morphological change and, if any, phonological adjustments only. The gender and noun-class marking suffix of the nominative singular form of the Greek model noun is generally preserved, e.g. *ἀριθμός* 'military unit' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20) (< *ἀριθμός* /arit^hmos/ 'number'), *χωρά* 'land' (Camb. 2:29) (< *χώρα* /k^hōra/), *ἐγκώμιον* 'eulogy' (Mena, Enc. 35:a:2-3) (< *ἐγκώμιον* /enkōmion/), *πόλις* 'city' (Hil. 3:20) (< *πόλις* /polis/), *δεσποτής* 'lord, despot' (Hil. 3:20) (< *δεσπότης* /despote:s/). Due to the lack of morphological case marking, Greek nouns are generally borrowed in their nominative singular form, which represents the least marked form of the nominal paradigm.

A number of Greek nouns adopted a more specialized meaning in the course of borrowing, e.g. *τοπος* 'shrine' (Hil. 5:5) (< *τόπος* /topos/

'place'), *συναξίς* 'the Holy Mass' (Hil. 1:17) (< *συναξίς* /sinaksis/ 'gathering'), *προσφορά* 'Eucharist' (Eud. 72:23) (< *προσφορά* /prosp^hora/ 'bounty, gift'), *πολύτια* 'monastic practice, ascetic labour' (Zen. 199:8) (< *πολιτεία* /politeia/ 'citizenship, government').

1.4.1.2 Copto-Greek adjectives

Coptic has no special word class of adjectives. Greek adjectives are therefore treated as fully fledged nouns, e.g. *μακάριος* *ἀπα* *ναζροϋ* 'the (π-) blessed (μακάριος < μακάριος /makarios/) Apa Nahrow' (KHML I 4:7), *νεῖαφυχον* *χέ* *νοϋτε* 'these lifeless (νεῖαφυχον < ἄψυχος /apsik^hos/) (things) called (χέ) god (νοϋτε)' (KHML I 1:2), *πάλαια* *μν* *τκήνη* 'the Old (τ-πάλαια < παλαιός /palaios/) and (μν) the New (Testament) (τ-τκήνη < καινός /kainos/)' (Hil. 1:13), *πῶγιος* *δε* *ἀπα* *μῆνα* *οϋεϋγενῆς* *πε* *εβωλ* *ζμ* *πκαζ* *νκήμε* 'the holy (π-πῶγιος) Apa Mena (was) well-born (οϋεϋγενῆς < εὐγενής /eugeneis/) of Egyptian descent (lit. 'from (εβωλ ζμ) the land (π-καζ) of Egypt (ν-κήμε))' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-b:2).

Greek adjectives generally appear with the singular masculine ending -ος /-os/ (-οc), e.g. *οϋρωμε* *νσοφος* 'a wise (ν-σοφος < σοφός /sop^hos/) man (οϋ-ρωμε)' (Teach. Ant. 4), *ζωc* *ρωμε* *νβιωτικός* 'like (ζωc) a man (ρωμε) of this world (ν-βιωτικός < βιωτικός /bio:tikos/)' (Hil. 13:5); exceptions: (singular feminine -α /-a/ -α) *τμακαρια* *ζαλαρια* 'the blessed (τ-μακαρια < μακάριος /makarios/) Hilaria (ζαλαρια)' (Hil. 1:1), (singular neuter -ον /-on/ -ον) *τειεπιθμία* *μπνῆκῶν* (for *πνευματικόν*) 'this spiritual (ν-πνευματικόν < πνευματικός /pneumatikos/) desire (τειεπιθμία < ἐπιθυμία /epit^humia/)' (Hil. 1:20), (genitive plural -ων /-on/ -ων) *μνηοιτης* (read *ποιητης*) *ναρχαιων* 'the ancient (ν-αρχαιων < ἀρχαῖος /ark^haios/) poets (μ-ποιητης < ποιητής /poiēteis/)' (Hil. 1:18).

The Greek superlative can sometimes be found in epithets preceding or following a proper name, e.g. *πειελαχιστος* *νρρο* *ζηνων* 'this most humble (πειελαχιστος < ἐλάχιστος /elak^histos/) king (ν-ρρο) Zenō (ζηνων)' (Hil. 7:21), *πεφμεριτ* *νιωτ* *νθεοφιλεστατος* *ἀπα* *τιμοθεος* *παρχιεπισκοπος* 'his beloved (πεφμεριτ) father

(ν-ιωτ), the archbishop (π-αρχιεπισκοπος) Apa Timotheus (τιμοθεος), most beloved by God (ν-θεοφιλεστατος < θεοφιλέτατος /t^heophiletatos/)' (Sh. III 13:19-20).

1.4.1.3 Copto-Greek verbs

Copto-Greek verbs generally appear with a morphologically lighter form, with the Greek infinitival endings -ειν /eĩn/ or -εσθαι /est^hai/ stripped off, e.g. *ετει* (for *αιτει*) 'to ask for' (Test. Is. 237:13) (< *αἰτεῖν* /aiteĩn/), *ἀπαντα* 'to encounter' (Test. Is. 237:8 (< *ἀπαντᾶν* /apantan/), *χαριζε* 'to grant' (Hil. 7:10) (< *χαρίζεσθαι* /k^harizest^hai/). Due to their impoverished morphology, Copto-Greek verbs have the appearance of the Greek imperative present active, which is why they have been classified as imperatives in most Coptic grammars. From a syntactic point of view, this analysis is not tenable, since imperatival clause verbs construed with an implicit or explicit second person subject pronoun. It seems therefore more likely that Greek verbs are borrowed into Coptic as "bare" (i.e. uninflected) stems. Occasionally, the full form of the Greek infinitival suffix -εσθαι /est^hai/ is preserved in the Coptic form of the borrowed verb, e.g. *εξηγισθαι* 'to expose, tell at length' (Onnophr. 205:9) (< *ἐξηγεῖσθαι* /ekseigeĩst^hai/).

1.4.1.4 Copto-Greek function words

Greek function words and particles are productively used in Coptic clause-chaining and discourse organisation and are therefore instances of both lexical and grammatical borrowing. Some representative examples of each category are given below:

- Prepositions, which mark relations between entities, e.g. *ζωc* 'like, as' *ως* < /hōis/), *ειμητι* 'except' (< *εἰ μὴ τι* /eimeĩti/). Two frequently used Greek prepositions *κατα* 'according to' (< *κατά* /kata/) and *παρ* 'more than' (< *παρά* /para/) have special forms *καταρο*= and *παραρο*= before pronouns, which are formed on the analogy of native prepositions like *ε*-, *επο*= 'to, towards'.

- Adverbs of time and manner, e.g. **αληθως** (< ἀληθῶς /alei:thōs/) 'actually, really', **ετι** (var. **λιτει** (V. Pach. 87:16)) (< ἔτι /eti/) 'yet, still', **κακως** (< κακῶς /kakōs/) 'badly', **τοτε** (< τότε /tote/) 'then, at that time'.
- Subordinating conjunctions or complementizers, which introduce a syntactically dependent clause, e.g. **ζωστε** 'such that' (< ὥστε /ho:ste/), **μηπως** 'that not' (< μήπως /meipōs/).
- Coordinating conjunctions, which connect two noun phrases or clauses, e.g. **η** 'or' (< ἢ /ei/), **ογδε** 'and not' (< οὐδέ /u:de/).
- Rhetorical conjunctions that express discourse relations like contrast **αλλα** 'but' (< ἀλλά /alla/), an explanation of the preceding discourse **γαρ** 'because, for' (< γάρ /gar/), or a change of topic or beginning of a new narrative unit **δε** (< δέ /de/).

1.4.2 The spelling of Greek loan words

Greek loan words are generally spelled correctly. Deviations from the Greek model are for the most part phonetic spellings, reflecting both ongoing sound changes in Egyptian Koine and the absence of certain phonological oppositions in Coptic.

a) Variation between γ ~ κ and τ ~ δ

Since Sahidic Coptic lacks a phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless dental and velar stops, γ frequently alternates with κ and δ with τ in the Coptic rendering of Greek words:

- (γ ~ κ) **καρπος** (Onnophr. 219:22) ~ **γαρπος** (V. Pach. 87:1) 'fruit' (< καρπός /karpos/), **εργατης** (V. Pach. 210b:3) ~ **αρκατης** (BHom. 263:7) 'worker' (< ἐργάτης /ergateis/), **αγανακτηι** (V. Pach. 67:20-21) ~ **ακανακτηι** (V. Pach. 92:9-10) 'to become angry' (< ἀγανακτεῖν /aganaktein/).
- (δ ~ τ) **παρδεικος** (Abbatōn 237:13) ~ **παρτςως** (V. Pach. 86:23) 'garden (of Eden), Paradise' (< παράδεισος /paradeisos/), **τιμωρει** (V. Pach. 159b:29) ~ **διμωρει** (Test. Is. 234:20) 'to

punish' (< τιμωρεῖν /timōrein/), **δικαζε** (V. Pach. 192:25) ~ **τιτταζε** (V. Pach. 94:22) ~ **δικταζε** (V. Pach. 288:17-18) 'to hesitate' (< διστάζειν /distazein/).

b) Variation between ο ~ ω and ε ~ η

The general graphical interchange between ο ~ ω and ε ~ η reflects not only the absence of phonologically distinctive vowel length in Coptic, but also the impossibility of having the vowels ο /o/, ω /ɔ/, and η /e/ in unstressed syllables.

- (ο ~ ω) **νομος** (V. Pach. 36:2) ~ **νωμος** (V. Pach. 94:15) 'law' (< νομός /nomos/), **διακωνει** (V. Pach. 91:27) ~ **διακονει** (V. Pach. 73a:22) 'to do service, minister' (διακονεῖν /diakonein/), **μωνων** (V. Pach. 89:27) ~ **μονον** (V. Pach. 106b:11) 'only' (< μόνον /monon/), **παντος** (V. Pach. 206b:37) ~ **παντως** (V. Pach. 29b:27) 'certainly, probably' (< πάντως /pantōs/).
- (ε ~ η) **ζερμενεγε** (V. Pach. 251b:9-10) ~ **ζερμηνεγε** (V. Pach. 292:27) 'to translate' (< ἐρμηνεύειν /hermeneuein/), **ζυπερετης** (V. Pach. 218b:12-13) ~ **ζυπηρητης** (V. Pach. 14a:8-9) 'servant' (< ὑπηρέτης /hūpereteis/), **ζεθος** (AP Chaîne, no 192, 49:32) 'custom, habit' (< ἔθος /ei:thos/), **ζελεν** (V. Pach. 253a:3-4) ~ **ζελλην** (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἑλλην /hellein/).

c) Variation between η, ε, ι and υ

The alternation of υ with η, ι and ε in the spelling of Greek loan words is more likely to stem from the absence of a high, front vowel /i/ in Sahidic Coptic rather than from the final merger of /i/ and /y/ in Modern Greek, which took place as late as the 9th and 10th century AD.

Examples: **διαθκη** (Test. Is. 237:23-24) 'testament' (< διαθήκη /diat'hekei/) (var. **διαθκη** (Test. Is. 237:14)), **θεςια** (V. Pach. 91:7) 'sacrifice' (< θυσία /t'usia/) (var. **θγσια** (V. Pach. 88:12)), **κληρικος** (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:34) ~ **καγρικος** (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:29) 'cleric' (< κληρικός /kleirikos/), **πολυμει** (V. Pach. 212a:1) ~ **πολεμει** (V. Pach. 294:10) 'to be at war with, quarrel' (< πολεμεῖν /polemein/).

d) Variation between ε and the superlinear stroke

The sporadic variation between the grapheme ε and the superlinear stroke in Greek borrowings reflects the alternation of the default vowel /e/ with schwa /ə/ in closed unstressed syllables.

Examples: ΤΕΚΚΛΙΣΙΑ (Hil. 1:22) ~ ΤῚΚΛΗΣΙΑ (Onnophr. 223:9-10) 'the (τ- definite article sing.fem.) church' (< ἐκκλησία /ekkleisia/), ΖΕΔΩΜΑΣ (Onnophr. 221:7) ~ ΘΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ (τ- + ΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ) (V. Pach. 239:5) 'week' (< ἑβδομάς /hebdomas/), ΖΛΛΗΝ (BHom. 263:7) ~ ΖΕΛΛΗΝ (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἑλλην /hellein/).

e) Variation between αι ~ ε and ι, η ~ ει

The alternation of ε and αι as well as ι, η and ει in many borrowed words reflects the final merger of the Classical Greek /e/ and /aj/ to /e/ and /i/, /ei/ and /eij/ to /i/ in the Egyptian variety of Koine Greek through a combination of systematic monophthongisation (i.e. the reduction of a diphthong to a simple vowel) and the loss of distinctive vowel length:

- (ι, η ~ ει) ΑΓΕΛΕΙ (Onnophr. 206:14) ~ ΑΓΕΛΗ (Op. Pach. et disc. 25:16) 'herd, multitude' (< ἀγέλη /agele:/), ΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ (V. Pach. 292:8) ~ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ (V. Pach. 106a:21) (< ἐπιθυμία /epit'umia/)
- (αι ~ ε) ΔΕΜΟΝ (AP, Chaîne no. 132, 30:4) 'demon' (< δαίμων /daimon:/) (var. ΔΑΙΜΩΝ (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:9)), ΕΩΝ 'era' (V. Pach. 86:7) (< αἰών /aion:/) (var. ΛΙΩΝ (Eud. 38:23)), ΛΙΤΕΙ (V. Pach. 87:16) (< ἔτι /eti:/) 'yet, still' (var. ΕΤΙ (V. Pach. 1:22)), ΕΤΕΙ (Test. Is. 237:13) 'to request, ask for' (< αἰτεῖν /aitēin/ (var. ΛΙΤΕΙ (V. Pach. 3:13)), ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ 'pure, unmixed' (Test. Is. 228:14) (< ἀκέραιος /akeraios/).

f) Variation between ε, ι and η

The variation between ε, ι and η in Copto-Greek words provides good evidence for the full merging of the front vowels /e/, /i/ and /e/ to /i/ in early Byzantine Greek (so-called 'iotacism').

Examples: ΑΓΓΟΣ 'eagle' (Onnophr. 211:26-27) ~ ΑΕΤΟΣ (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:28) (< αἰτός /aetos/), ΑΣΚΙΤΗΣ (V. Pach. 86:24) ~ ΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ (V. Pach. 73a:23) 'ascetic' (< ἀσκητής /askeites:/), ΠΗΡΑΖΕ (Op. Pach. et

discipl. 1:15) ~ ΠΗΡΑΖΕ (Op. Pach. et disc. 23:1) ~ ΠΕΙΡΑΖΕ (Op. Pach. et discipl. 49:1) 'to try, tempt' (< πειράζειν /peirazein/), ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:31) 'to speak against, contradict' (< ἀντιλέγειν /antilegein/).

g) Greek aspiration

Greek orthography employed a special diacritic (´), the so-called *spiritus asper* (lit. "rough breathing"), to indicate the presence of a word-initial voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/, e.g. ὅρος /horos/ 'boundary, landmark'. Despite the loss of the /h/ in Greek by the 4th century AD, the *spiritus asper* is retained in the orthography of Copto-Greek words, where it is generally rendered by the Coptic letter hori 2: ΖΑΓΙΟΣ 'holy' (< ἅγιος /hagios/) (in epithets, e.g. ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ 'the holy Apa Mena' Mena, Mir. 7a:6-7), ΖΩΛΟΣ (Test. Is. 233:28) 'wholly, altogether' (< ὅλως /holos:/, (word-internal /h/ in compounds): ΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ (V. Pach. 85a:25-26) 'choice, preference' (< προαίρεσις /prohairesis/).

The Greek trilled, alveolar liquid /r/ was aspirated at the beginning of a word /r^h/ and, like all aspirated consonants in Greek, voiceless. The so-called *spiritus asper* ('rough breathing') is rendered by the digraph 2P in the Coptic spelling of Greek and Latin borrowings, e.g. ΖΡΗΤΩΡ (KHML II 31:14) 'speaker, advocate' (< ῥήτωρ /r^hetor:/), ΠΕ-ΖΡΕΠΑΡΙΟΣ (KHML II 29:17) 'the (ΠΕ-) riparius (ΖΡΕΠΑΡΙΟΣ) police official in Egypt' (< ῥιπάριος /r^hiparios/ (lat. *riparius*), ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ 'the (ΝΕ-) Romans (ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ)' (Eud. 42:23-24) (< ῥωμαῖος /r^hōmaios/). Occasionally, the letter hori (2) is used to render the Greek *spiritus lenis* (lit. "smooth breathing"), e.g. ΕΘΝΟΣ (V. Pach. 95:15) ~ ΖΕΘΝΟΣ (V. Pach. 43a:16) 'people, (pagan) nation' (< ἔθνος /et^hnos/), ΖΙΚΩΝ (Abbatōn 232:10) 'image' (< εἰκών /eikōn/), ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ (Eud. 42:21) 'to hope' (< ἐλπίζειν /elpizein/), ΖΥΠΟΡΑ (Test. Is. 232:1) 'fruit' (< ὄπωρα /opōra/), ΖΙΔΙΩΤΗΣ (V. Pach. 59b:12) 'layman, unsophisticated person' (< ἰδιώτης /idiōteis/).

Key Terms:

<i>Copto-Greek Alphabet</i>	the notation system in which Coptic sounds are rendered.	§1.1.1
<i>Nomina sacra</i> "holy names"	are Biblical names or concepts that appear in abbreviated form, e.g. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ 'Jesus'.	§1.1.3
<i>Glide-vowel alternation</i>	The vocalic or consonantal interpretation of the digraphs $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\gamma$.	§1.3.1.2
<i>Syllable structure</i>	The most sonorant part of the syllable is constituted by the nucleus, which is preceded by an optional consonantal onset and followed by an optional consonantal coda.	§1.3.1.1
<i>Schwa</i>	a reduced vowel /ə/, e.g. $\overline{\text{IN}}$ /hən/ 'in' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:14).	§1.3.1.3
<i>Syllabic consonant</i>	a consonant functioning as the syllabic nucleus, e.g. $\overline{\text{QNT}}$ /fnt/ 'worm'.	§1.3.1.3
<i>Superlinear stroke</i> (e.g. $\overline{\text{N}}$)	is the most common diacritic in Sahidic orthography, which indicates a reduced vowel (schwa) or a syllabic consonant. In addition, the superlinear stroke has a purely orthographical interpretation and marks <i>nomina sacra</i> .	§1.3.1.3
<i>Vowel gemination</i>	Two vowel graphemes mark an intermediate glottal stop between two identical vowels V ² V, e.g. $\overline{\text{MHHWE}}$ /me ² e.ʃe/ 'crowd'.	§1.3.1.4
<i>Word stress</i>	is a prosodic means of contrasting more prominent or heavy syllables with less prominent or light ones within a word.	§1.3.2

<i>Labial assimilation</i>	a phonological process, which causes the coronal nasal N /n/ to become the bilabial nasal M /m/ in the context of π /p/ or M /m/.	§1.3.3.1
<i>Lexical borrowing</i>	the adoption of foreign lexical material into the native vocabulary with minor adjustments.	§1.4.1
<i>Spelling of Greek loan words</i>	The differences between the borrowed item and the original Classical Greek source are mainly due to ongoing sound changes in Egyptian Koine.	§1.4.2

How to use Coptic dictionaries

Coptic dictionaries are organized in a different manner than the ones we are used to. Lexical entries are ordered with respect to their consonant structure. A word like $\overline{\text{QWXP}}$ 'to remain over, to leave' consists of three consonants $\overline{\text{Q-X-Π}}$. Lexical items which have this sequence of consonants in common are ordered with respect to vowels. Thus, when you want to look up some word, first identify its sequence of consonants. You will find the entry $\overline{\text{QWXP}}$ on page 618a of Crum, A Coptic Dictionary

Exercises**1.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
 1. The Coptic and the Greek alphabets are identical.
 2. Coptic letters may express more than one sound or phoneme.
 3. The glides ($\epsilon\iota$) and $\omicron\gamma$ cannot appear between two vowels.

4. Every Coptic word has to begin with a consonant.
5. Borrowing from Greek is restricted to content words (verbs, nouns, adjectives).

1.2 The Coptic writing system

- A. Read the Coptic translation of the *Lord's Prayer*. Particular attention should be paid to the pronunciation of the superlinear stroke.

⁹ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ̄ ἸΠΗΥΕ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΟΥΟΠ
¹⁰ ΤΕΚΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΑΡΕΣΕΙ ΠΕΚΟΥΨ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ
 ΕΤΩΖΝ̄ ΤΠΕ ΝΩΨΩΠΕ ΟΝ ΖΙΧΝ̄ ΠΚΑΖ
¹¹ ΠΕΝΘΕΙΚ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΝΓΓ̄ ἸΜΟΦ ΝΑΝ ἸΠΟΟΥ
¹² ΝΓΚΩ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΘΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΟΝ ΕΤΝΚΩ
 ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ
¹³ ΝΓΓ̄ΤΙΧΙΤΝ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓΝΑΖΗΝ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΠΟΟΤΩ
 ἸΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΩΚ ΤΕ ΤΩΟΝ ΜΝ̄ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΨΑ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ · ΖΑΜΗΝ

The Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13)

- B. Transliterate the following Coptic words. Use the transcription symbols given in table 1.1 of the main text.

ΕΙΩΤ	father	ΝΟΥΤΕ	god	†	to give
ΨΗΡΕ	son	CON	brother	ΕΙΡΕ	to make
ΨΕΕΡΕ	daughter	ΓΤΟΟΥ	four	Ω	to remain
ΧΘΕΙC	lord	ΖΒΟΥΡ	left	ΖΕ	to fall

- C. Transliterate those Coptic words below where the superlinear stroke has a phonological interpretation (schwa, syllabic consonant).

Χ̄C	Christ	Π̄ΝΙΚΟΝ	spiritual	COTC̄Π	to request
Τ̄ΒΤ	fish	Β̄ΡΡΕ	new	Π̄ΝΑ	spirit
C̄ΠΜΕ	to accuse s.o	Ζ̄ΗΖ̄Η	to shout	Χ̄C	Lord

- D. Write down the unabbreviated form of the Coptic *nomen sacrum* in those cases where the superlinear stroke has an orthographical interpretation.

1.3 Segmental phonology

- A. Each of the following rows contains a set of phonemes that constitute a natural class of phonological elements, for instance, consonants, except for one element. Eliminate this element in each row and say what kind of natural class we are dealing with.

- (1) α ε ο π
- (2) β τ λ π
- (3) α γ ε ρ ω
- (4) ζ δ γ χ

- B. The following list contains words whose spelling diverges in one or two respects from the standard spelling given in Coptic dictionaries. Fill in the standard spelling given in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*.

DIVERGENT SPELLING	GLOSS	STANDARD SPELLING
BNT (Test. Is. 235:1)	worm	
OYEN (Hil. 5:18)	(there) is	
HEI (praec. Pach. 123)	house	

1.4 Suprasegmental phonology

- A. Indicate the syllable structure of the following Coptic words through segmentation, e.g. ϣⲟⲙⲉ 'man' → ϣⲟ + ⲙⲉ:

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	SYLLABLE STRUCTURE
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ	to do	
ⲃⲣⲣⲉ	new	
ⲁⲛⲉⲃⲉ	school	
ⲁⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉ	to rule	
ⲉⲃⲏⲛ	miserable	

- B. The digraphs ⲟⲩ and ⲉⲓ may have a vocalic /i u/ or a consonantal /j w/ interpretation. Fill in the vocalic or consonantal form of the glide in the phonological transcription of the Coptic examples.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	TRANSCRIPTION
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ	god	/n__te/
ⲟⲩⲱⲙ	to eat	/__om/
ⲙⲟⲟⲩ	water	/mo__/
ⲉⲓⲱⲧ	father	/__ot/

- C. Underline the stressed (heavy) syllable in the following Coptic words

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ⲧⲁⲙⲟ	to inform	ϣⲟⲣϣⲣ	to destroy
ⲣⲱⲱⲛ	coat	ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ	to reproach

- D. Determine the correctly spelled Coptic item.

<input type="checkbox"/> ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲙⲡⲉ	<input type="checkbox"/> ⲃⲁⲗⲙⲡⲉ	goat
<input type="checkbox"/> ⲃⲏⲣⲣⲉ	<input type="checkbox"/> ⲃⲣⲣⲉ	young
<input type="checkbox"/> ⲙⲉⲛ̄	<input type="checkbox"/> ⲙⲛ̄	with

- E. Explain why the alternative spelling cannot be accurate!
- F. The following list of examples contains words that consist of two or more lexical and grammatical elements. Write down the assimilated form after the arrow.

N + ⲙⲁ	'the (plural) + place'	→	__ ⲙⲁ
N + ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ	'blessed'	→	__ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
2N + ⲡ + ⲙⲁ	in + the (sing. masc.) + place	→	2 __ ⲡ-ⲙⲁ
N + N + ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ	'of + the (plural) + Persians'	→	__ ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ

1.5 The Spelling of Greek loan words

- A. Identify the following Greek or Latin names in Coptic spelling.

ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲗⲥ	ⲧⲙⲟⲃⲉⲟⲥ	ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲛⲁ
ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ	ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ	ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ

- B. Look up the following Greek words in Coptic spelling in a Greek dictionary.

ⲥⲱⲙⲁ	(praec. Pach. 92)	ⲁⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲁ	(Test. Is. 237:8)
ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲛⲏ	(AP, Chaîne no. 210, 57:28)	ⲉⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲓⲉⲓ	(Onnophr. 221:3)
ⲉⲃⲉⲛⲟⲥ	(V. Pach. 43a:16)	ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲃⲟⲩⲗⲏ	(Onnophr. 217:17)
ⲉⲛⲓⲓⲙⲁ	(V. Pach. 148:26-27)	ⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ	(V. Pach. 162:14)

Unit 2

Nouns and pronouns

This and the following three units provide an overview of Coptic noun morphology and noun phrase syntax. The focus of this unit is on the main building blocks of the nominal system, which are common nouns and pronouns. Unit 3 is concerned with the internal structure of complex noun phrases and various types of adverbial modifiers. Unit 4 deals with nominal-functional categories, such as demonstrative pronouns and articles, question words, indefinite pronouns, and reflexives. Unit 5 reviews the most common nominal sentence patterns, in which a noun phrase functions as the main predicate of the clause.

The two types of nominal expressions under consideration here, nouns and pronouns, differ from each other with respect to grammatical behaviour and semantic content. Nouns belong to an open class of lexical items designating individuals, entities, objects and locations. Pronouns, on the other hand, belong to a closed class of elements that refer to participants or non-participants in a given speech situation and operates by way of a basic three-part division, where the speaker is referred to by a first person pronoun ("I"), the hearer by a second person singular pronoun ("you") and other participants referred to by third person singular and plural pronouns ("he, she, it, they"). Third person pronouns typically function as anaphora, i.e. elements that provide subsequent reference to discourse entities that have already been introduced. Section 2.1 of this Unit deals with the morphology of common nouns like *pōme* 'man' or *cōme* 'woman' and their grammatical exponents, number and gender. This leads to

section 2.2, in which the three-way contrast between a definite, an indefinite and a zero article (π - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the man', $\sigma\gamma$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'a man', $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'man') is discussed. Section 2.3 is concerned with Coptic numerals. Section 2.4 reviews the elaborate pronominal system in which each person, number and gender distinctions correlates with a distinct personal pronoun.

2.1 Noun morphology

Most Coptic nouns simply lack morphologically marked number and gender distinctions. Yet, it is generally possible to derive the number and gender specification of Coptic nouns from the pronominal article or a preceding or following pronoun. There are only a handful of nouns where grammatical number and gender is marked morphologically by alternations in the form of the nominal stem.

2.1.1 Gender

Coptic nouns are specified for either masculine or feminine gender; there is no separate category for neuter gender. In the vast majority of cases, masculine and feminine nouns are not distinguished on a morphological basis. It is, however, always possible to infer the gender specification of a given noun from the form of the prefixed definite article, which encodes gender and number distinctions. Thus, the definite article forms $\pi\epsilon$ - and π - are selected in the context of singular masculine nouns, e.g. π - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the (sing. masc.) man' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10), while the forms $\tau\epsilon$ - and τ - are found with feminine nouns, e.g. $\tau\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\eta\mu\epsilon$ 'the (sing. fem.) woman' (Mena, Mir. 27a:21). Grammatical gender can also be detected from a preceding or following pronoun. Take, for instance, an example like $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ϵ - γ - $\psi\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'a sick man (lit. a man ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) while (ϵ -) he ($-\gamma$ -) is sick ($\psi\omega\mu\epsilon$)' (praec. Pach. 93), where the masculine gender of the "bare" noun $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'man' is morphologically expressed on bound third person masculine singular pronoun $-\gamma$ - 'he'.

In a closed class of lexical items, feminine nouns are derived from their masculine counterparts through changes in the vowel pattern (so-called *Ablaut*, see section 1.2.2.3 of Unit 1), sometimes accompanied by a change in syllable structure: con 'brother' vs. $\text{c}\omega\text{ne}$ 'sister',

$\psi\eta\mu\epsilon$ 'son' vs. $\psi\epsilon\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ 'daughter', $\gamma\lambda\lambda\omega$ 'old man' vs. $\gamma\lambda\lambda\omega$ 'old woman', $\rho\rho\omega$ 'king' vs. $\rho\rho\omega$ 'queen'. Sometimes these nouns display a redundant marking of the gender specification, e.g. $\text{nemnt}\gamma$ $\psi\eta\mu\epsilon$ $\text{n}\gamma\omega\gamma\tau$ nca $\psi\epsilon\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ cente $\text{nc}\gamma\eta\mu\epsilon$ mmate 'he had no ($\text{ne-mnt-}\gamma$) male ($\text{n-}\gamma\omega\gamma\tau$) son ($\psi\eta\mu\epsilon$) except (nca) two ($\text{n-}\gamma\omega\gamma\tau$) female ($\text{n-c}\gamma\eta\mu\epsilon$) daughters ($\psi\epsilon\epsilon\mu\epsilon$) only (mmate)' (Hil. 2:5).

2.1.2 Number

Coptic has two categories for number, singular and plural. Plural nouns refer to countable entities, which are more than one in number. As with grammatical gender, the number specification of a given noun can be deduced from the form of the definite or indefinite article, as in π - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the (singular masculine) man' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10) vs. $\text{ne-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the (plural) people' (Mena, Mir. 5b:21), $\sigma\gamma$ - $\varsigma\eta\mu\epsilon$ 'a (indefinite singular) woman' (Mena, Mir. 22a:17-18) vs. $\gamma\epsilon\text{n-}\gamma\eta\mu\epsilon$ 'women (indefinite plural)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:3). The morphological distinction between singular and plural nouns is a remnant of Pre-Coptic plural marking and applies only to a limited number of nouns. The singular noun is, as a rule, morphologically unmarked, while the corresponding plural is formed by three different pluralization patterns:

- (i) Addition of the plural marker $-\sigma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ /-owe/ to the right of the nominal stem, e.g. $\text{c}\rho\omega$ (singular) 'teaching' vs. $\text{c}\rho\omega\sigma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ (plural) 'teachings', $\pi\epsilon$ (singular) 'heaven' vs. $\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ (plural) 'heaven'.
- (ii) Internal or "broken" plurals, where plurality is expressed by changes in the vowel pattern and syllable structure of the nominal stem, e.g. $\gamma\beta\omega\varsigma$ (singular) 'garment' vs. $\gamma\beta\omega\omega\varsigma$ (plural) 'garments'.
- (iii) Mixed plurals, which are derived by a combination of the plural marker $-\sigma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ and internal, i.e. "broken" pluralization, e.g. con (singular) 'brother, monk' vs. $\text{cn}\eta\gamma$ (plural) 'brothers', $\gamma\omega\epsilon$ (singular) 'thing' vs. $\gamma\epsilon\eta\gamma$ (plural) 'things', $\chi\omega\iota$ (singular) 'ship' vs. $\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma$ (plural) 'ships' (with loss of the word-final $-\epsilon$).

Some additional examples for each pluralization pattern are given in table 2.1:

PLURALIZATION PATTERN	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
PLURAL SUFFIX -ΟΥΕ	ΡΗΕΙΗ	ΡΗΙΟΥΕ	tear
	ΡΡΟ	ΡΡΩΟΥ	king
	ΤΕΝΗ	ΤΕΝΟΥΕ	cattle
	ΣΠΙΡ	ΣΠΙΡΟΥΕ	rip
BROKEN PLURALS	СΝΑ2	СΝΑΥ2	fetter
	ΕΙΩΤ	ΕΙΟΤΕ	father
	ΑΝΑΦ	ΑΝΑΥΦ	oath
	2ΤΟ	2ΤΩΡ	horse
	2ΑΛΗΤ	2ΑΛΑΤΕ	bird
	С2ΙΜΕ	2ΙΟΜΕ	woman
MIXED PLURALS	ΧΟΕΙC	ΧΙCΟΥΕ	lord
	ΧΛΧΕ	ΧΙΧΕΕΥ(Ε)	enemy
	ΑΜΡΕ	ΑΜΡΗΥ	baker

TABLE 2.1 Irregular plurals

Whenever such irregular plural nouns appear with a determiner, grammatical number is encoded twice: once on the definite or indefinite article and once on the nominal stem itself, e.g. Ν-ΕΧΗΥ 'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118), Ν-ΑΜΗΥ 'the shepherds' (praec. Pach. 108), ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC 'the kings (ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ) of the Persians (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCOC)' (Eud. 42:18).

It is possible for some frequently occurring Greek nouns like ΦΥΧΗ 'soul' and ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ 'letter' to combine with the remnant Egyptian plural suffix -ΟΥΕ, e.g. ΜΜΑ ΝΩΠΠΕ ΝΝΕΦΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'the dwelling (Ν-ΩΠΠΕ) places (Μ-ΜΑ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) souls (Ν-ΝΕ-ΦΥΧΟΟΥΕ)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), Ν-ΕΠ[ΙC]ΤΟΛΟΟΥΕ 'the letters' (Camb.7:10-11).

2.2 The determiner system

The Coptic determiner system makes a three-way distinction between a definite, an indefinite and a zero article. Each determiner says something about the informational status of the noun phrase it modifies: whether it refers to an already known or familiar discourse entity or rather someone or something mentioned for the first time.

Both the definite and the indefinite article are bound morphemes that form a prosodic unit with the following noun. For this reason, they are not susceptible to stress assignment. The complete paradigm of the Sahidic pronominal articles is shown in table 2.2.

	INDEFINITE ARTICLE	DEFINITE ARTICLE	"BARE" NOUNS
SINGULAR	ΟΥ- /w-/ , /u-/	ΠΕ- /pe-/	Ø
MASCULINE	Ε-Υ- /-u/	Π- /pə-/ , /p-/	
SINGULAR	ΟΥ- /w-/ , /u-/	ΤΕ- /te-/	Ø
FEMININE	-Υ- /-u/	Τ- /tə-/ , /t-/	
PLURAL	2ΕΝ- /hen-/	ΝΕ- /ne-/	Ø
	2Ν- /hən-/	Ν- /nə-/ , /ən-/ , /n-/	

TABLE 2.2 Pronominal articles

The definite article has three forms, encoding the features [gender] and [number]. The indefinite article, on the other hand, has only two forms, one for the singular and one for the plural. The singular form ΟΥ- is derived from the numeral 'one' ΟΥΑ (masc.), ΟΥΕΙ (fem.), while the corresponding plural 2ΕΝ- represents a phonologically reduced form of the quantifier 2ΟΙΝΕ 'some'. Next to the definite and indefinite article, there are so-called "bare" nouns that lack a determiner altogether. Yet, they receive a specific semantic interpretation. For this reason, one might think of "bare" nouns as being determined by a zero article (indicated as Ø), i.e. an article that has no phonological realization.

2.1.1 Allomorphic variation

As we can see from table 2.2 above, the definite and the indefinite article come in two varieties: full forms and phonologically reduced ones, where the characteristic vowel is reduced or entirely lost. These alternative forms of one and the same morpheme are called allomorphs. The factors underlying the selection of the various allomorphs of the definite and indefinite article will be presented in this section.

2.2.1.1 Full vs. reduced forms of the definite article

The definite articles $\pi\epsilon-$ ($p\epsilon-$), $\tau\epsilon-$ ($t\epsilon-$), $\nu\epsilon-$ ($n\epsilon-$), already weak and unstressed, can be further reduced to $\pi-$, $\tau-$, $\nu-$, where the latter forms represent different degrees of reduction, namely syllabic $p\epsilon-$, $t\epsilon-$, $n\epsilon-$ ($\epsilon n-$) or mono-consonantal $p-$, $t-$, $n-$. The selection of the appropriate allomorph depends on the word-initial segment of the determined noun:

- (i) The mono-consonantal allomorphs $\pi-$ ($p-$), $\tau-$ ($t-$), $\nu-$ ($n-$) appear, as a rule, pre-vocally: (sing. masc.) $\pi\text{-}\eta\iota$ 'the house' (praec. et inst. Pach. 33:30), $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\beta\omicron\tau$ $\lambda\alpha\theta\omega\rho$ 'the month (π-εβ\omicron\tau) Hathor' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:8-9), $\pi\text{-}\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'the angel' (Test. Is. 230:1), $\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ 'the division' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20); (sing. fem.) $\tau\text{-}\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ 'the church' (Hil. 2:22), $\tau\text{-}\rho\eta\eta\eta\iota$ $\mu\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 'the peace ($\tau\text{-}\rho\eta\eta\eta\iota$) of my Lord ($\mu\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$)' (Test. Is. 230:10), $\nu\text{-}\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (Test. Is. 233:18), (plural) $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\alpha\mu\rho\eta\gamma$ 'the bakers' (praec. Pach. 117), $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma$ 'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118).
- (ii) The syllabic forms $\bar{\pi}\text{-}/\pi\text{-}$ ($p\epsilon-$), $\bar{\tau}\text{-}/\tau\text{-}$ ($t\epsilon-$), $\bar{\nu}\text{-}/\nu\text{-}$ ($n\epsilon-$, $\epsilon n-$) (with a reduced vocalic nucleus /\epsilon/) generally appear pre-consonantly: (sing. masc.) $\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ 'god' (V. Pach. 2:2) (var. $\bar{\pi}\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ (Test. Is. 228:11), $\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 'the Lord' (V. Pach. 2:4), $\pi\text{-}\rho\eta$ 'the sun' (praec. Pach. 103), $\pi\text{-}\tau\eta\epsilon$ 'the village' (V. Pach. 1:24); (sing. fem.) $\tau\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron$ 'the kingdom' (Hil. 2:3), $\tau\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\mu\pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ 'the mother ($\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\gamma$) of the sailor ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$)' (Ac. A&P 194:4), $\bar{\tau}\pi\alpha\omega\epsilon$ $\nu\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$ 'half ($\bar{\tau}\text{-}\pi\alpha\omega\epsilon$) the night ($\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\omega\eta$)' (Test. Is. 231:30); (plural) $\bar{\nu}\omicron\iota\chi$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ 'the hands ($\bar{\nu}\text{-}\omicron\iota\chi$) of God ($\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$)' (Test. Is. 231:1), $\nu\text{-}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'the righteous ones' (Test. Is. 234:26), $\bar{\nu}\text{-}\rho\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\text{-}\epsilon\rho\text{-}\nu\omicron\beta\epsilon$ 'the sinners' (Test. Is. 234:27), (assimilated form $\mu\text{-}$) $\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ 'heaven' (Test. Is. 233:18).
- (iii) It should be kept in mind that the bi-phonemic graphemes ϕ and θ may represent a sequence of two consonants, comprising the reduced singular masculine and feminine forms $\pi-$ ($p\epsilon-$) and $\tau-$ ($t\epsilon-$) of the definite article and a following noun with a word-initial *hori* ς : (sing. masc.) $\phi\omega\varsigma$ 'the affair' ($\pi + \varsigma\omega\varsigma$ 'thing, matter') (V. Pach. 1:7) (var.

$\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omega\varsigma$ 'the affair' (Hil. 3:20)), but $\pi\text{-}\lambda\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'the holy'; (sing. fem.) $\theta\gamma\lambda\eta$ 'the fire wood' (< $\tau-$ + $\varsigma\gamma\lambda\eta$ 'firewood') (Test. Is. 232:27), $\nu\theta\epsilon$ 'in the manner' (< ν 'in' + $\tau-$ + $\varsigma\epsilon$ 'manner').

- (iv) The full forms of the definite article $\pi\epsilon-$ ($p\epsilon-$), $\tau\epsilon-$ ($t\epsilon-$), $\nu\epsilon-$ ($n\epsilon-$) must be selected in the context of complex onsets, when the determined noun begins with a cluster of two or more consonants: (sing. masc.) $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\rho\omicron$ 'the shore' (Ac. A&P 194:5), $\pi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$ $\nu\tau\eta\eta\tau\mu\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\rho\omicron\varsigma$ 'the crown ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$) of the martyrdom ($\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\rho\omicron\varsigma$)' (KHML II 30:22); (sing. fem.) $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omega$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'the teaching ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega$) of this imposter ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$)' (Ac. A&P 196:36); (plural) $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ 'the brothers (i.e. the monks)' (V. Pach. 95:18), $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\gamma\eta$ 'the tools' (V. Pach. 6:9).
- (v) The bi-phonemic letters ϕ , θ , χ and ψ count as consonant clusters of ($\pi + \varsigma$), ($\tau + \varsigma$), ($\kappa + \varsigma$) and ($\pi + \varsigma$), respectively, so that the full forms $\pi\epsilon\text{-}/\tau\epsilon\text{-}/\nu\epsilon\text{-}$ are selected: (sing. masc.) $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'the lamp' (Mena, Enc. 43a:24); (sing. fem.) $\tau\epsilon\chi[\omega\rho]\alpha$ $\nu\eta\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$ 'the land ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omega\rho\alpha$) of the Mariôtians ($\nu\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$)' (Mena, Mir. 2a:11-12); (plural) $\nu\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$ $\nu\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$ 'the gifts ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$) of healing ($\nu\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$)' (Mena, Euc. 36b:13-14), $\nu\epsilon\text{-}\phi\gamma\chi\eta$ 'the souls' (V. Pach. 1:9), similarly $\varsigma\rho-$ (for Greek ρ), e.g. $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'the riparius' (KHML II 29:17).

The main distributional patterns considered so far are summarized in table 2.3:

DETERMINED NOUN	ALLOMORPH	EXAMPLE
BEFORE VOWEL [_{noun} V]	$\pi\text{-}/p\text{-}/$, $\tau\text{-}/t\text{-}/$, $\nu\text{-}/n\text{-}/$	$\pi\text{-}\epsilon\beta\omicron\tau$ the month
BEFORE SINGLE CONSONANT [_{noun} C]	$\pi\text{-}/p\epsilon\text{-}/$, $\tau\text{-}/t\epsilon\text{-}/$, $\nu\text{-}/n\epsilon\text{-}/$	$\pi\text{-}\eta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ the sailor
BEFORE CONSONANT CLUSTER [_{noun} C ₁ C ₂]	$\pi\epsilon\text{-}$, $\tau\epsilon\text{-}$, $\nu\epsilon\text{-}$	$\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$ the crown

TABLE 2.3. The distribution of allomorphic forms the definite article

Finally, note that a word-initial glide *oy* exhibits a somewhat ambivalent behaviour with respect to article selection, depending on whether it surfaces as a vowel or a consonant. When followed by a consonant, a word-initial *oy* has a vocalic interpretation and forms a diphthong with the full form of the definite article: *πε + oy → πεy* /pey/, e.g. *τεyωη τηρς* 'the entire (τηρ-ς) night (τε-yωη < oyωη 'night')' (V. Pach. 2:26), *ντεyνωγ* 'now (lit. in (n-) the hour (τε-yνωγ < τε- + oyνωγ 'hour'))' (Mena, Mir. 24a:25). If, on the other hand, a word-initial *oy* surfaces as a consonant, namely when it is followed by a vowel, the phonologically reduced allomorphs *π-* (pə-), *τ-* (tə-), *ν-* (nə-) is chosen, e.g. *π-oyoein* 'the light' (Onnophr. 221:34), *πoyωω μπxoeic* 'the will (π-oyωω) of the Lord (μ-π-xoeic)' (V. Pach. 85a:20-21), *ν-oyeein* 'the peasants' (praec. Pach. 108).

2.2.1.2 "Strong" pronunciation of the definite article

In the material discussed so far, the allomorphy between the full and phonologically reduced forms of the definite article was conditioned entirely by phonological factors. Yet, the full forms *πε-*, *τε-*, and *νε-* are sometimes selected without the relevant triggering context. In such cases, the strongly pronounced full form of the definite article seems to place slightly more emphasis on the determined noun than the corresponding short form, e.g. *νε-μαριωτης* 'the Mariôteans' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:12), *νερωμε ντπολις ρακοτε* 'the people (νε-ρωμε) of the city (ν-τ-πολις) Alexandria (ρακοτε)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5b:21-22), *νεβαλ ντενφυχη μν πενσωμα* 'the eyes (νε-βαλ) of our soul (ν-τεν-φυχη) and (μν) our body (πεν-σωμα)' (Hil. 1:7). Time-indicating nouns generally appear with the full forms of the definite article, e.g. *ene πε20oy πε μπ2αγιος μαρκος* 'while (ε-) it (πε) was (νε) the day (πε-20oy) of the holy (μ-π-2αγιος) Marcus' (Hil. 3:32).

The strongly pronounced definite article is particularly common in those contexts where the determined noun is accompanied by a relative clause, which provides additional information about the referent of the antecedent noun phrase that it modifies, e.g. *νεαγγελος νταγ[ει] νμμαq* 'the angels (νε-αγγελος) who had come (ντ-α-γ-ει) with him (Apa Mena) (νμμα-q)' (Mena, Mir. 16b:26-27), *νεψαχε νεββιο νταqς2αicoy ετεπιστολη* 'the humble (ν-εββιο) words (νε-ψαχε

that he (Zeno) wrote (ντ-α-q-ς2αi-coy) in the letter (ε-τ-επιστολη)' (Hil. 7:20-21).

2.2.1.3 Full and reduced forms of the indefinite article

The allomorphic opposition between full and reduced forms also occurs with the singular and plural forms of the indefinite article:

- (i) The singular form *oy-* forms a diphthong with a preceding vowel: *ε, α + oy → ey, ay*, e.g. *ε-y-xoei* 'on (ε-) a ship ([o]y-xoi)' (praec. Pach. 118), *ε-y-πρεcβyτερος πε* 'while (ε-) he (πε) (was) a priest ([o]y-πρεcβyτερος)' (V. Pach. 138:14), (following the Perfect marker *α-*) *α-y-κογi νψαχε ωωπε oyτωoy μν νεyερηγ* 'a minor ([o]y-κογi) argument (ν-ψαχε) came up (α ... ωωπε) between them (oyτω-oy) with (μν) one another (νεy-ερηγ)' (V. Pach. 1:16-17).
- (ii) The full form *2en-* /hen-/ and its phonologically reduced allomorph *2n* /hən-/ seem to occur in free variation in literary Sahidic, e.g. *2n-πεq-ωτοpτp* 'excitable people' (Hil. 11:35), *2nκεμντcноoyc енромπε* (for *нромπε*) 'another twelve (2n-κε-μнтcноyс) years (ен-ромπε)' (Hil. 12:18), *2n-ноc нагапн* 'great (2en-ноc) charities (н-агапн)' (Mena, Enc. 42a:25), *2n-αωη наггелос* 'multitudes (2n-αωη) of angels (н-αггелос)' (V. Pach. 95:6-7).

2.2.2 Semantic aspects of definite and indefinite-marking

Nouns are linguistic expressions that denote persons, things or abstract concepts. The entity referred to by a given noun is called its 'referent'. The main semantic contribution of definite- and indefinite-marking is to indicate the familiarity or accessibility of that referent. For instance, when talking about *the new principal*, the speaker tacitly assumes that the addressee is familiar with the identity of this individual, which is not the case when talking about *a new principal*. Thus, the definite article *the* provides a clue for the ease with which the referent of the noun phrase in question can be identified or accessed. The following three subsections take a closer look at the meaning and function of definite- and indefinite-marking in Sahidic Coptic, with particular attention for the relation between the accessibility of the referent of a given noun phrase and the selected definite or indefinite article.

2.2.2.1 Definite noun phrases

In Coptic, as in many other languages, the definite article is used to express the idea that the referent of the determined noun phrase is known or familiar to the addressee and hence accessible for recall. The main functions and contextual uses of the definite article are the following:

a) Anaphoric use

The definite article is used when some item introduced earlier is referred to again. Consider the following discourse fragment: (once some people came into the region of Thebes to a (certain) *old monk* (ΟΥ-ΖΛΛΟ) with someone possessed by a demon in their company, so that he (the old monk) may heal him) ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΚΩΡΩ ΕΡΟQ ΜΜΑΤΕ (...) 'the old monk (Π-ΖΛΛΟ), when they beseeched (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΡΩ) him (ΕΡΟ-Q) very much (ΜΜΑΤΕ) (...) (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12). In this example, the definite noun phrase ΠΖΛΛΟ 'the old monk' refers to the main protagonist, who has been introduced for the first time in the opening sequence of the narrative. Roughly the same situation obtains in the next example, where the definite noun phrase ΠΡΡΟ 'the king' (i.e. the Byzantine emperor Zeno) refers to a discourse participant that was mentioned several times in the preceding paragraph: ΠΡΡΟ ΔΕ ΝΕΜΗΤQ ΨΗΡΕ ΝΖΟΥΤ 'the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) had no (ΝΕ-ΜΗ-Τ-Q) male (Ν-ΖΟΥΤ) child (ΨΗΡΕ)' (Hil.2:4-5). Not only individuals but also locations may be referred to anaphorically by means of the definite article. In this case, the definite noun phrase refers to the main location of the narrative plot, e.g. ΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC 'let's go (ΜΑΡΟ-Ν) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (Ac. A&P 196:29).

b) General knowledge

When the definite article is used anaphorically, the referent of the determined noun phrase can usually be found in the preceding discourse. The definite article may, however, also be used with reference to the extra-linguistic context. In the latter case, the determined noun is inherently unique denoting someone or something of which there is only one, for instance, Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ 'God' or Π-ΚΟCΜΟC 'the world'. The familiarity or accessibility of the referent of inherently

unique nouns stems from the general knowledge of the world and a shared cultural background. Particularly common are:

- Cosmological phenomena, e.g. Π-ΟΟΖ 'the moon' (Hil. 1:9), Π-ΡΗ 'the sun' (Hil. 1:8), 'heaven' (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ) (Abbatôn 231:32),
- Concepts that relate to the religious sphere, e.g. ΠΕ-ΧC 'Christ' (Eud. 42:17), Π-ΧΟΕΙC 'the Lord' (Hil. 2:19), ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ)' (Hil. 13:15), Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΥΛΟC 'the devil' (Onnophr. 207:14), Π-ΧΑΧΕ 'the enemy' (Onnophr. 207:24), Τ-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ 'the Church' (Hil. 1:22), Τ-ΠΑΛΑΙΑ 'the Old (Testament)' (Hil. 1:13),
- Toponyms, e.g. ΘΙΧΗΗ (< Τ-ΖΙΕΡΟCΑΛΗΗ) 'Jerusalem' (Eud. 58:18), Π-ΒΥCΑΝΤΙΟΝ 'Byzantium' (Hil. 4:28), Τ-ΠΑΕΙΑΤ 'Paeiat' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:14), Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC '(the) Paradise' (Abbatôn 237:13), Π-ΝΟΥΝ 'the Abyss' (Ac. A&P 198:73). There are some noteworthy exceptions which are left undetermined, e.g. ΚΗΜΕ 'Egypt' (Hil. 5:20), ΡΑΚΟΤΕ 'Alexandria' (Hil. 3:26), ΨΗΤ 'Sketis' (Hil. 7:8), ΑΗΝΤΕ 'Hell' (Ac. A&P 202:119).
- Time-indicating nouns, e.g. ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΕΥΩΗ 'day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) and (ΜΗ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ)' (Abbatôn 232:11).

c) Generic definites

The definite article may also determine generic noun phrases. Generic noun phrases are those which refer to an entire class of entities or objects, rather than a particular member thereof, e.g. ΑQΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΝΕΘΥΡΙΟΝ (for ΘΗΡΙΟΝ) ΜΗ ΝΧΑΤΒΕ ΜΗ ΝΤΕΝΟΟΥΕ ΜΗ ΝΖΑΛΑ[ΑΤΕ](...) 'he (God) created (Α-Q-ΤΑΜΙΟ) the beasts (ΝΕ-ΘΥΡΙΟΝ) and (ΜΗ) the reptiles (Ν-ΧΑΤΒΕ), the cattle (Ν-ΤΕΝΟΟΥΕ) and (ΜΗ) the birds (Ν-ΖΑΛΑΤΕ) (...) (Abbatôn 232:4-5), †ΝΑQΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΠΕΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡQ ΝΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC 'I will annihilate (†-ΝΑ-QΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Q) race (Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of the Christians (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (Eud. 36:6-7), CΑΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ 'remove yourself (CΑΖΩ-Κ) from (ΕΒΟΛ Ν-) the idols (Ν-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13).

Generic noun phrases are often used to express generalizations about a class as a whole, e.g. **ΕΠΙΗ ΖΗΡΕΦΩΤΟΡΤΡ** (for **ΖΕΝΡΕΦΩΤΟΡΤΡ**) **ΝΕ ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝ** (for **ΖΗ**) **ΤΕΥΦΥΣΙΣ** 'for (**ΕΠΙΗ**) *women* (**ΝΕ-ΖΙΟΜΕ**) (are) by (**ΖΕΝ**) their nature (**ΤΕΥ-ΦΥΣΙΣ**) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (**ΖΗ-ΡΕΦ-ΩΤΟΡΤΡ**))' (Hil.11:35-12:1), **ΝΗΟΥΤΕ ΝΗΖΕΘΝΟC ΖΗΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ** (for **ΖΕΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ**) **ΝΕ** 'the gods (**Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ**) of the pagans (**Ν-Ν-ΖΕΘΝΟC**) (are) demons (**ΖΗ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ**)' (KHML I 3:12-4:1). Definite singular noun phrases may receive a kind-referring interpretation, too, for instance in comparisons, e.g. **ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΠΕQΖΡΟΟΥ Ο ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΖΡΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΖΡΟΥΒΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΕ** 'and (**ΑΥΩ**) its (the river's) noise (**ΠΕQ-ΖΡΟΟΥ**) was (**ΕΡΕ ... Ο**) in the manner of (**ΝΘΕ** the noise (**Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΡΟΟΥ**) of a thunder-stroke (**Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΡΟΥΒΑΙ**) of (**ΝΤΕ**) heaven (**Τ-ΠΕ**)' (Test. Is. 234:23-24).

d) Non-specific definites

Definite noun phrases may have a non-specific interpretation, when the speaker has no particular individual in mind, but any arbitrary member of the class described by the noun phrase, e.g. **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕQΝΑΔΩΠΤ ΝCΑ ΠΕQΩΗΡΕ ΕQΒΗΚ ΝΕΜΤΩ ΝQΤΗΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟQ** 'who (**ΝΙΜ**) (is) *the man* (**Π-ΡΩΜΕ**) who will watch (**Ε-Q-ΝΑ-ΩΩΠΤ ΝCΑ**) his son (**ΠΕQ-ΩΗΡΕ**) going (**Ε-Q-ΒΗΚ**) to drown (**Ν-ΕΜΤΩ**) and would not help (**Ν-Q-ΤΗ-ΒΟΗΘΕΙ**) him (**ΕΡΟ-Q**)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), **ΕΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΕΤΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΨΤΕΚΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙC (...)** 'to release (**Ε-ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ**) *the holy ones* (**Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ**) who had been locked up (**ΕΤ-ΟΤΠ**) in (**ΕΖΟΥΝ**) *prisons* (**Ε-ΝΕ-ΨΤΕΚΟ**) in every place (**ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ**) and (**ΑΥΩ**) every city (**ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙC**)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:11-15), **ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΒΕ ΕΜΠΟΥΧΟΟΥQ ΨΑ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΟΥΕΕΗ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΑΜΗΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ** 'no one (**ΛΑΛΥ**) shall go (**ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ**) into (**ΕΖΟΥΝ**) an enclosure (for sheep) (**Ε-ΡΒΕ**) who has not been sent (**Ε-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΧΟΟΥ-Q**), including (**ΨΑ ΖΡΑΙ**) *the farmers* (**Ε-Ν-ΟΥΕΗΝ**), with the exception of (**ΕΙΜΗΤΙ**) *the shepherds* (**Ν-ΑΜΗΥ**) alone (**ΜΜΑΤΕ**)' (praec. Pach. 108), **ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΛ[Γ]ΟΝΙΖΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΕΚΕΟΥΙ** 'I (**ΑΝΟΚ**) myself (**ΖΩ**) will fight (**ΤΑ-ΛΟΝΙΖΕ**) a little longer (**Ν-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ**) with (**ΜΗ**) *the Jews* (**ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ**)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

e) Vocatives

Vocatives are noun phrases or pronouns used in direct address. In Coptic Egyptian, vocatives are always definite noun phrases, e.g. **ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΨΧΕ ΚΗCΟΥΤΗ ΤΑΖΗ (...)** 'Lord (**Π-ΧΟΕΙC**), God (**Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ**) Almighty (**Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ**), if (**ΕΨΧΕ**) you want to direct (**Κ-ΝΑ-CΟΥΤΗ**) my way (**ΤΑ-ΖΗ**) (...)' (Hil. 2:19-20). Sometimes the vocative particle (ⲱ) 'oh' accompanies the definite noun phrase, e.g. **ΚCΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΝΤΟΚ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'you are blessed (**Κ-CΜΑΜΑΑΤ**), you (**ΝΤΟΚ**), oh (**Ω**) *man* (**Π-ΡΩΜΕ**) of God (**Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ**)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), **ΝCΕCΩΤΗ ΝCΩ Ω ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΝCΑΒΗ** 'and they will listen (**Ν-CΕ-CΩΤΗ**) to you (**ΝCΩ**), oh (**Ω**) wise (**Ν-CΑΒΗ**) *virgin* (**Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC**)' (Eud. 54:15).

2.2.2.2 Indefinite noun phrases

Whereas in the case of definite noun phrases the speaker assumes that the addressee is familiar with what is being referred to, with indefinite noun phrases, no such familiarity on the part of addressee is presupposed. Rather, the speaker indicates that the referent of the noun phrase is not identifiable to the addressee.

a) Specific indefinites

Indefinite noun phrases fall into two classes, specific and non-specific indefinites. While specific indefinites refer to someone or something familiar to the speaker, non-specific indefinites refer to any arbitrary member of the kind, exemplar or species designated by the head noun. The specific use of indefinite noun phrases is particularly evident in existential-locative sentences, which introduce a new participant on stage and make him available for recall in the subsequent discourse, e.g. **ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ [ΕΠΕQΡΑΝ] ΠΕ ΕΥ[ΤΡΟΠΙΟC] ΕΥ[ΡΗΜΑΟ ΕΜΑΤ]Ε ΠΕ** '(there) was (**ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ**) furthermore (**ΟΝ**) a *man* (**ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ**) in (**ΖΗ**) the city (**Τ-ΠΟΛΙC**) (of) Alexandria (**ΡΑΚΟΤΕ**), whose name (**Ε-ΠΕQ-ΡΑΝ**) (was) Eutropius, who (was) a very (**ΕΜΑΤΕ**) rich man (**Ε-Υ-ΡΗΜΑΟ**)' (Mena, Mir., 17a:30-17b:4), **[ΝΕΥ]ΝΤΕ ΠΡΡΟ [ΚΩ]CΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΟΥCΩΝΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ ΕCΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤQ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙΝ ΠΕCΧΠΟ** 'King (**Π-ΠΡΟ**) Constantine had (**ΝΕ-ΥΝΤΕ**) a *virgin* (**Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC**) *sister* (**ΟΥ-CΩΝΕ**), whose name (**Ε-ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ**) (was)

Eudoxia, who had feared (Ε-С-Р ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤ-Ϛ) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) since (ΧΙΝ) her birth (ΠΕС-ΧΠΟ) (Eud. 50:3-5). In these examples, the indefinite subject is further specified by a relative clause, which provides some background information about the newly introduced participant, such as his or her name, social status or other characteristic properties.

Specific indefinites may, however, have vague reference, where the identity of the protagonist is left unspecified. In this case, the speaker has some particular entity in mind, although its exact identity is either not known to him or not considered to be important for the development of the narrative, e.g. Α ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΖΝ ΘΗΒΑΙC ΨΑ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ (...) 'once some people came into the region of Thebes to a (certain) old monk (ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΟ) (...) (AP Chaîne no.140, 31:10), Α ΟΥСОН ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ СΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'some brother (ΟΥ-СОН) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion (...) (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

b) Non-specific indefinites

When indefinite singular noun phrases receive a non-specific interpretation, they refer to any representative member of the class of entities or objects designated by the head noun, e.g. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΚΑΤΑ СΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΨΑΦΕΙ ΝΘΙ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ (...) 'since (ΕΠΕΙΔΗ) every Saturday (ΚΑΤΑ СΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ) an angel (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) comes (ΨΑ-Ϛ-ΕΙ) (...) (Onnophr. 221:12-13), ΕРΨΑΝ ΟΥСОН ΔΕ ΨΟΟΘΕϚ (...) 'if (ΕРΨΑΝ) a brother (ΟΥ-СОН) has wounded himself (ΨΟΟΘΕ-Ϛ) (...) (praec. Pach. 105), ΜΑΡΝΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥРΩМЕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΝΕΙΝC ΜΝ ΤΕΝΖΙΚΩΝ 'let us create (ΜΑР-Ν-ΤΑΜΙΟ) a man (Ν-ΟΥ-РΩМЕ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) our likeness (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΝC) and (ΜΝ) our image (ΤΕΝ-ΖΙΚΩΝ) (Abbatōn 232:9-10). In these examples, the non-specific indefinite is derived from a count noun, i.e. a noun that describes discrete and hence countable entities. The uniqueness of the referent of that noun phrase can be strengthened or focalized by adding to it the restrictive quantifier ΟΥΩΤ 'single, just one', e.g. ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ 'it (is) one son (ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ) only (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) who belongs (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι) (Ac. A&P 194:22), ΕΜΝ ΟΥΠΛΥΓΗ (for ΠΛΗΓΗ) ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΗ ΠΕϚCΩΜΑ 'while (there) was not (Ε-ΜΝ) a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) wound (ΟΥ-ΠΛΗΓΗ) on (ΖΗ) his body (ΠΕϚ-CΩΜΑ) (KHML 1 6:5).

Non-specific mass nouns differ in meaning from count nouns in that they indicate an unspecified quantity rather than an individual or object, e.g. ΝΗΤ ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΟΥ 'may you give (ΝΗ-Τ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) some water (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΟΟΥ) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ) (Eud. 46:13), ΜΑΡΕϚΤМЕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΚ 'let him nourish (ΜΑΡΕ-Ϛ-ΤМЕ) a poor (man) (ΟΥ-ΖΗΚΕ) with some bread (Ν-ΟΥ-ΘΕΙΚ) (Test. Is. 235:26).

Non-specific plural indefinites may have a partitive interpretation and refer to a subset of a concrete group of individuals, whose exact number is not further specified, e.g. ΜΗΝCΩC ΕΙC ΖΝΒΛΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΨΕΤ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'after that (ΜΗΝCΩ-С), look (ΕΙC), several blind (people) (ΖΝ-ΒΛΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking (Ε-Υ-ΨΕΤ) (for) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML 1 6:11), Ε[С2ΜΟΟC] ΔΕ [2Ρ]ΑΙ [2Ν ΟΥ2ΟΟΥ ΜΝ] ΖΕΝΖΙΟМЕ ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC (...) 'one day (2ΡΑΙ 2Ν ΟΥ-2ΟΟΥ) when she was sitting (Ε-С-2ΜΟΟC) with (ΜΝ) some Christian (Ν-ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC) women (ΖΕΝ-ΖΙΟМЕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 26b:1-4).

c) Generic indefinites

Indefinite plurals admit a generic reading, in which case they refer to a particular class or kind of entities and objects, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΑϚΚΟCΜΕΙ ΜΠΕCΤΕΡΕΥΜΑ (for CΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ) ΝΖΕNCIOY ΝΡΟΥ2Ε ΜΝ ΖΕNCIOY Ν2ΤΟΟΥC 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) he (God) adorned (Α-Ϛ-ΚΟCΜΕΙ) the firmament (Μ-ΠΕ-CΤΕΡΕΥΜΑ) with (Ν-) the evening (Ν-ΡΟΥ2Ε) stars (ΖΕΝ-СIOY) and (ΜΝ) the morning (Ν-2ΤΟΟΥC) stars (ΖΕΝ-СIOY) (Hil. 1:10-11), ΝΙМ ΝΤΟϚ ΠΕΤΝΑCΩР ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΜΟΥΙ ΑΧΝ ΨΟΧΝΕ 2Ι CΒΩ (...) 'finally (ΝΤΟϚ) who (ΝΙМ) is (it) that will set out (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-СΩР ΕΒΟΛ) to fight (Ε-ΜΙΨΕ) with (ΜΝ) lions (ΖΕΝ-ΜΟΥΙ) without (ΑΧΝ) plan (ΨΟΧΝΕ) and (2Ι) knowledge (CΒΩ) (...) (Camb. 8:16-18).

d) Indefinite noun phrases used as nominal predicates

In nominal sentences (i.e. sentences without a verb), singular and plural indefinites have no referent at all, but rather fulfill a predicative function. In this function, the indefinite noun phrase indicates a semantic relation of class inclusion, which asserts that the subject referent belongs to a particular group of people, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΨΩC 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a shepherd (ΟΥ-ΨΩC) (AP Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), ΑΝΓ ΟΥРМΗΚΗМЕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) an Egyptian (ΟΥ-РМН-ΚΗМЕ) (KHML 1 3:3).

2.2.2.3 "Bare" nouns

Unlike the definite and indefinite noun phrases considered so far, zero-determined "bare" nouns show a somewhat idiomatic use and appear only in sentence constructions.

a) Specific indefinites

Zero-determined "bare" nouns never admit a specific interpretation, where reference is made to a particular entity or object, the main exception being time-indicating nouns like *ḡtooye* 'dawn' or *royze* 'evening', e.g. *ntere ḡtooye de wope* (...) 'when (ntere) dawn (ḡtooye) had risen (wope) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-11), *xin royze wa ḡtooye* 'from (xin) sunset (royze) to (wa) dawn (ḡtooye)' (V. Pach. 2:3).

b) Non-specific indefinites

The non-specific interpretation of "bare" nouns is particularly evident in negative existential sentences, which express the idea that there is not a single instance or exemplar of particular kind, e.g. *mn con mpeima* '(there) is no (mn) brother (con) in (m-) this place (pei-ma)' (Onnophr. 205:19), *mn noyte nca ntok pappawn* '(there) is no (mn) god (noyte) except (nca) you (ntok) Apollōn (p-*apollawn*)' (KHML II 33:16-17).

Roughly the same negative meaning is conveyed by the prepositions *noyewn* and *axn* 'without' that likewise assert the absence of a particular item or state of affairs and are therefore combined with a "bare" noun, e.g. *noyewn paxtoy ḡi toloxwn* 'without (noyewn) pellis (paxtoy) and (ḡi) telamōn (toloxwn) (two monastic garments)' (praec. Pach. 91), *axn twy* 'without (axn) order (twy)' (praec. Pach. 127), *axn woxne ḡi cw* 'without (axn) plan (woxne) and (ḡi) knowledge (cw)' (Camb. 8:18).

In affirmative sentences, on the other hand, zero-determined mass nouns indicate an unspecified quantity, e.g. *axxi wakk ewol* (...) *etbe mooy* 'they cried out (a-y-xi wakk ewol) (...) for (etbe) water (mooy)' (Eud. 46:2-4), *nqtme oyzhke noek* (...) 'and he shall nourish (n-q-tme) a poor (man) (oy-zhke) with bread (n-*oek*) (...)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

c) Generic "bare" nouns

The kind-referring use of "bare" nouns can be observed in comparisons and enumerations, e.g. *axlypei men zwc rwmē n-biwtikos* 'he (Zeno) grieved (a-q-lypei) like (zwc) a man (rwmē) of this world (n-biwtikos)' (Hil. 13:5), *tenoy de tenczai noyon nim etwopi ḡn tenmntppo eite strathalthe eite kwmic eite arxwn e[ite] a[oyz]* (...) 'now (tenoy) we write (ten-czai) to everybody (n-oyon nim) who lives (et-wopi) in (ḡn) our kingdom (ten-mnt-ppo), whether (eite) commander (strathalthe) or (eite) *cōmes* (kwmic), whether (eite) ruler (arxwn) or (eite) *dūx* (aoyz) (...)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:28-2b:2).

d) "Bare" nouns used as nominal predicates

"Bare" nouns may assume a predicative function as the complements of the locative-identificational preposition *n-* 'as', e.g. *tnataaq nhtn nwhre ḡn tamntppo* 'I will place him (t-na-taa-q) for you (nh-tn) as a child (n-whre) in (ḡn) my kingdom (ta-mntppo)' (Test. Is. 236:1), *aqaan nxoeic exn bom nim* 'he (the Lord) made us (a-q-aan-n) masters (n-xoeic) over every (nim) power (e-bom)' (Ac. A&P 198:70), (this man that you see right now) *eqo nxxxe mn peitoywq* 'he was (e-q-o) an enemy (n-xxxe) with (mn) his neighbour (peitoywq)' (Test. Is. 234:13). The predicative function can also be observed in the context of light-verb constructions, so called because the verb has little or no semantic content, while its nominal complement constitutes the semantically meaningful predicate, e.g. *p zwb* 'to work (lit. to do (p) thing (zwb))', *t cbw* 'to teach (lit. to give (t) teaching (cbw))', *xi ewoy* 'to be praised (lit. to receive (xi) praise (ewoy))'. A more detailed discussion of this construction type will be offered in Unit 6.

2.3 The numeral system

2.3.1 Cardinal numbers

As we can see from table 2.4 below, Coptic numbers from 'one' to 'ten' have both a masculine and a feminine form, e.g. *cnay* (masc.) vs. *cnte* (fem.) 'two'. In addition, there is a special form for compound

of two numbers, e.g. ΜΗΤΕΝΟΟΥΣ 'twelve' (< ΜΗΤΕ 'ten' + ΕΝΑΥ 'two'). There is no word for 'zero'.

	MASCULINE FORM	FEMININE FORM	COMPOUND FORM
1	ΟΥΑ	ΟΥΕΙ	-ΟΥΕ(Ι)
2	ΕΝΑΥ	ΕΝΤΕ	-ΕΝΟΟΥΣ(Ε)
3	ΨΟΜΝΤ	ΨΟΜΤΕ	-ΨΟΜΤΕ, ΨΜΝΤ, ΨΜΤ
4	ΚΤΟΟΥ	ΚΤΟΕ	-ΑΚΤΕ
5	ΠΟΥ	ΠΕ	-ΤΗ
6	ΚΟΟΥ	ΚΟ(Ε)	-ΑΚΕ
7	ΣΑΨΚ	ΣΑΨΚΕ	-ΣΑΨΚ(Ε)
8	ΨΜΟΥΝ	ΨΜΟΥΝΕ	-ΨΜΗΝΕ
9	ΦΙΤ (ΦΙΣ)	ΦΙΤΕ	-ΦΙΣ, -ΦΙΤΕ
10	ΜΗΤ	ΜΗΤΕ	ΜΗΤ- (before 1-9)
20	ΧΟΥΩΤ	ΧΟΥΩΤΕ	ΧΟΥΤ- (before 1-9)

TABLE 2.4 Cardinal numbers 1-10

The cardinal numbers from 'thirty' to 'ten thousand' have invariant forms: (30) ΜΑΛΒ, (40) ΖΜΕ, (50) ΤΑΙΟΥ, (60) ΣΕ, (70) ΨΚΕ, (80) ΖΜΕΝΕ, (90) ΠΣΤΑΙΟΥ, (100) ΨΕ, (200) ΨΗΤ, (1000) ΨΟ, (10.000) ΤΒΑ.

2.3.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers by adding the prefix ΜΕΖ- in front of the cardinal number. Ordinal numbers are determined by the singular form of the definite article, e.g. ΤΜΕΖΕΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ 'the second (Τ-ΜΕΖ-ΕΝΤΕ) trumpet (Ν-ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ)' (Eud. 60:16-17), ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΡΟ 'the third (Π-ΜΕΖ-ΨΟΜΝΤ) gate (Ν-ΡΟ)' (Eud. 38:6), ΠΜΕΖΚΤΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ 'the fourth (Π-ΜΕΖ-ΚΤΟΟΥ) day (Ν-ΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 209:34), ΠΜΕΖΣΑΨΚ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 'the seventh (Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΑΨΚ) angel (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ)' (Abbatôn 233:9-10).

Special forms exist for the 'first' (sing. masc.) ΨΟΡΠ, (sing. fem.) ΨΟΡΠΕ and the 'last' (sing. masc.) ΖΑΕ, (sing. fem.) ΖΑΗ, (plural) ΖΑΕΕΥ. Thus, consider: ΠΨΟΡΠ ΜΗΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) first (Π-ΖΑΕ) mystery (Μ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ)' (Pist. Soph. 1:11), ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ 'the first (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) torture (Ν-ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ)' (Mena,

Enc. 52b:5-7), ΠΖΑΕ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the last (Π-ΖΑΕ) mystery (Μ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ)' (Pist. Soph. 1:12), ΘΑΗ ΝΤΕΚΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'the last (ΘΑΗ < Τ-ΖΑΗ) of his repentance (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ)' (Pist. Soph. 268:17), Ν-ΖΑΕΕΥ 'the last ones' (Pist. Soph. 199:13).

2.3.3 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions like ΠΟΥ ΝΟΕΚ 'five (loaves of) bread' (Onnophr. 218:20) are complex noun phrases consisting of two elements: the numeral ΠΟΥ 'five' and the enumerated item ΝΟΕΚ 'bread'. The syntactic relation between both elements is indicated by the linking element Ν-. See figure 2.1 for further illustration.

NUMERAL	ENUMERATED ITEM	
	LINKAGE MARKER	"BARE" NOUN
ΠΟΥ five	Ν-	ΝΟΕΚ bread

FIGURE 2.1 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions belong to the class of partitive constructions, describing the partition of a contextually or situationally given set of items. Both the numeral and the enumerated item are normally left undetermined, e.g. ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΨΟ ΝΕΡΤΟΒ ΝΚΟΥΟ (...) ΜΝ ΚΟΟΥ ΝΨΕ ΝΖΕΚΤΗΚ ΝΝΕΖ 'three (ΨΟΜΝΤ) thousand (Ν-ΨΟ) artabes (a grain measure) (Ν-ΕΡΤΟΒ) of wheat (Ν-ΚΟΥΟ) (...) and (ΜΝ) six (ΚΟΟΥ) hundred (Ν-ΨΕ) pints (Ν-ΖΕΚΤΗΚ) of oil (Ν-ΝΕΖ)' (Hil. 12:14-16), ΨΜΤΨΕΚΕΤΗ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'three hundred sixty five (ΨΜΤ-ΨΕ-ΚΕ-ΤΗ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Eud. 54:6). When the numeral is determined, the singular forms of the definite article must be chosen. This shows that cardinal numbers are grammatically singular nouns, e.g. ΑΝΤΨΟΥΝ ΜΠΚΤΟΥ 'the four of us stood up (lit. we stood up (Α-Ν-ΤΨΟΥΝ) as the four (Μ-Π-ΚΤΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 220:23), ΝΣΑ ΝΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΝΤΕ 'except (ΝΣΑ) the two of them (lit. they (ΝΤΟΥ) as the two (Ν-Τ-ΕΝΤΕ)' (Hil. 7:29), ΝΑΠΤΗΜΕ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the inhabitants of (ΝΑ-) those (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) two (ΕΝΑΥ) villages (Π-ΤΗΜΕ)' (KHML II 52:21-22).

The numeral 'two' (sing. masc) ΕΝΑΥ, (sing. fem.) ΕΝΤΕ is juxtaposed to the enumerated item, e.g. ΠΕΚΒΑΛ ΕΝΑΥ 'his two (ΕΝΑΥ) eyes (ΠΕΚ-ΒΑΛ)' (Eud. 36:23), ΨΕΕΡΕ ΕΝΤΕ ΝΚΖΗΜΕ 'two (ΕΝΤΕ)

daughters (ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 7:28), ⲕⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲗⲉ ⲓⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲓⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲉⲛⲗⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲗⲓⲟⲕⲁⲛⲗⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'it happened (ⲕ-ⲱⲱⲡⲉ) in (ⲓⲛ) the second year (ⲧ-ⲙⲉⲓ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲉ) of the government (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of Gaius Valentinianus (and) Diocletianus' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:13-19).

2.4 The pronominal system

Personal pronouns, as the name suggests, express person deixis and refer to various participants, present or absent, of the speech situation. Reference to grammatical person involves a threefold distinction between first person (reference to the speaker), second person (reference to the addressee) and third person (reference to a some person other than the speaker and the addressee). Grammatical person invariably combines with number. Thus, while first person plural denotes a plurality including the speaker and either the addressee or a third party, second person plural involves a plurality including the addressee and excluding the speaker.

2.4.1 Preliminary characterization

The pronominal system of Coptic Egyptian also encodes grammatical gender, though gender marking is restricted to second and third person singular pronouns. There is a general tendency in languages to employ phonologically or morphologically weak forms in the context of non-emphatic pronominal reference. In Sahidic Coptic, this weak-strong distinction is manifest in three series of pronominal elements, viz. (i) unstressed bound pronouns, which are incorporated into their host word (verbs, nouns, prepositions and certain types of functional elements) to form a single prosodic constituent, (ii) independent pronouns, which have word-like status, and (iii) pronominal clitics, which share certain properties with fully-fledged words, but lack the prosodic independence usually associated with words. In particular, pronominal clitics cannot stand alone, but have to be attached to a host word.

2.4.2 Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns come in two varieties, prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes precede and suffixes follow their prosodic host and never receive stress. The complete paradigm of bound pronouns is presented in table 2.5 (-Ø stands for a null morpheme, i.e. a morpheme that has no phonological content).

	PREFIX FORM	SUFFIX FORM
1 st sing.	ⲧ-, ⲧⲓ-	-ⲓ, -ⲧ, Ø
2 nd sing. masc.	ⲕ-	-ⲕ
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ-, ⲧⲉⲣ-	-ⲧⲉ, -ⲉ, -Ø
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲙ-	-ⲙ
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲉ-	-ⲉ
1 st pl.	ⲧⲉⲛ-, ⲧⲛ-	-ⲛ
2 nd pl.	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	-ⲧⲛ, -ⲧⲛⲧⲉⲛ
3 rd pl.	ⲉⲉ-	-ⲉⲉ, -ⲉⲟⲩ, -(ⲟ)ⲩ

TABLE 2.5 Bound pronouns

2.4.2.1 Allomorphy

One can distinguish two classes of pronominal allomorphs. On the one hand, there are positional allomorphs, where bound pronouns of one and the same person, number and gender distinction take different forms depending on their syntactic position, e.g. the first person plural prefix ⲧⲉⲛ- and suffix -ⲛ. On the other hand, there are phonologically conditioned allomorphs, cf. table 2.6 below.

1 st PERS. SING.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms τ - and τ -, e.g. τ -οὐδὲ 'I want' (Hil. 3:19), τ -ἐπιθυμῶ 'I desire' (Hil. 4:27), τ 2M ΠΙΜΑ ΑΝ 'I (am) (τ-) not (ΑΝ) in (2M) this place (ΠΙ-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 144:2)	<p>Suffix -ι</p> <p>after a single vowel (__ V-ι), e.g. τ2M ΑΝ 'to reach me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:26)</p> <p>Suffix -τ</p> <p>- after a consonant (__ C-τ), e.g. τ2M ΑΝ 'to deprive me' (Onnophr. 206:32)</p> <p>- after a geminated vowel (__ VV-τ), e.g. τ2M ΑΝ 'to leave me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:3)</p> <p>Null morpheme -Ø</p> <p>$\tau \rightarrow -\emptyset / _ \tau$, e.g. τ2M ΑΝ (< τ2M + -τ) 'to bring me' (Test. Is. 234:22)</p>
2 nd SING. FEM.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms τ - and τ -, e.g. τ -νύκτω 'you sleep' (Eud. 50:23), τ 2M ΑΝ 'you will obey' (Mena, Mir. 29b:26)	<p>Monosyllabic suffix -τε</p> <p>after a geminated vowel (__ VV-τε), e.g. τ2M ΑΝ 'you (ΝΤΟ) (woman) yourself (2M-τε)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:20-21)</p> <p>Vocalic suffix -ε</p> <p>after a consonant (__ C-ε), e.g. τ2M ΑΝ 'to save you (woman)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:17), τ2M ΑΝ 'to take you (woman)' (Eud. 66:8)</p> <p>Vowel elision: $\alpha, \eta \rightarrow -\emptyset / _ \epsilon$, e.g. τ2M ΑΝ (< τ2M ΑΝ + -ε) 'with you' (Mena, Mir. 29b:10), τ2M ΑΝ (< τ2M ΑΝ + -ε) 'for you' (Eud. 56:12)</p> <p>Vowel elision of the suffix -ε after \omicron or ω: $\epsilon \rightarrow -\emptyset / \omicron, \omega _$, e.g. τ2M ΑΝ (< τ2M ΑΝ + -ε) 'after you' (Eud. 54:15), τ2M ΑΝ (< τ2M ΑΝ + -ε) 'to you' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22).</p>

2 nd PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Bisyllabic prefix τ 2M- τ , e.g. τ 2M-ΠΙΜΕ 'you obey' (Ac. A&P 196:39)	<p>Monosyllabic suffix -τν</p> <p>- after a vowel (__ V-τν), e.g. τ2M-τν 'for you' (Ac. A&P 206:157), τ2M-τν-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΗΝ 'in order that you baptize us (τν-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ)' (Ac. A&P 212:236-237)</p> <p>- triggers the raising of the internal vowel of some prepositions: $\alpha / a / \rightarrow \eta / e /$, $\omicron / o / \rightarrow \omega / o /$, e.g. τ2M-τν 'for you', τ2M-τν 'to you'</p> <p>Bisyllabic suffix -τντν</p> <p>- after consonants (__ C-τντν) (no cluster reduction), e.g. τ2M-τντν 'in you' (Zen. 199:26)</p> <p>- after vowels (__ V-τντν), e.g. τ2M-τντν 'remove yourselves' (Eud. 46:23)</p>
3 rd PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Variable position pronoun τ 2M, which appears either a prefix, as in τ 2M- τ 'they speak' (Ac. A&P 208:190), τ 2M- τ 'they (are) with us' (Eud. 44:18) or as a suffix, e.g. τ 2M- τ 'to send them' (praec. Pach. 129)	<p>Suffix -ογ</p> <p>- surfaces as a vowel after consonant, e.g. τ2M-ογ /τ2M-u/ 'they all' (praec. Pach 103)</p> <p>- surfaces as a glide after the vowels $\omicron\gamma$, \omicron and ω, e.g. τ2M-ογ /τ2M-u/ 'they are good' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:31), e.g. τ2M-ογ /τ2M-u/ 'themselves' (Eud. 46:24), τ2M-ογ /τ2M-u/ 'to them' (Eud. 42:20)</p> <p>- diphthong formation after the vowels α, ϵ, η, e.g. τ2M-ογ (< τ2M ΑΝ + -ογ) 'to leave them' (Eud. 40:2), τ2M-ογ (< τ2M ΑΝ + -ογ) 'they marched' (Eud. 44:27)</p> <p>Suffix -κογ, e.g. τ2M-κογ 'make them!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34)</p>

TABLE 2.6 The distribution of pronominal allomorphs

2.4.2.2 Syntactic distribution

Bound pronouns are selected in the context of non-emphatic pronominal reference. They exhibit a broad syntactic distribution.

a) The complementary distribution between nouns and pronouns

Bound pronouns may appear in all nominal positions of verbal and adverbial clauses. Since nouns and pronouns occupy the same syntactic position, the selection of one automatically excludes the selection of the other: (pronominal subject) $\lambda\chi\chi\sigma\sigma\gamma$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\mu$ 'he (the abbot) sent (λ - χ - $\sigma\sigma\gamma$) (a message) to our father (μ - $\pi\epsilon\kappa$ - $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) Pachôm' (V. Pach.144:24), (pronominal direct object) ϵ - $\chi\sigma\kappa\mu\epsilon$ - χ 'to wash *him* (ϵ - $\chi\sigma\kappa\mu\epsilon$ - χ)' (praec. Pach. 93), (pronominal indirect object) $\lambda\chi\tau$ $\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\lambda$ $\mu\eta\tau\eta\chi$ 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (λ - χ - τ) *them* ($\mu\alpha$ - γ) a place (μ - $\omicron\gamma$ - $\mu\alpha$) to stay (ϵ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - γ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\lambda$)' (Hil. 5:30), (pronominal object of prepositions) $\mu\eta\tau\eta$ - $\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$ 'in you' (Zen. 199:26), (pronominal possessor) $\mu\eta\tau$ - κ 'your' name' (KHML II 31:15), $\mu\alpha\tau$ - χ 'his foot' (praec. Pach. 117), $\mu\omega$ - χ 'his mouth' (Eud. 38:27) (only in a handful of nouns expressing inalienable possession).

b) Reflexive use

A reflexive interpretation is obtained when the sentence subject and the pronominal object refer to the same individual, e.g. $\epsilon\pi\psi\alpha\lambda$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\psi\omicron\omicron\delta\epsilon\chi$ 'if ($\epsilon\pi\psi\alpha\lambda$) a brother ($\omicron\gamma$ - $\kappa\omicron\lambda$) has wounded *himself* ($\psi\omicron\omicron\delta\epsilon$ - χ) (...) (praec. Pach. 105), $\tau\alpha\omega\delta\tau$ $\mu\mu\omicron\iota$ 'and I strangle ($\tau\alpha$ - $\omega\delta\tau$) *myself* ($\mu\mu\omicron$ - ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:103).

c) Cross-reference

The universal (ALL) quantifier $\tau\eta\mu$ - 'every' and the focus marking emphatic reflexives $\lambda\omega$ - 'self' and $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\tau$ - 'alone' have an obligatory pronominal complement or co-pronoun, which agrees in person, number and gender with a preceding noun or pronoun, e.g. $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\lambda\iota\tau\eta$ $\kappa\eta\mu\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\mu$ 'throughout ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\lambda\iota\tau\eta$) *all* ($\tau\eta\mu$ - χ) Egypt ($\kappa\eta\mu\epsilon$)' (Camb. 9:18), $\mu\tau\omicron\kappa$ $\lambda\omega\kappa$ $\psi\omicron\kappa\eta\epsilon$ 'Consider ($\psi\omicron\kappa\eta\epsilon$) (for) you ($\mu\tau\omicron\kappa$) *yourself* ($\lambda\omega$ - κ)' (Camb. 9:11-12). We will return to quantificational expressions in Unit 4.

2.4.3 Independent pronouns

Bound and independent pronouns are used in different syntactic environments. A syntactic context that is compatible with one set of pronouns is generally incompatible with the other. Independent pronouns fall into two classes: freestanding pronouns with word-like status and prosodically dependent pronominal clitics. This subdivision gives rise to pairs like $\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa$ (independent pronoun) vs. $\lambda\mu\Gamma$ (clitic) 'I'.

2.4.3.1 The "mixed" paradigms of independent pronouns and clitics

Independent pronouns, such as $\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa$ 'I', are free morphemes, which are written as separate words. Since independent pronouns are prosodic and syntactic constituents in their own right, they are always stressed. This contrasts with the corresponding clitics, which are left unstressed and are phonologically dependent on some host word. As a result, the characteristic vowel \omicron / \omicron / (var. ω / ω /) of independent pronouns is either replaced by the default vowel ϵ / ϵ / in the corresponding clitic, as in $\mu\tau\epsilon$ / $\mu\tau\epsilon$ / (< $\mu\tau\omicron$ / $\mu\tau$ ' \omicron /) 'you (sing. fem.)', or reduced to schwa, as in $\mu\tau\kappa$ / $\mu\tau\kappa$ / (< $\mu\tau\omicron\kappa$ / $\mu\tau\kappa$ /) 'you (sing. masc.)', or disappears entirely from the phonological representation, as in $\lambda\mu\Gamma$ / $\lambda\mu$ / 'I' (< $\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa$ / $\lambda\mu$ ' $\omicron\kappa$ /). The morphological paradigms of independent pronouns and pronominal clitics are presented in table 2.7. (A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots).

	INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS	CLITICS
1 st sing.	$\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa$ / $\lambda\mu$ ' $\omicron\kappa$ /	$\lambda\mu\Gamma$ / $\lambda\mu$ /
2 nd sing. masc.	$\mu\tau\omicron\kappa$ / $\mu\tau$ ' $\omicron\kappa$ /	$\mu\tau\kappa$ / $\mu\tau\kappa$ /
2 nd sing. fem.	$\mu\tau\omicron$ / $\mu\tau$ ' \omicron /	$\mu\tau\epsilon$ / $\mu\tau\epsilon$ /
3 rd sing. masc.	$\mu\tau\omicron\chi$ / $\mu\tau$ ' $\omicron\chi$ /	$\mu\tau$ / μ /
3 rd sing. fem.	$\mu\tau\omicron\chi$ / $\mu\tau$ ' $\omicron\chi$ /	$\mu\tau$ / μ /
1 st pl.	$\lambda\mu\omicron\lambda$ / $\lambda\mu$ ' $\omicron\lambda$ /	$\lambda\mu\lambda$ / $\lambda\mu\lambda$ /, $\lambda\mu$ / $\lambda\mu$ /
2 nd pl.	$\mu\tau\omega\tau\eta$ / $\mu\tau$ ' ω ' $\tau\eta$ /	$\mu\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ / $\mu\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ /
3 rd pl.	$\mu\tau\omicron\omicron\chi$ / $\mu\tau$ ' $\omicron\omicron\chi$ /	$\mu\epsilon$ / $\mu\epsilon$ /

TABLE 2.7 The mixed paradigm of independent pronouns and clitics

The elitic paradigm has gaps in the third person singular and plural, where there are no clitics corresponding to independent pronouns proper. To fill this gap, resort is taken to demonstrative pronouns: *πε* /pe/ 'this one (sing. masc.)' for 'he', *τε* /te/ 'this one (sing. fem.)' for 'she' and *νε* /ne/ 'these ones (pl.)' for 'they'. Since there is absolutely no phonological connection between the derived form (the demonstrative pronoun) and the derivational base (the corresponding independent pronoun), such forms are called suppletive forms. The pronominal clitics of the first and second person singular and plural and the suppletive third person singular and plural pronouns appear on different sides of their phonological host. The former are proclitics that precede and the latter are enclitics that follow the sentence element they are attached to. Thus, compare *αντ ουρωμε ντερζε* 'I (αντ) (am) a man (ουρωμε) like you (lit. of your kind (ντερζε))' (V. Pach. 89:27) vs. *ταχα ουπνα πε* 'perhaps (ταχα) he (πε) (is) a ghost (ουπνα)' (AP Chaine no. 243, 75:7).

2.4.3.2 Syntactic distribution

Independent pronouns indicate emphatic pronominal reference, the main exception being nominal sentence patterns, where they may be used without contrastive purposes.

a) Appositions to bound pronouns

The emphatic use of independent pronouns is particularly clear when they appear as appositions to bound pronouns that cannot be contrastively stressed. Where contrastive emphasis on a bound pronoun is required, the corresponding independent pronoun is used to 'echo' that pronoun, e.g. *μη ειτανη ανок εζοуε παχοεις* 'am I (ανок) -then more (εζοуе) honoured (ε-ι-таνη) than my Lord (ε-πα-χοεις)' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), *κσмааат нтoк ω прωме нпнoуте* 'you are blessed (κ-смааат), you (нтoк), oh man (прωме) of God (н-п-ноуте)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), *терзoте нтo знтq нпнoуте* 'you (нтo) fear (те-р-зoте знт-q) God (н-п-ноуте)' (Eud. 64:23), *ειχεροκ нтoк ω пeтoуωт нaφyχoн* 'I speak to you (ε-ι-χερο-κ), you (нтoк), oh lifeless (н-αφyχoн) statue (πε-τοуωт)' (KHML I 1:13-14), (with unexpressed second person subject of an imperative clause) *зmoоc нтoк зн тeкpи* 'sit

(зmoоc), you (нтoк), in (зн) your cell (тек-ри)!' (AP Chaine no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

b) Right- and left-dislocated pronouns

Independent pronouns appear as left-dislocated topic constituents in the left periphery of the clause, where they precede the verb and its arguments. The grammatical function (subject, object) of the left-dislocated topic is indicated by a co-referential bound pronoun within the associated clause. Left-dislocated independent pronouns commonly refer to discourse participants that have been out of the focus of attention for a while and are brought back into the discourse situation. Such a shift from one discourse participant to another is signaled by the topic-indicating Greek particle *δε*, e.g. *нтoс δε λcонкc εзpαι пexac xe* '(as for) her (Eudoxia) (нтoс δε), she jumped up (lit. she leaped herself (λ-с-онк-с) up (εзpαι)) (and) said (пexa-с) that (xe) (...)' (Eud. 50:17), *нтoq де neγннy φapоq нoи зeнoуa oγa εвoλ зн нтme* '(as for) him (Pachōm) (нтoq де), (there) came (не-γ-ннy) to him (φapо-q) a few people (зeн-oγa oγa) from (εвoλ зн) the villages (н-тme)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

Right-dislocated free-standing pronouns, by contrast, are generally employed as a discourse-repair device in that they disambiguate the pronominal reference, e.g. *aymoγ зa пeиβε зн тeиpнmиa нтo[oy] мн neγppωoy мн neγтeнooуe* 'they were dying (α-γ-μογ) from (зa) thirst (п-ειβε) in (зн) this desert (тeи-epнmиa), they (the Persian troops) (нтooy) together with (мн) their kings (неγ-ppωoy) and (мн) their cattle (неγ-тнbooye)' (Eud. 46:25-26).

c) Nominal sentences

Independent pronouns and clitics appear as pronominal subjects in nominal sentences, i.e. sentences with a noun in predicative function. There are two main types of nominal sentence patterns, namely bipartite and tripartite ones. Bipartite nominal sentences consist only of a subject pronoun and a predicate nominal. In this context, the selection of a pronominal clitic represents the unmarked choice, e.g. *αντ ουпna* 'I (αντ) (am) a ghost (ουпna)' (Onnophr. 206:19), *нтe oγcзime* 'you (нтe) (are) a woman (oγ-сзime)' (Hil. 6:25), *нтeтн зeнaтшпe* 'you (нтeтн) (are) shameless (зeн-ат-шпe)' (Eud. 64:11).

In the context of emphatic pronominal reference, a left-dislocated independent pronoun may precede the bipartite nominal sentence, e.g. *ANOK ANF OYC2IME* '(as for) *me* (*ANOK*), *I* (*ANF*) (*am*) a woman (*OYC2IME*)' (Eud. 54:21-22), *ANON GAP AN ZENPOME NCAPZ* 'since (*GAP*) (as far as) *we* (*ANON*) (are concerned) *we* (*AN*) (are) people (*ZENPOME*) of flesh (*NCAPZ*)' (Eud. 70:12).

Next to bipartite, there are tripartite nominal sentences, which consist of a nominal or pronominal subject, a nominal predicate and an agreement clitic (*ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ*), which expresses the syntactic relation between the subject and the predicate. In tripartite nominal sentences, independent pronouns are, as a rule, used as pronominal subjects, e.g. *ANOK ΠΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΚΨΕΡΕ* '*I* (*ANOK*) (*am*) *Hillaria* (*ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ*) your daughter (*ΤΕΚΨΕΡΕ*)' (Hil. 11:28-29), *NTOK ΠΕ ΠΧΘΕΙC NTΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑ2* '*you* (*NTOK*) (are) the lord (*Π-ΧΘΕΙC*) of heaven (*Ν-Τ-ΠΕ*) and (*ΜΝ*) earth (*Π-ΚΑ2*)' (Eud. 46:12). A more detailed discussion of nominal sentences will be presented in Unit 5.

Key Terms:

Irregular plurals	express plurality by means of (i) §2.1.2 suffixation of the plural suffix <i>-OOYE</i> , (ii) a change in the vowel pattern and syllable structure of the singular noun ("broken" plurals), or (iii) a combination of both pluralization patterns (mixed plurals).
Determiners	are grammatical prefixes that indicate §2.2 the information status or identifiability of the referent of the determined noun. Coptic makes a three-way contrast between definite, indefinite and zero- determined noun phrases.
Allomorphs	two alternative realizations of one and §2.2.1 the same morpheme.

Generic interpretation	The referent of a generic noun phrase is §2.2.2.1 not a particular entity or object, but rather a class or type of entities and objects.
Specific and non-specific indefinites	Both specific and non-specific §2.2.2.2 indefinites involve reference to an individual or object, which is not identifiable to the addressee. When the indefinite noun phrase refers to a particular entity, it has a specific reading. If, on the other hand, an indefinite noun phrase refers to any arbitrary member of a particular class, it adopts a non-specific interpretation.
Pronouns	express person deixis, i.e. the reference §2.4 to participants, present or absent, of the speech situation. The pronominal system of Sahidic Coptic makes a basic distinction between independent pronouns, pronominal clitics and bound pronouns.
Prefixes vs. suffixes	are bound pronouns that are attached at §2.4.2 the right or left edge of the host word they modify. They have different forms or allomorphs depending on phonological shape of the host.
Left-dislocation	is a syntactic operation in the course of §2.4.3.2 which a nominal expression (noun or pronoun) is displaced into the left periphery of the clause. The grammatical role (subject, object) of the left- dislocated constituent is indicated by a resumptive pronoun in the associated clause.

Exercises

2.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
- Coptic makes a three-way distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter gender.
 - There are no "broken" plurals that end in a consonant.
 - Nouns that begin with a single vowel select the mono-consonantal allomorph π- (p-), τ- (t-), ν- (n-) of the definite article.
 - Bound pronouns and independent pronouns are in complementary distribution with one another.

2.2 Noun morphology

- A. Fill in the corresponding masculine or feminine noun in the following table.

MASCULINE NOUN	GLOSS	FEMININE NOUN	GLOSS
CON	brother		sister
		PPΩ	queen
	man	C2ME	woman
ωHP	son		daughter

- B. The following table contains singular nouns that have an irregular plural. Look up the plural form (second column) in the word list and indicate what pluralization pattern we are dealing with, e.g. sing. CNA2, pl. CNAγ2 'fetter' ("broken" plural).

SINGULAR FORM	PLURAL FORM	PLURALIZATION PATTERN	GLOSS
ANAQ			oath
CBΩ			teaching
XA XE			enemy
ΠE			sky
CON			brother

2.3 The determiner system

- A. Identify the definite and indefinite noun phrases in the following Coptic examples and determine their number and gender specification.
- HPEBOT TΩBE 2N OYEPHNNH NTE ΠNOYTE 'in (M-) the month Tobe in (2N) a piece of (NTE) God' (Hil. 1:4-5)
 - EQTΩN ΠEΠPOTOΠAACMA 2N N6IX HPNOYTE 'where (is) (E-Q-TΩN) the first creature (ΠPOTOΠAACMA) by (2N) the hands of (M-) God' (Test. Is. 230:32-231:1)
 - ΠE2PEΠAPIOC ΔE MN NEMATOI AYXI M-ΠMAKAPIOC APA ΠTEΛEMH EΠMA ETEPE Π2HΓEMΩN N2HTQ 'the riparius and (MN) the soldiers took (AYXI) the blessed Apa Ptolemaios to (E-) the place where (ETEPE (that) ... N2HT-Q (inside-it)) the governor (was)' (KHML II 31:6-8) (N.B. M- marks the direct object of the transitive verb XI 'to take')
 - AC2E EYXOI EQNAΩBHP EYΠOΛIC XE CAPAΛHA 'she (Hilaria) found (A-C-2E) a ship ready to sail (E-Q-NA-ΩBHP) to (E-) a city called (XE) Saralea (Caesarea?)' (Hil. 3:17-18) (N.B. the preposition E- 'to, at' marks the direct object of the perception verb 2E 'to find')
- B. Fill in the correct allomorph of the definite article (ΠE-, TE-, NE- vs. Π-, T-, N-) in the blanks. Particular attention should be paid to the gender and number specification of the determined noun.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
— C2IME	the woman	— ψΥΧΟΟΥΕ	the souls
— ΔΗΦΗ	the bakers	— ΝΕΕQ	the sailor
— CΩNE	the sister	— ΙΟΥΔΑΙ	the Jews
— ΝΟΥΤΕ	God	— ΕΙΩΤ	the father

C. Fill in the correct form of the noun phrase in the following Coptic sentences by choosing one of the two options given in brackets.

- ΝΕΥΕΝ (ΡΩΜΕ/ΟΥΡΩΜΕ) ΔΕ ΟΝ 2Ν (ΤΠΟΛΙC/ΠΟΛΙC) ΡΑΚΟΤΕ 'there was (NE-YEN) furthermore (ON) a man in (2N) the city (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30-17b:1)
- ΜΗ (ΜΟΡΤ/ΟΥΜΟΡΤ) ΗΜΟC 'there was no (MH) beard on her (ΗΜΟ-C)' (Hil. 6:28)
- ΚΗΗΥ Ε- (ΑΜΝΤΕ/ΤΑΜΝΤΕ) 'you are going (Ε-Κ-ΗΗΥ) to (Ε-) Hell' (Ac. A&P 202:119)

D. Determine the meaning or reference of the italicized noun phrases in the following Coptic examples by selecting one of the two options:

- ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥC2IME ΔΕ ΝCΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC 2Ν ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ (...) '(there) was (NE-YEN) a Samaritan (N-CΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC) woman (ΟΥ-C2IME) in (2N) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-13)
☐ newly introduced referent ☐ non-specific indefinite
- ΤΕC2IME ΔΕ ΑCΧΟ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΕCΑΕΙΝ 'the (Samaritan) woman (TE-C2IME) spent (Α-C-ΧΟ ΕΒΟΛ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of money (N-ΧΡΗΜΑ) on the doctors (Ε-ΝΕ-CΑΕΙΝ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:25-28)
☐ reintroduced referent ☐ generic definite

- CA2ΩK ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΓΙΔΩΛΟΝ 'withdraw yourself (CA2Ω-K) from (ΕΒΟΛ Ν) the idols (N-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13)
☐ non-specific definite ☐ specific definite

2.4 The numeral system

A. Fill in the missing ordinal or cardinal numbers in the English translation of the Coptic example:

- COY ΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ 'day (COY) ___ of (H-) the month (Π-ΕΒΟΤ) Tōbe' (Hil. 1:4)
- ΜΗΝΝCΑ CΑΨQ ΔΕ Ν2ΟΟΥ 'after (ΜΗΝΝCΑ) ___ days (N-2ΟΟΥ)' (Hil. 9:17-18)
- ΑΜΗΤΨΜΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'about (Α) ___ years (N-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (of age) (Hil. 3:25)
- ΤΨΟΡΠ ΝCΑΛΠΓΖ 'the ___ (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) trumpet (N-CΑΛΠΓΖ)' (Eud. 60:9)

2.5 The pronominal system

A. Bound pronouns have different forms or allomorphs. Fill in the correct form of the bound pronoun in the blanks, e.g. ΝΑ ___ 'to him' → ΝΑQ.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ΡΑΤ ___	my foot	ΡΑΤ ___	your (woman) foot
___ ΝΗΥ	they are coming	ΡΝΤ ___	your (man) name
ΑΑ ___	to make us	___ CΩΤΗ	we listen
ΕΡΟ ___	to me	Ν2ΗΤ ___	in it (masc.)
2ΡΑ ___	your (woman) face	ΕΡΟ ___	to them

B. Complete the English translation and identify the bound pronoun in the following examples, e.g. ΝΑ-Ν 'to ___' → to us (1st pl.).

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ⲉⲟⲩⲃ-ⲧ	to kill (ⲉⲟⲩⲃ) __	ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲱ	__ want (ⲟⲩⲱⲱ)
ⲉⲱ-ⲟⲩ	__ selves	ⲧⲉ-ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲩⲉ	__ are (ⲡ) afraid (-ⲉⲟⲩⲉ)
ⲁⲣⲓ-ⲙⲟⲩ	make (ⲁⲣⲓ) __!	ⲛⲙⲙⲉ	with __
ⲧⲁⲉⲱ-ⲧⲛ	to place (ⲧⲁⲉⲱ) __	ⲉⲣⲟ	to __

C. Which Coptic form corresponds to the one given in the English example? Notice that two options may be possible.

'to make me'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲁⲁⲓ
ⲁⲁ- 'to make'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲁⲁⲧ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲁⲁⲕ
'I want'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ 'to want'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ
'you (plural) all'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲙⲣⲧⲛ
ⲧⲙⲣ- 'all'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲙⲣⲛ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲙⲣⲧⲙⲣⲧⲛ
'they stay'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲙⲙⲙⲛ
ⲙⲙⲛ 'to stay'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲉⲙⲙⲙⲛ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲙⲟⲩⲙⲙⲛ
'your (fem.) head'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲭⲱⲉ
ⲭⲱ 'head'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲭⲉ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲭⲱ

D. Give an explanation why the alternative forms are not accurate.

F. Fill in the correct form of the pronoun in the sentences below.

(1) __ ⲙⲱⲧⲙ 'we listen (ⲙⲱⲧⲙ)' (Eud. 60:23)

- ☐ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
☐ ⲧⲛ

(2) __ ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'I believe (ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲩⲉ) (it), Lord (ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Eud. 52:3-4)

- ☐ ⲁⲛⲧ
☐ ⲧ

Unit 3

Phrase structure

This Unit describes the internal syntactic structure of the most common types of complex noun phrases, prepositional phrases and adverbial modifiers in Sahidic Coptic. Complex noun phrases, as the name suggests, consist of two or more nouns in series. Consider, for instance, an example like ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲉ 'the prudent virgin' (Eud. 54:15), where the definite noun phrase ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ 'the virgin' refers to a specific member of the class of young females, while the modifying nominal ⲥⲁⲛⲉ 'prudent' describes a characteristic property of that individual, namely her intelligence. The main function of the linkage marker ⲛ- is to connect both nominal expressions. Section 3.1 describes the internal syntactic structure of complex noun phrases, with particular attention for the morphological marking of structural relationships.

The syntax and semantics of prepositional phrases is dealt with in section 3.2. The central element of a prepositional phrase is a preposition, which is a function word that indicates a relation between two entities. The simple preposition ⲙ- 'in', for instance, is used to locate some entity at a particular place, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲗⲭⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ), Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲗⲭⲉ) (is) here (lit. in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ))' (AP Chafne no.146, 32:25). Prepositional phrases share important structural properties with noun phrases. Thus, compound prepositions have an essentially nominal syntax, implying that they are derived by the same phrase structure rules as

complex noun phrases. Finally, section 3.3 takes a closer look at adverbial adjuncts. Coptic adverbs comprise a heterogeneous class of items, ranging from simple deictic adverbials like $\pi\mu\alpha\gamma$ 'there' to internally complex adverbial phrases like $\gamma\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\phi\tau\epsilon\sigma\eta\omega\tau$ 'all of a sudden' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:17-18).

3.1 Complex noun phrases

This section presents a structural description of complex noun phrase patterns, in which two parameters of phrase structure play a crucial role. The first parameter is concerned with headedness and the second parameter with the morphological marking of syntactic dependencies. The headedness parameter basically says that every syntactic phrase has a single core element, or head, which determines its syntactic category (noun phrase, verb phrase, clause, and so on). The non-head or dependent constituent may be of a different syntactic category than the head and has a less central role. It can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire construction. The second parameter concerns the presence and location of morphological marking that signals a particular syntactic relation. Syntactic relations can be morphologically marked on either the head of a phrase or on the dependent.

3.1.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking in Coptic

In Coptic, complex noun phrase formation involves some head-marked and some dependent-marked patterns. In an example like $\pi\tau\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\beta\eta$ 'the prudent virgin' (Eud. 54:15), the definite noun phrase $\tau\text{-}\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ 'the virgin' constitutes the head, since it marks the entire phrase as nominal, while the dependent noun $\kappa\alpha\beta\eta$ 'prudent' supplies additional information about the referent of the head noun, and is syntactically optional. The dependent-marking character of complex noun phrase appears from the location of the linkage marker κ - on the modifying noun. An example of the head-marking pattern would be a compound noun like $\sigma\tau\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ 'fragrance' (Onnophr. 219:25), where the

head noun $\sigma\tau\iota$ 'scent' is phonologically reduced, while the dependent noun $\nu\omicron\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ 'sweet' is left intact, cf. figure 3.1.

	HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
HEAD-MARKED PATTERN	$\sigma\tau$ (< $\sigma\tau\iota$) scent	$\nu\omicron\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ sweet	
DEPENDENT-MARKED PATTERN		LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
	$\tau\text{-}\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ the virgin	κ -	$\kappa\alpha\beta\eta$ prudent

FIGURE 3.1 Head- and dependent marking in Coptic noun phrases

The head-marking pattern does not seem to be productive in the nominal domain, where it is by and large restricted to lexical compounding, i.e. the creation of new nominal expressions from existing words (section 3.1.2). The dependent-marking pattern, by contrast, is morphologically fully productive and underlies the formation of attributive noun phrases (section 3.1.3) and possessive ones (section 3.1.4). In noun coordination, the connective itself qualifies as the head of the entire construction (section 3.1.6). Since appositional noun phrases are extra-clausal constituents, they fall outside the dichotomy between head-marking and dependent-marking syntax (section 3.1.6).

3.1.2 Nominal compounds

Coptic has a rich system of nominal compounding, which derives new lexical items from the combination of two nouns or a noun and a verb. In having only a single stress, such compounds behave like single words. As a rule, word stress is placed on the second component, which has exactly the same shape as the corresponding independent word, while the first component is left unstressed and consequently phonologically reduced. The unstressed vowel of the head noun is either reduced to schwa /ə/, e.g. $\sigma\tau\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau$ /kʰəv.tʰɔjt/ 'olive leaf' (< $\sigma\tau\omega\chi\epsilon$ /kʰɔʔɔve/ 'leaf' + $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau$ /tʰɔjt/ 'olive'), or disappears entirely from the phonological representation, the

result being a monophthong (i.e. a single vowel), e.g. $\sigma\tau\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varphi\epsilon$ /sti.n'uife/ 'fragrance' (< $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$ /stoi/ + $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varphi\epsilon$ /n'uife/ 'sweet').

3.1.2.1 Analytic compounds

On semantic grounds, one can distinguish two types of nominal compounds, analytic and synthetic ones. Analytic compounds convey a relatively transparent meaning that can compositionally be derived from the meaning of each component, e.g. $\psi\text{-}\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau$ /šər.h'owt/ 'boy' (< $\psi\text{-}\text{h}\epsilon$ /šɛ:re/ 'child' + $\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau$ /howt/ 'male'), $\rho\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\mu\iota\epsilon$ /hu.m'i:se/ 'birthday' (< $\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ /how/ 'day' + $\mu\iota\epsilon$ /mise/ 'birth'), $\rho\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\beta\alpha\iota$ /hru.v'ai/ 'thunder' (< $\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ /hrow/ 'noise' + $\beta\alpha\iota$ /vaj/ 'sky'), $\psi\epsilon\text{-}\rho$ $\rho\omega\beta$ /švər.ər.h'ov/ 'co-worker' (< $\psi\epsilon\text{-}\rho$ /šver/ 'comrade' + ρ - $\rho\omega\beta$ /ər.hov/ 'to do (p-) work ($\rho\omega\beta$)').

3.1.2.2 Synthetic compounds

Synthetic compounds like $\mu\text{-}\text{nt-}\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omicron$ 'kingdom' (< $\rho\text{-}\rho\omicron$ 'king'), by contrast, have non-compositional and sometimes idiosyncratic meanings. In such compounds, the phonologically reduced head noun functions in much the same way as the lexical formatives *un-*, *-ful*, and *-ness* in English in compounds like *unlawfulness*. A list of the most common types of synthetic compounds is provided in table 3.1. Most Coptic grammars subsume these compounds under the label "nominal prefixes":

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
$\alpha\text{-}$	NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE	$\alpha\theta\text{-}\iota$ 'foolish' (< $\rho\text{-}\iota$ 'heart') (V. Pach. 141:2), $\alpha\text{-}\text{nk}\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'sleepless' (< $\text{nk}\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'to sleep') (Onnophr. 208:4)
$\mu\text{-}\text{nt-}$	ABSTRACT NOUNS	$\mu\text{-}\text{nt-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 'divinity' (< $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 'god') (V. Pach. 6:29), $\mu\text{-}\text{nt-}\mu\omicron\text{-}\alpha\chi\text{-}\iota$ 'monastic lifestyle' (< $\mu\omicron\text{-}\alpha\chi\omicron\text{-}\iota$ 'monk') (V. Pach. 141:14), $\mu\text{-}\text{nt-}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\text{nn}$ (< $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\text{nn}$ 'Greek') (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:25)

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
$\sigma\text{-}$	EVENT AND INSTANTIATION NOUNS	$\sigma\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\iota\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\iota\text{-}\alpha$ 'encounter' (< $\alpha\text{-}\iota\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\iota\text{-}\alpha$ 'to meet') (Test. Is. 230:4), $\sigma\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\text{-}\mu$ 'food' (< $\omicron\upsilon\omega\text{-}\mu$ 'to eat') (V. Pach. 5:2)
$\rho\epsilon\text{-}$	AGENTIVE NOUNS	$\rho\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ 'murderer' (< $\rho\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ 'to kill') (Abbatōn 232:30), $\rho\epsilon\text{-}\rho\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\iota\text{-}\epsilon$ 'craftsman' (< $\rho\text{-}$ 'to do' + $\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\iota\text{-}\epsilon$ 'craft, art') (praec. Pach. 111)
$\mu\text{-}\text{m(n)-}$	NOUNS OF PROFESSION/OCCUPATION	$\mu\text{-}\text{m-}\text{-}\text{h}$ 'superintendent' (< $\text{-}\text{h}$ 'house') (praec. Pach. 104), $\mu\text{-}\text{m-}\text{-}\text{p-}\text{-}\text{an}$ 'dignitary' (< $\text{p-}\text{-}\text{an}$ 'naine') (praec. Pach. 111)
$\mu\text{-}\text{an-}$	LOCATION NOUNS	$\mu\text{-}\text{an-}\psi\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ (< $\psi\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ 'to reside') 'dwelling place', (Ac. A&P 198:73), $\mu\text{-}\text{an-}\text{-}\text{nk}\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'couch' (< $\text{-}\text{nk}\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'to sleep') (Eud. 50:5)

TABLE 3.1 Synthetic compounds

Synthetic compounds that contain of two or more formatives in series are commonly attested, e.g. $\mu\text{-}\text{nt-}\alpha\text{-}\text{t-}\rho\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ (< $\rho\omega\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ 'fear') 'fearlessness' (V. Pach. 6:13), $\mu\text{-}\text{nt-}\mu\text{-}\text{p-}\text{-}\text{a}\psi$ (< $\text{p-}\text{-}\text{a}\psi$ 'gentle, mild') 'gentleness' (Eud. 54:27).

- The synthetic formatives $\mu\text{-}\text{m}$ and $\mu\text{-}\text{an}$ incorporate the linkage marker *n-* into their morphological structure and thus represent a blend between the head-marked and dependent-marked pattern (see above, figure 3.1).
- The formative $\rho\epsilon\text{-}$ may be construed with an entire verb phrase (i.e. the verb and its arguments and adjuncts), the result being a clause-like noun phrase, e.g. $\text{n-}\rho\epsilon\text{-}\text{nex-}\psi\text{-}\text{h}\epsilon\text{-}\text{ko}\text{-}\text{y}\text{-}\iota$ $\epsilon\text{-}\text{m}\text{-}\text{mo}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{y}$ 'the ones ($\text{n-}\rho\epsilon\text{-}$) who throw (nex) small children ($\psi\text{-}\text{h}\epsilon$ $\text{ko}\text{-}\text{y}\text{-}\iota$) into the water ($\epsilon\text{-}\text{m}\text{-}\text{mo}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{y}$) (lit. the-small-children-into-the-water-throwers)' (Ac. A&P 204:143).

3.1.3 Adjectival modification

The previous section has dealt with the head-marking syntax of nominal compounds. This and the following section discuss the dependent-marking pattern of adjectival modification and possessive noun phrases. In the adjectival construction, the modifying noun is connected to the head noun by means of the linkage marker *n-* (or its assimilated form *m-*). While the head noun is compatible with the entire range of Coptic determiners, the *n*-marked modifier must be left undetermined, as seen in: *COACA* (...) *NCΩMATIKON* 'physical (*n-cōmatikon*) comfort (*COACA*)' (Hil. 5:23), *OY-ROITE* *NΩNC* 'a linen (*n-ōnc*) garment (*oy-roite*)' (Eud. 50:11-12), *PEIZALO* *MAKARIOC* 'this blessed (*m-makarios*) old man (*pei-zalo*)' (Onnophr. 215:15-16). See figure 3.2 for the dependent-marking syntax of adjectival modification.

HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
	LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
<i>OY-KOYI</i> a small	<i>n-</i>	<i>COOY2C</i> convent
<i>T-PAPΘENOC</i> the virgin	<i>n-</i>	<i>CABH</i> prudent

FIGURE 3.2 Adjectival modification

The lemma *ων* 'small' is only used as a dependent noun and appears in postnominal position without the linking element *n-*, e.g. *π-ωνρε ων* 'the little (*ων*) child (*π-ωνρε*)' (Ac. A&P 196:48).

3.1.3.1 The nominal character of Coptic "adjectives"

Coptic has no separate word class of "adjectives" used to describe properties of individuals and objects. Thus, property-denoting expressions like *νοδ* 'big' or *καβε* 'intelligent' cannot be distinguished syntactically from referring expressions like *ρωμε* 'man', since both types of nominals can be used as the head or the modifier of an adjectival construction. Compare: *ρωμε καβε* 'the intelligent (*n-καβε*) people (*n-ρωμε*)'

(Ac. A&P 206:159-160), *ΖΕΝΩΛΑΞΕ ΝΒΡΡΕ* 'new (*n-βρρε*) words (*ΖΕΝ-ωλαξε*)' (Hil. 1:18-19) vs. *OY-KOYI NCOCY2C* 'a small (*oy-koyi*) convent (*n-cooy2c*)' (V. Pach. 1:13), *ΖΕΝΝΟδ ΝΩΗΝ* 'big (*ΖΕΝ-νοδ*) trees (*n-ωην*)' (Onnophr. 219:17).

Greek adjectives are usually borrowed in their masculine singular form, e.g. *OY-POHE NCOCOC* 'a wise (*n-cofoc*) man (*oy-pōhe*)' (Teach. Ant. 4), *ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΙCΤΟC ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΝΚΡΙΤΗC ΜΗΕ* 'oh Lord (*πχοεις*), faithful (*m-πιστοc*) righteous (*n-δικαιoc*) God (*πνουτε*), true (*m-με*) judge (*n-κριτηc*)' (V. Pach. 7:19-20), *ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ ΝΒΙΩΤΙΚΟC* 'like (*ζωc*) a man (*ρωμε*) of this world (*n-βιωτικoc*)' (Hil. 13:5).

3.1.3.2 Types of adjectival modification

The main semantic relationships expressed by the attributively used noun phrases are the following:

a) Property assignment

Coptic has a closed class of property-denoting expressions where grammatical gender is marked through different vocalic endings (sing. masc. *-e*, sing. fem. *-h*): *καμε* vs. *καμη* 'black', *καβε* vs. *καβη* 'intelligent', *ζαε* vs. *ζαη* 'final', e.g. *OYKΩ2T NCABE* 'an intelligent (*n-καβε*) fire (*oy-kō2t*)' (Test. Is. 234:26) vs. *ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC NCABH* 'the wise (*n-καβη*) virgin (*τ-παρθενοc*)' (Eud. 54:15).

b) Constituency

e.g. *ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ* 'the cloud (*τ-κλοολε*) of light (*n-ουθειν*)' (Eud. 42:26), *ΠΙΕΡΟ ΝΚΩ2Τ* 'the river (*π-ιερο*) of fire (*n-κω2τ*)' (Test. Is. 234:22), *OYNOδ ΜΠΗΓΗ Μ-ΜΟΟΥ* 'a big (*oy-noδ*) fountain (*m-πηγη*) of water (*m-μοου*)' (Eud. 46:18).

c) Class membership or ethnicity

e.g. *ΝΕ2ΙΟΜΕ ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC* 'the Christian (*n-χρηcτιανoc*) women (*νε-2ιομε*)' (Mena. Mir. 26b:19-20), *Π2ΛΛΟ ΝΑCΚΙΤΗC* 'the ascetic (*n-αcκιτηc*) old man (*π-2λλο*)' (V. Pach. 87:7), *OY2IME ΔΕ*

ΝΕΑΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ 'a Samaritan (Ν-ΣΑΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ) woman (ΟΥ-Σ2ΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-11).

3.1.4 Possessive noun phrases

In possessive noun phrases, the head noun always indicates the possessed item and the dependent noun the possessor. In Coptic, the syntactic dependency between the possessed and the possessor noun is indicated by two different linkage markers, namely **Ν-** (or its assimilated form **Μ-**) and **ΝΤΕ**. These linkage markers fulfill similar functions as the preposition *of* in English possessives, e.g. **ΠΡΩΜΕ Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'the man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), **ΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'a thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 60:24). See figure 3.3 for the dependent-marking syntax of possessive noun phrases.

POSSESSED NOUN (HEAD)	POSSESSOR NOUN (DEPENDENT)	
	LINKER	IN/DEFINITE NOUN PHRASE
Π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	Μ-	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ God
ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ a thing	ΝΤΕ	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ God

FIGURE 3.3 Nominal possession

3.1.4.1 The distribution of the linkage markers **Ν-** and **ΝΤΕ**

As we can see from table 3.2 below, the selection of the linkage markers **Ν-** and **ΝΤΕ** is largely dependent on the determination of the possessed and the possessor noun. This will be explained below. Abbreviations: NP 'noun phrase', DEM. DET. 'demonstratively determined' (e.g. **ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ** 'this man'), POSS. DET. 'possessively determined' (e.g. **ΤΑ-Σ2ΙΜΕ** 'my wife').

LINKAGE MARKER Ν-		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	"BARE" NOUN	ΜΜΑ ΝΡΜΗ 'as places (Μ-ΜΑ) of weeping (Ν-ΡΜΗ)' (Eud. 40:9)
DEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΡΟ 'the letter (Τ-ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ) of the king (Μ-Π-ΡΟ)' (Hil. 10:31)
DEM. DET. NP	DEM. DET. NP	ΝΕΨΙ ΝΤΕΙΔΟΤ 'these heights (ΝΕΙ-ΨΙ) of such sort (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΔΟΤ)' (Hil. 9:6)
DEFINITE NP	POSS. DET. NP	ΤΠΙΣΤΙC ΝΝΑCΙΟΤΕ 'the faith (Τ-ΠΙΣΤΙC) of my fathers (Ν-ΝΑ-CΙΟΤΕ)' (Hil. 11:12)
LINKAGE MARKER ΝΤΕ		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	DEFINITE NP	ΝΡΑΨΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΠΝᾶ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'with (the) joy (Ν-ΡΑΨΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Holy (ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝᾶ)' (KHML I 82:4-5)
INDEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ΖΑΖ ΝΡΕΜΑΟ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΟΛΙC 'many (ΖΑΖ) rich men (Ν-ΡΕΜΑΟ) of (ΝΤΕ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (KHML I 72:1)
INDEFINITE NP	DEM. DET. NP	ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ 'a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) servant (ΟΥ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) this little (ΨΗΜ) boy (ΠΕΙ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (KHML I 73:8-9)
POSS. DET. NP	DEFINITE NP	ΤΕΦΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'his stewardship (ΤΕΦ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Onnophr. 217:23)

TABLE 3.2 The semantic distribution of the markers **Ν-/Μ-** and **ΝΤΕ**

The linkage marker *н-* is selected, when the possessed noun and the possessor noun agree in in/definiteness and consequently display the same type of determiner (including the zero-article of "bare" nouns), e.g. *πηι μηιουτε* 'the house (*π-ηι*) of God (*μ-π-ι-ουτε*)' (Onnophr. 219:10). If there is a mismatch in definiteness, however, the competing marker *ντε* must be chosen instead. Thus, *ντε*-possessives typically combine an indefinite possessed noun with a definite possessor noun, e.g. *ουζωβ ντε πνουτε* 'a thing (*ου-ζωβ*) of (*ντε*) God (*π-νουτε*)' (Eud. 60:24). Both linking markers are found in possessive noun phrases where the possessed noun or the possessor noun are determined by the possessive article, e.g. *πραν μπαχοεις ις* 'the name (*π-ραν*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεις*) Jesus (*ις*)' (Eud. 46:16-17) vs. *τεφοικονομια ντε πνουτε* 'his stewardship (*τεφ-οικονομια*) of (*ντε*) God (*π-νουτε*)' (Onnophr. 217:23).

The linking marker *ντε* has the pronominal allomorph *ντα-*, which appears in a single context only, namely when an indefinite possessed noun is construed with a pronominal possessor, e.g. *κεσο μπαρεενος ντας* 'six (*σο*) virgins (*μ-παρεενος*) of hers (*ντα-ς*) as well (*κε-*)' (Eud. 56:6-7), *ουτε κελλαυ νειδος νταq* 'nor (*ουτε*) anything else (*κε-λλαυ*) of his (*ντα-q*) property (*ν-ειδος*)' (praec. Pach. 95).

3.1.4.2 Types of nominal possession

In Coptic, a variety of different semantic relations fall under the rubric of possession, ranging from ownership in the narrow sense to the expression of kinship. Very often, possessive noun phrases merely indicate some kind of connection or relation between two entities or objects.

a) Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession involves possessed items that are intrinsically related to the possessor, such as body parts, names or family relations, e.g. *πζο μπαγγελος* 'the face (*π-ζο*) of the angel (*μ-π-αγγελος*)' (Test. Is. 229:6), *πσωμα μπακαριος απα μηνα* 'the body (*π-σωμα*) of the blessed (*μ-π-μακαριος*) Apa Mena' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:16-18), *πραν μπαχοεις ις* 'the name (*π-ραν*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεις*) Jesus' (Eud. 46:16-17), *τμαυ δε μπνεεq* 'the mother (*τ-μαυ*) of the sailor

(*μ-π-νεεq*)' (Ac. A&P 194:4)), *τφεερε μημαιουτε νπρο ζηνων* 'the daughter (*τ-φεερε*) of the God-loving (*μ-π-μαιουτε*) king (*ν-προ*) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1-2).

b) Alienable possession

Alienable possessions express the notion of ownership proper, e.g. *πμανενκοτκ μπενειωτ ισαακ* 'the couch (*π-μαν-ενκοτκ*) of our father (*μ-πεν-ειωτ*) Isaac' (Test. Is. 236:24), *πεντυδης* (read *πεπενδυτης*) *μπαγλος* 'Paul's (*μ-παγλος*) robe (*π-εντυδης*)' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

c) Proximity, closeness or relatedness

e.g. *πνουτε ναπα μηνα* 'the God (*π-νουτε*) of Apa Mena (*ν-απα μηνα*)' (Mena, Mir. 21a:1-2), *πρωμε δε μπμανσοειλε* 'the landlord (*π-ρωμε*) of the inn (*μ-π-μαν-σοειλε*)' (Mena, Mir. 27a: 11-13), *τεχρια μπσωμα* 'the need (*τε-χρια*) of the body (*μ-π-σωμα*)' (V. Pach.4:5).

d) Place and time

The possessor noun may indicate location in place and time, e.g. *νερωμε ντπολις ρακοτε* 'the people (*νε-ρωμε*) of the city (*ν-τ-πολις*) Alexandria' (Mena, Martyrd. 5b:21-22), *τεκκλησια νψιητ* 'the church (*τ-εκκλησια*) of Shiêt (*ν-ψιητ*)' (Hil. 12:17), *ψα πεζοου μπζαπ* 'until (*ψα*) the day (*πε-ζοου*) of the judgement (*μ-π-ζαπ*)' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

e) Agent relation

When the possessed noun refers to some event or activity, the possessor may be interpreted as the instigator or agent of that event, e.g. *πραψε μπεπνη ετογλαβ* 'the joy (*π-ραψε*) of (caused by) the Holy (*ετογλαβ*) Spirit (*μ-π-πνευμα*)' (Eud. 68:12), *πχοζχ ννοβζε* 'the gnashing (*π-χοζχ*) of teeth (*ν-ν-οβζε*)' (Test. Is. 234:29).

f) Patient relation

The possessor noun may also refer to the undergoer or patient of the event or activity that is described by the possessed noun, e.g. ΠΤΑΛΔΟ ΝΤΨΕΡΕ ΠΠΡΟ 'the healing (Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ) of the king's (Π-Π-ΡΡΟ) daughter (Ν-Τ-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 8:19), ΠΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of his (Antonius') parents (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)' (V. Ant. 3:22).

3.1.5 Noun coordination

Noun coordination involves the concatenation of two or more nouns, which form a new syntactic unit. Coptic has a variety of connective devices to combine the individual members or conjuncts of coordinate noun phrases. Coordinate noun phrases consist minimally of three elements: On the one hand, there are at least two noun phrases that are combined with one another; on the other hand, there is a coordinating conjunction that indicates the link between the conjoined noun phrases. Syntactically speaking, the connective device is the head and the conjoined noun phrase the dependent constituent of the coordinate structure. The first conjunct, on the other hand, is adjoined to the left of the entire complex. The tripartite structure of a coordinated noun phrase like ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑ2 'heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΝ) earth (Π-ΚΑ2)' (Eud. 46:12) is schematically represented in figure 3.4.

FIRST CONJUNCT (ADJUNCT)	CONNECTIVE (HEAD)	SECOND CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT)
Τ-ΠΕ heaven	ΜΝ and (lit. 'with')	Π-ΚΑ2 earth

FIGURE 3.4 Noun coordination

The connective may be a preposition like like ΜΝ 'with' or a clausal conjunction like ΑΥΩ 'and'. Greek conjunctions are fully integrated into the Coptic system of nominal and clausal coordination. The distributional behaviour and basic meaning of the main Coptic and Greek-based connectors are the following:

1. ΜΝ

The conjunction ΜΝ is actually a comitative preposition, meaning something like '(together) with, in the company of'. It connects various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases, though not "bare" nouns, e.g. ΖΕΝΣΟΠΣ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΡΜΕΙΟΟΥΕ 'entreaties and (ΜΝ) tears' (Eud. 34:8), ΠΚΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΨΑΑΡ 'bone (Π-ΚΑΣ) and (ΜΝ) skin (Π-ΨΑΑΡ)' (Hil. 8:29), ΝΘΕ ΝΔΔΔ ΜΝ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ ΜΝ ΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ ΜΝ ΙΩΣΙΑΣ 'in the manner (ΝΘΕ) of David (Ν-ΔΔΔΔ) and (ΜΝ) Solomon and (ΜΝ) Ezekias and (ΜΝ) Jôsiâs' (Hil. 9:28-29), ΝΤΟΦ ΜΝ ΚΕΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΡΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'he (ΝΤΟΦ) and (ΜΝ) another philosopher (ΚΕ-ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ) called (ΧΕ) Apa Martêrion' (Hil. 6:17).

2. 21

"Bare" nouns are joined together by means of the locative preposition 21, originally meaning 'on', e.g. ΣΑΡΞ 21 ΣΝΟΦ 'flesh (ΣΑΡΞ) and (21) blood (ΣΝΟΦ)' (Onnophr.206:25), ΒΟΤΕ 21 ΑΝΟΜΙΑ 'abomination (ΒΟΤΕ) and (21) crime (ΑΝΟΜΙΑ)' (Eud. 40:15), ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΕ 21 ΡΕΦΠΕΖΤΣΝΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ 'a lot (ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ) of murderers (Ν-ΡΕΦΖΩΤΕ) and (21) blood-shedders (ΡΕΦ-ΠΕΖΤ-ΣΝΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ)' (Abbatôn 232:30-31).

3. Η

The notion of disjunction is expressed by the Greek conjunction Η 'or', which does not impose any selectional restrictions on the noun phrases it connects, e.g. ΜΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΩΤ ΜΜΑΥ Η ΜΑΑΥ 'I do not have (lit. '(there) is not (ΜΝ) with me (ΝΤΑ-Ι)') father (ΕΙΩΤ) or (Η) mother (ΜΑΑΥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22), ΕΠΣΩΟΥΖ Η ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΜ 'to (Ε-) the assembly (Π-ΣΩΟΥΖ) or (Η) to (Ε-) the eating Ν-ΟΥΩΜ) room (Π-ΜΑ)' (praec. Pach. 100).

4. ΑΥΩ

The connective ΑΥΩ 'and' is mainly used as a clausal conjunction, but may also connect two noun phrases, e.g. ΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΩΗΡΕ 'my brothers (ΝΑ-ΣΝΗΥ) and (also) (ΑΥΩ) my children (ΝΑ-ΩΗΡΕ)' (V. Pach. 88:23-24), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ 'Eternal God (Π-

νοῦτε) and (ἀγῶ) Father (π-εῖωτ) of my Lord (μ-πα-χούις) Jesus Christ (πε-χῶ) (Eud. 46:9).

5. οὐδέ

The Greek conjunction οὐδέ 'and not' expresses the notions of negation and coordination at the same time, e.g. *2ῃ παιδιῶν οὐδέ 2ῃ πέτῃ* '(not) in (2ῃ) this age (παι-διῶν) and not (οὐδέ) in (2ῃ) the one to come (π-ετ-τῃ)' (Eud. 38:22-23). The reduplicant οὐδέ ... οὐδέ 'neither ... nor' indicates the presence of two alternative invalid or impossible options, e.g. *οὐδέ 2βω οὐδέ τροφή* 'neither (οὐδέ) clothes (2βω) nor (οὐδέ) food (τροφή)' (Onnophr. 208:14-15), *ἢπε πῆμοναχος κα τοοτῇ εβωλ εφωλη οὐδέ περοοῦ οὐδέ τεγῶν* 'the monk (π-μοναχος) did not (ἢπε) desist (lit. to take (κα) away (εβωλ) his hand (τοοτ-τῇ)) from praying (ε-τ-φωλη) either (οὐδέ) day (πε-ροοῦ) or (οὐδέ) night (τε-γῶν)' (AP Chaîne no. 231, 68:20-21).

3.1.6 Appositions

Appositions are noun phrases that have no fixed position in the syntactic structure. They are simply juxtaposed to the head noun they modify. Prosodically weak function words like the Greek discourse particle *δε* are placed between the antecedent noun or pronoun and the following apposition, e.g. *Ἰσαακ δε πατριάρχης* 'Isaac, the Patriarch (π-πατριάρχης)' (Test. Is. 228:4). The main contextual uses of appositional phrases are the following:

a) Referent identification

Appositions are typically used to facilitate referent identification. In an example like *νεκιντῶρε οὐπολις ντε थेβαεις* 'Nekintôre (i.e. Dendera), a city (οὐ-πολις) of (ντε) the Thebais (θεβαεις)' (KHML II 31:24-25), the appositional noun phrase *οὐπολις ντε थेβαεις* 'a city of the Thebais' provides an additional clue to locate the place in question. In a similar vein, appositions can be used to disambiguate pronominal reference, e.g. *ντοῦ δε πενεῖωτ παζῶμο (...)* 'he (ντοῦ), our father (πε-ν-εῖωτ) Pachôm (...)' (V. Pach. 4:24).

b) Epithetic use

Apart from their referent backtracking function, appositions may have a somewhat more conventionalised use as epithets, e.g. *πῆγιος μαρκος πεγαγγελιστής* 'the holy (π-ῆγιος) Marcos, the Evangelist (π-εγαγγελιστής)' (Hil. 3:32-33), *ἀπα πᾶμβω πεπρεσβύτερος* 'Apa Pambô, the presbyter (πε-πρεσβύτερος)' (Hil. 5:13), *πῆνοῦτε πᾶντωκρατῶρ* 'God (π-νοῦτε). Almighty (π-πᾶντωκρατῶρ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

c) Naming

In the context of naming, the particle *χε* 'called' must be selected when the head noun is an indefinite expression, while the apposition itself is a proper name, e.g. *οὐα χε ἀπα παλῶς* 'one (οὐα) called (χε) Apa Paul' (AP Chaîne no. 230, 68:8), *εὐπολις χε σαράλη* 'to a city (ε-γ-πολις) called (χε) Saralêa (i.e. Caesarea)' (Hil. 3:18), *κεφιλοσοφος χε ἀπα μαρτηριον* 'another philosopher (κε-φιλοσοφος) called (χε) Apa Martêrion' (Hil. 6:17). An exceptional case is *ραν* 'name', which must always be definite, e.g. *πειραν χε ἰῶ* 'this name (χε) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:32).

3.2 Simple and complex prepositions

Prepositions are relational elements that locate an entity someplace or with respect to another entity. They never appear in isolation. To express a particular semantic relation, another constituent must accompany a given preposition: this dependent constituent is called the object or complement of that preposition. Coptic prepositions generally have two different context dependent allomorphs, one used with nominal objects, traditionally referred to as the nominal state (nom. st.) and another one used with pronominal objects, called the pronominal state (pron. st.), e.g. (nom. st.) *ἐκῆμε* 'to (ε-) Egypt (κῆμε)' (KHML I 14:1) vs. (pron. st.) *εροῦ* 'to (ερο=) him (-ῇ)' (KHML I 14:12). See figure 3.5 for further

illustration. (The diacritics '˘' and '˙' are conventionally used in Coptic dictionaries to indicate the nominal and pronominal state form of a given preposition).

	PREPOSITION	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
NOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	ε- to	κΗΜΕ Egypt
PRONOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	εΡΟ=˘ to	-ϥ him

FIGURE 3.5 The phrase structure of Coptic prepositional phrases

The nominal state form is generally much shorter than the corresponding pronominal state. This difference in prosodic weight is also manifested by different stress patterns. In the nominal state, stress shifts to the noun following the preposition: ε-κΗΜΕ /e.k'e:me/. By contrast, the corresponding pronominal state must be stressed, since the following suffix pronoun is not susceptible to stress assignment: εΡΟ=ϥ /e.r'of/.

3.2.1 Basic prepositions

Basic prepositions are single indivisible function words, which cover a broad range of meaning distinctions, cf. table 3.3 (empty cells indicate the absence of an allomorph).

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ε-	εΡΟ=	to, towards	ΗΝ-	ΗΜΜΑ=	with, and
Η-	ΝΑ=	for	Η-	ΗΜΟ=	in, from
ΖΗ-	ΝΖΗΤ=	in, at, on	ΨΑ-	ΨΑΡΟ=	to, towards
ΖΑ-	ΖΑΡΟ=	under, for	ΖΙ-	ΖΙΩΩ=	on
ΛΧΗ-	ΛΧΗΤ=	without	ΟΥΒΕ-	ΟΥΒΗ=	against
ΟΥΤΕ-	ΟΥΤΩ=	between		ΖΗΤ=	before
ΚΑΤΑ-	ΚΑΤΑΡΟ=	according to	ΠΑΡΑ-	ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=	more than

TABLE 3.3 The inventory of basic prepositions

N.B. In modern text editions, the nominal state forms of prepositions consisting of a single letter are written together with the following noun, e.g. επεκρο 'to the bank (ε-πε-κρο)' (Ac. A&P 194:3). This contrasts with prepositions that consist of two or more letters, which are written as separate words, e.g. ΗΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ 'with (ΗΝ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16). This orthographical convention is applied throughout this grammar.

3.2.1.1 Allomorphy

The allomorphic opposition between the nominal state and the pronominal state form of basic prepositions exhibits some degree of morpho-phonological irregularity:

- Labial assimilation: the nominal state form of Η- 'in', ΖΗ 'in, at' and ΛΧΗ- 'without' undergo labial assimilation before the voiceless bilabial stop π /p/ and the voiced labial nasal μ /m/ (see above, section 1.3.3.1 of Unit 1), e.g. ΗΜΜΑ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΡ 'in the place (Η-Π-ΜΑ) of the oven (Ν-ΤΕ-ΤΡΙΡ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ΖΗ ΜΑ ΝΗΜ 'in (ΖΗ) every (ΝΗΜ) place (ΜΑ)' (praec. Pach. 129), ΛΧΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΣΟΟΥΖΣ 'without (ΛΧΗ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of the congregation (Ν-Τ-ΣΟΟΥΖΣ)' (praec. Pach. 118). By contrast, the comitative preposition ΗΝ 'with' is never assimilated, e.g. ΜΑΛΕΛΕΛΑ ΗΝ ΙΑΡΕΘ ΗΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΩΧ 'Maleleél and (ΗΝ) Jareth and (ΗΝ) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Enôch' (Test. Is. 231:2-3).
- Defective prepositions: several basic prepositions lack either a nominal or pronominal state allomorph. The defective preposition ΖΗΤ= 'before', for example, occurs in the pronominal state only. The prepositions ΖΙ 'at' and ΖΗ 'in', on the other hand, have suppletive forms in the pronominal state, which actually are compound prepositions: ΖΙΩΩ= (< ΖΙ 'on' + ΩΩ= 'back' (lit. 'on the back of')) and ΝΖΗΤ= (< Ν 'in' + ΖΗΤ= 'belly', lit. 'in the belly of'), e.g. ΤΖΗ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΖΗΤ 'I (am) in (Τ-ΖΗ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) (is) in me (ΝΖΗΤ < Ν-ΖΗΤ-Τ)' (Abbatôn 231:27-28 [John 14:11]).

- The pronominal state forms **καταπο=** and **παραπο=** of the Greek prepositions **κατα-** 'according to' and **παρα-** 'more than' are analogical formations based on the model of simple prepositions, such as **ε-, επο=** 'to'.

The complete pronominal paradigm of the particularly common prepositions **επο=** 'to', **ημο=** 'in', **να=** 'to, for', **νμμα=** 'with' is presented in table 3.4. The pronominal state allomorph may undergo additional phonological changes, which are largely dependent on the consonantal or vocalic nature of the following pronoun.

	επο=	ημο=	να=	νμμα=
1 st sing.	επο=ι	ημο=ι	να=ι	νμμα=ι
2 nd sing. masc.	επο=κ	ημο=κ	να=κ	νμμα=κ
2 nd sing. fem.	επο	ημο	νε	νμμε
3 rd sing. masc.	επο=ς	ημο=ς	να=ς	νμμα=ς
3 rd sing. fem.	επο=ς	ημο=ς	να=ς	νμμα=ς
1 st pl.	επο=ν	ημο=ν	να=ν	νμμα=ν
2 nd pl.	ερω=τν	ημω=τν	νη=τν	νμημω=τν
3 rd pl.	επο=ογ	ημο=ογ	να=γ	νμμα=γ

TABLE 3.4 The pronominal paradigm of basic prepositions

3.2.1.2 Semantic Functions

Coptic basic prepositions are polysemous expressions, which may adopt more than one meaning and function. Moreover, there is a certain degree of functional overlap between two or more prepositions. The following survey describes the broad semantic spectrum of the most common basic prepositions.

- nom. st. **ε-**, pron. st. **επο=**

- has a directional meaning and marks the endpoint of a movement, e.g. **αχει ψαροϩ εταβενησε** 'he (Pachôm) went (**α-ϩ-ει**) to him (**ψαρο-ϩ**) (Apa Dionysos) to Tabenêse (**ε-ταβενησε**)' (V. Pach. 138:21), **αγαλε εγχοι** 'they went (**α-γ-αλε**) on the ship (**ε-πι-χοι**)' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

- conveys the opposite semantic value under a separative reading, in which case it indicates temporal or spatial distance from a certain condition or state, e.g. **†τογοϩ εψωνε** 'I am cured (**†-τογοϩ**) from sickness (**ε-ψωνε**)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).
- may have a restrictive meaning and express the idea that some condition or state holds only partially, e.g. **ειψωνε επαζηπαρ** 'I am sick (**ε-ι-ψωνε**) at my liver (**ε-πα-ζηπαρ**)' (Onnophr. 208:30), **ψαγρ βαλε επεγβαλ νογωτ** 'they became (**ψα-γ-ρ**) blind (**βαλε**) at one (**ν-ογωτ**) of their eyes (**ε-πεγ-βαλ**)' (KHML II 53:2-3).
- Coptic has no specialized morphological marker for the formal expression of a comparative relationship. Rather, the degree quantifier **ζογο** 'more' indicates the higher degree of the quality referred to by the verbal predicate, while the compared entity or object is syntactically encoded as a directional phrase with **ε-**, e.g. **μη ειταιηγ ανοκ εζογεπαχοεις** '(μη) am I (**ανοκ**) more (**ε-ζογ(ο)**) honoured (**ε-ι-ταιηγ**) than my Lord (**ε-πα-χοεις**)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7).
- is commonly used to mark the direct object of a perception verb, such as **ναγ** 'to see' and **ζε** 'to find', e.g. **αιναγ εημα νωπηε ννεψγχοογε τηροϩ** 'I saw (**α-ι-ναγ**) the dwelling (**ν-ωπηε**) places (**ε-η-μα**) of all (**τηρ-οϩ**) souls (**ν-νε-ψγχοογε**)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), **αιζε εροϩ εαφογω ερμου** 'I found (**α-ι-ζε**) him (**επο-ϩ**) already dead (lit. while he had already become (**ε-α-ϩ-ογω**) being dead (**ε-ϩ-μογ**))' (Onnophr. 205:23-24).
- Ethical datives are reflexively used prepositions, whose pronominal objects are co-referential with the clausal subject; they highlight the involvement of the subject referent in the situation talked about, e.g. **α ογα ννζαλο ναγ εροϩ ζν ογεκτασις (...)** 'one (**ογα**) of the old men (**ν-ν-ζαλο**) saw (**α ... ναγ**) for himself (**επο-ϩ**) in (**ζν**) a trance (**ογ-εκτασις**) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.180, 43:11).

- g) The nom. st. form *ε-* is grammaticalized as a prepositional complementizer that introduces non-finite infinitival clauses, e.g. *εΙΟΥΘΩ ΕΤΟΥΧΕ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ* 'I want (*ε-ΙΟΥΘΩ*) to cure (*ε-ΤΟΥΧΕ*) my soul (*ΠΑ-ΦΥΧΗ*)' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:1).
- h) Idiomatic uses: *εΡΟΥΖΕ* 'at night', e.g. *ΝΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΒΩΚ ΕΤΕΖC ΝΕCΟΙΧ* (read *ΝΕCΟΙΧ*) *εΡΟΥΖΕ* (...) 'no one (*ΡΩΜΕ*) shall go (*ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ*) to anoint (*ε-ΤΕΖC*) his hands (*ΝΕC-ΟΙΧ*) at night (*εΡΟΥΖΕ*)' (praec. Pach. 92), *ΕΠΖΑΕ* 'finally', e.g. *ΕΠΖΑΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΤ ΝΑC ΖΩΩC ΝΖΝΤΝΖ* (for *ΝΖΝΤΝΖ*) (...) 'finally (*ΕΠΖΑΕ*), they gave (*Α-Υ-Τ*) him (*ΝΑ-C*) wings (*Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΤΝΖ*), too (*ΖΩΩ-C*) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), *ΕΠΤΗΡC* 'at all', e.g. *ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΜΤΡΑΙCΘΑΝΕ ΕΠΤΗΡC* (...) 'so that (*ΖΩCΤΕ*) I did not notice (*ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΑ-ΙCΘΑΝΕ*) at all (*ε-Π-ΤΗΡ-C*) (...) ' (Onnophr. 209:26-27), *ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ* 'even more', e.g. *ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΝΟC ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ* 'they (*ΝΑΙ*) (the pagan emperors) revived it (the prosecution) (*Α-Υ-ΤΟΥΝΟC-C*) even more (*ε-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΟ*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:3-5).
2. nom. st. *Ν-* (assimilated form *Μ-*), pron. st. *ΝΑ=*
- a) designates the recipient or beneficiary, i.e. the person towards whom a particular action or activity is directed or some object is handed over, e.g. *ΨΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΟΥΖΜΟΤ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ* 'God (*Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ*) will give (*ΨΑΡΕ ... †*) grace (*ΟΥΖΜΟΤ*) to those who will believe (*Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ*)' (Test. Is. 228:11), or the person addressed in direct speech, e.g. *ΠΕΧΑC ΝΑC* (...) 'he (Apa Zênôn) said (*ΠΕΧΑ-C*) to him (*ΝΑ-C*) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 179, 43:4).
- b) Ethical datives assume the number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatives to emphasize to the intended addressee the necessity or urgency of the requested activity, e.g. *ΘΕΩΡΕΙ* (read *ΘΕΩΡΕΙ*) *ΝΑΚ* 'see (*ΘΕΩΡΕΙ*) for yourself (*ΝΑ-Κ*)!' (KHML II 21:26), *ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΒΙΤC* (for *CΙΤC*) *ΝΑΚ ΖΙΧΩ* 'now (*ΤΕΝΟΥ*) take it (the cloak) (away) from me (*ΖΙ-ΧΩ-Ι*)' (V. Pach. 92:15).

3. nom. st. *Ν-* (assimilated form *Μ-*), pron. st. *ΜΜΟ=*
- a) There is reason to assume that the polyfunctional preposition *Ν-*, *ΜΜΟ=* originally had a locative meaning, from which other semantic functions are derived, e.g. *ΝΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΠΕΙΜΑ* 'if the Lord (*Π-ΧΟΕΙC*) were (*ΝΕΡΕ*) in this place (*Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ*) (...) ' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), *ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ* (...) 'it happened (*Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ*) one day (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΟΥ*) (...) ' (V. Pach. 136:23).
- b) As an identificational preposition, the nom. st. form *Ν-* must be construed with a zero-determined "bare" noun, e.g. *ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΖΟ ΝΘΑΜΟΥΑ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΝΖΟ ΜΜΟΥΙ* 'some (monsters) (*ΖΟΙΝΕ*) (as) camel-faced (*Ν-ΖΟ Ν-ΘΑΜΟΥΑ*), others (*ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΟΥΕ*) lion-faced (*Ν-ΖΟ Μ-ΜΟΥΙ*)' (Test. Is. 234:2-3), *ΑCΑΑΥ ΝΕΚΚΑΗCΙΑ* 'he (Apa Shenoute) turned them (the pagan temples) (*Α-C-ΑΑ-Υ*) into churches (*Ν-ΕΚΚΑΗCΙΑ*)' (KHML II 50:27), *ΕΚΟ ΜΠΕΡΠΕΡΟC* 'you are (*ε-κ-ο*) vainglorious (*Μ-ΠΕΡΠΕΡΟC*)' (V. Pach. 1:18).
- c) marks the direct object of various kinds of transitive verbs, e.g. *ΕΥΚΩΤ ΜΠCΟΒΤ ΝΤCΟΥΖC* 'when they were building (*ε-Υ-ΚΩΤ*) the wall (*Μ-Π-CΟΒΤ*) of the congregation (*Ν-Τ-CΟΥΖC*)' (V. Pach. 1:16), *ΕΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩΝ* (...) 'where to (*ε-ΤΩΝ*) do you bring (*ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΙ*) this man (*Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ*)?' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-3).
- d) The pron. st. *ΜΜΟ=* may designate a contextually specified partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g. *ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΟ ΝΖΜΖΑΑ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΥ* 'in the manner (*Ν-ΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ*) that he (Pachôm) was (*ΕΤ-C-Ο*) a servant (*Ν-ΖΜΖΑΑ*) of every single one (*Μ-Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ*) of them (the brothers) (*ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ*)' (V. Pach. 90:19-20).
- e) Idiomatic uses: *ΝΩΟΡΠ* 'at first', e.g. *ΝΩΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΑCΤCΑΒΟΥ ΝCΖΑΙ* 'at first (*ΝΩΟΡΠ*) he (Zeno) taught them (his daughters) (*Α-C-ΤCΑΒΟ-ΟΥ*) to write (*Ν-CΖΑΙ*)' (Hil. 2:6-7), *ΝΧΙΟΥΕ* 'secretly', e.g. *ΜΗΠΟC ΝΤΕ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΒΙ* (for *CΙ*) *ΠΕCΩΜΑ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ* 'that not (*ΜΗΠΟC*) some (people) (*ΖΟΙΝΕ*) would carry away (*ΝΤΕ ... CΙ*) his (Pachôm's) body (*ΠΕC-ΩΜΑ*) secretly (*ΝΧΙΟΥΕ*)' (V. Pach. 94:7), *ΑCΨΩΠ[Ε] ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΥCΟΠ* (...) 'it also (*ΟΝ*) happened (*Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ*) once (*ΝΟΥCΟΠ*)' (KHML II 17:18).

4. nom. st. *2N-* (assimilated form *2M-*), pron. st. *2NHT=*
- displays some degree of overlap with *N-*, when used as a locative preposition, e.g. *AKP OY 2N NEITOW* 'what (OY) have you been doing (A-K-P) in (2N) these districts (NEI-TOW)?' (KHML II 31:26).
 - often has an instrumental interpretation and specifies the means through which a particular activity is carried out, e.g. *T[NAZOTB HMO] 2N TEICHQE (...)* 'I am going to kill (T-NA-ZOTB) you (HMO) with (2N) this sword (TEI-CHQE) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-6).
 - quite frequently indicates the source or point of origin of some state of affairs, e.g. *NTAP PMMAO N2HTOY* 'and become (NTA-EP) a rich man (PMMAO) from them (the coins) (N2HT-OY)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:21-22), *EBOL XE NTA PTTPC WOTPE 2M PWAXE NPWQ* 'because (EBOL XE) the universe (PTTP-C) has come into existence (NTA ... WOTPE) from (2M) the word (PT-PW-XE) of his (God's) mouth (N-PW-Q)' (V. Pach. 7:1-2).
 - The combination of *2N* and an indefinite noun-phrase yields a manner adverb, describing the way in which some action took place, e.g. *AQOWWB NAQ NOI PEQCON 2N OYOWNT* 'his brother (PEQ-CON) answered (A-Q-OYOWWB) him (Pachom) (NA-Q) in (2N) an angry manner (OY-OWNT)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18), *AQXI WKAK DE EBOL 2N OYNOO NCMH* 'he (Diocletian) cried (A-Q-XI WKAK) out (EBOL) in (2N) a loud (OY-NOO) voice (N-CMH)' (Eud. 36:25).
 - may refer to a partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g. *AYW NEP 2A2 (read NEPE 2A2) ON 2N NECNHY PEIME (for PIME)* 'and (AYW) many (2A2) of (2N) the brothers (NE-CNHY) wept (NEPE ... PIME), too (ON)' (V. Pach. 90:17), *A ZOINE N2HTOY AAE EPEIW 2N OYXHP* 'some (ZOINE) of them (the brothers) (N2HT-OY) mounted (A ... AAE) the donkey (E-PI-EIW) in a jolly mood (2N OY-XHP)' (V. Pach. 6:6-7).

5. nom. st. *2A-*, pron. st. *2APO=*
- The basic meaning of the locative preposition *2A* is 'under', e.g. *AYKAAV 2A NOYEPHTE HNAΠOCTOΛOC* 'they placed them (their property) (A-Y-KAA-V) under (2A) the feet (N-OYEPHTE) of the apostles (N-N-AΠOCTOΛOC)' (V. Ant. 4:3-4).
 - commonly expresses the reason or cause for the emergence of some state of affairs, e.g. *AYMOY 2A PEIBE 2N TEIEPHMA* 'they (the Persians) are on the verge of dying (A-Y-MOY) from (2A) thirst (PI-EIBE) in (2N) this desert (TEI-EPHMA)' (Eud. 46:25).
 - may designate the beneficiary, i.e. the person for whose sake some activity is carried out, e.g. *AQMOYN DE EBOL EQWHA 2APOC TAPEOYXAI* 'he (Ara Sarapiōn) remained (A-Q-MOYN) praying (E-Q-WHA) for her sake (2APO-C) that she might be saved (TAP-E-C-OYXAI)' (AP Chafine no. 240, 73:5), *NTOK ETNAF LOGOC HΠNOYTE 2A TAFYXHI* 'it (is) you (NTOK) who will be answerable (ET-NA-F LOGOC) to God (H-Π-NOYTE) for (2A) my soul (TA-FYXHI)' (Hil. 5:28).
6. nom. st. *WA-*, pron. st. *WAPO=*
- has a directional meaning and marks the destination or goal of some movement, e.g. *NEWAPPE PEIWT DE NOENEETE ETIMAY EI WA PENEIWT PAZW H 2A2 NCOIT* 'the father (PI-EIWT) of that (ETIMAY) monastery (N-ΘENEETE < N-T-ZENEETE) used to (NE-WAPPE) come (EI) to (WA) our father (PEN-EIWT) Pachom many (N-2A2) times (N-COIT)' (V. Pach. 139:25-26).
 - yields an adverb of temporal location in combination with time-indicating nouns and demarcates a point in time up to which some activity lasts, e.g. *ALLA MTPCTQ EBOL ETOMCQ WA PNAV MTOYOEIN NPACTE* 'but (ALLA) do not bring him (the dead boy) (MTP-CT-Q) out (EBOL) to bury him (E-TOMC-Q) until (WA) the hour (PI-NAV) of (day)light (H-Π-OYOEIN) tomorrow (N-PACTE)' (Ac. A&P 196:44-45).

7. nom. st. MN-, pron. st. NMMA=

- a) has a comitative interpretation and typically designates the entity with whom some activity is carried out, e.g. ΝΤΝΟΥΩΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ 'and we eat (Ν-ΤΝ-ΟΥΩΗ) *with* (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 215:29), ΑΥΦΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΥ 'he (Pachôm) spoke (Α-Υ-ΦΑΧΕ) *with* him (Theodor) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ)' (V. Pach. 93:27).
- b) A benefactive or adversative reading may be imposed contextually, e.g. Α ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΗ ΤΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΙΡΕ ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΝΟC ΜΗΝΤΗΑΙCΟΝ 'Our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachôm let (ΤΡΕ) the brother (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) make (ΕΙΡΕ) *for* him (ΝΗΜΑΥ) a great (Ν-ΟΥ-ΝΟC) brotherly love (Μ-ΗΝΤ-ΜΑΙ-CΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 136:26-27), ΜΗ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΟΛΥΜΕΙ ΝΗΜΑΚ 'do perhaps (ΜΗ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ) fight (ΠΟΛΥΜΕΙ) *with* you (ΝΗΜΑ-Κ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 44:16-17); similarly † ΜΝ 'to fight with', e.g. ΖΕΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΕΥ† ΝΗΜΑΝ 'demons (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ) who fight (Ε-Υ-†) *with* us (ΝΗΜΑ-Ν)' (KHML II 11:14-15).
- c) conjoins two definite or indefinite noun phrases, e.g. ΟΥΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΑΤ ΕΝΑΦΩΥ 'gold (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΒ) *and* (ΜΝ) silver (ΟΥ-ΖΑΤ) in great quantity (Ε-ΝΑΦΩ-Υ 'which was much')' (Eud. 64:2), ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ 'heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) *and* (ΜΝ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Eud. 46:12) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

8. nom. st. ΟΥΤΕ-, pron. st. ΟΥΤΩ=

indicates the relative location of two entities with respect to one another in combination with the comitative preposition MN- 'with', e.g. ΕΚΝΑΚΑ ΟΥΜΑΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΟΥΤΩΚ ΝΗΜΑΥ 'you should place (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ) an elbow (ΟΥ-ΜΑΖΕ) *between* you (ΟΥΤΩ-Κ) and him (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ)' (praec. Pach. 95), ΑΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΦΑΧΕ ΦΩΠΕ ΟΥΤΩΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ 'a minor argument ([Ο]Υ-ΦΑΧΕ) came up (Α ... ΦΩΠΕ) *between* them (ΟΥΤΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΜΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:16-17).

9. nom. st. ΖΙ-, pron. st. ΖΙΩ=

- a) When used as a locative preposition, ΖΙ-, ΖΙΩ= indicates the position of some individual or object, e.g. Α ΠΑΕΙΩΤ Ρ ΦΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΟΥΖ ΖΙ ΠΕCΛΟC 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) spent (Α ... Ρ) three (ΦΟΜΝΤ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥΖ) *in* (ΖΙ) bed (ΠΕ-CΛΟC)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 55:10-11), ΕΡΕ ΟΥCΤΧΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΖΙΩΥ 'while a tunic (ΟΥ-CΤΧΑΡΙΟΝ) was placed (ΕΡΕ ... ΤΟ) *upon* him (ΖΙΩ-Υ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).
- b) conjoins two zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. CΑΡΞ ΖΙ CΝΟΥ 'flesh (CΑΡΞ) *and* (ΖΙ) blood (CΝΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 206:25) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

10. nom. st. ΑΧΝ-, ΕΧΝ- (assimilated forms ΑΧΗ-, ΕΧΗ-),
pron. st. ΑΧΝΤ=, var. ΕΧΝΤ=

has an inherent negative meaning and asserts the absence of a particular individual or object, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΨΒ ΤΕΦΑΠΕ ΑΧΗ ΠΕΦΡΗΝΗ 'no one (ΡΩΜΕ) shall shave (ΝΝΕ ... ΨΒ) his head (ΤΕΦΑΠΕ) *without* (ΑΧΗ) his superintendent (ΠΕΦΡΗΝΗ)' (praec. Pach. 97), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΦΩΠΕ ΕΧΝΤΥ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), he (ΠΑΙ) *without* whom (ΕΧΝΤ-Υ) nothing (ΛΑΛΥ) happens (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΦΩΠΕ)' (Zen. 202:3).

11. nom. st. ΠΑΡΑ-, pron. st. ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=

is commonly used as a functional equivalent of the directional preposition Ε-, ΕΡΟ= in comparative constructions, e.g. ΥCΟΤΤΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΤΑΙ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of that (girl) (Ν-ΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ) is *better* (Υ-CΟΤΤΙ) *than* (ΠΑΡΑ) the life (Π-ΩΝΖ) of this one (Ν-ΤΑΙ)' (Hil. 8:7-8), ΑΙΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΑΡΑ (for ΠΑΡΑ) ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ 'I have committed (Α-Ι-ΕΡ) sins (ΝΟΒΕ) *more* than (ΜΠΑΡΑ) *any* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 19b:1-3) ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ '(is) he stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΡΕ) *than* us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)'? (Ac. A&P 202:110).

12. nom. st. *κατα*-, pron. st. *καταπο*-

- a) As a correlative preposition, *κατα* is widely used to express the idea of suitability or conformity, e.g. *ἵνα εἶρε κατα περψαχε* 'I will act (*ἱ-να-εἶρε*) according to (*κατα*) your word (*περ-ψαχε*)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), idiomatic *κατα θε* (< *τ-θε* 'the manner') 'in the vein of, like', e.g. *εὐαφθόντ κατα θε ἡγετοῦλαβ* 'then he became angry (*ε-φα-φ-θόντ*) like (*κατα θε*) the holy ones (*η-γετ-οῦλαβ*)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21).
- b) can also have a distributional interpretation, e.g. *ψαρε τειβννε ταγε μντcноογc нλoογ невнне κατα ромπε оγλoογ κατα εβοτ* 'this date palm-tree (*τει-βννε*) brings forth (*ψαρε ... ταγε*) twelve (*μντcноογc*) clusters (*η-λoογ*) of dates (*η-βнне*) per (*κατα*) year (*ρομπε*), one cluster (*ογ-λoογ*) per (*κατα*) month (*εβοτ*)' (Onnophr. 208:11-12).

3.2.2 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions consist of a basic preposition and another element specifying its basic spatial orientation. The second component of such compound prepositions is either a possessive noun phrase, e.g. *2η τμητε η-* 'in (2η) the midst (*τ-μητε*) of (*η-*)', or an incorporated "bare" noun, e.g. *ηca-* 'after' (< *η-* 'in' + *ca-* 'back', lit. 'in the back of').

3.2.2.1 Compound prepositions with possessive noun phrases

The object of compound prepositions like *2ηη μπνεεq* 'towards (*2η-* + *οη* < *τ* + *2η* 'the forepart') the sailor (*η-π-νεεq*)' (Ac. A&P 194:7) is a possessive phrase, cf. figure 3.6.

BASIC PREPOSITION	POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE		
	POSSESSED NOUN	LINKER	POSSESSOR NOUN
<i>2η</i> on	<i>οη</i> < <i>τ</i> + <i>2η</i> the forepart	<i>η-</i> of	<i>π-νεεq</i> the sailor

FIGURE 3.6 The internal structure of compound prepositions

The possessed noun that specifies the locative meaning of the basic preposition is typically a place-indicating noun like *μη(η)τε* 'midst', *ητο* 'presence' and *κωτε* 'surrounding', or a body-part expression like *2η* 'forepart', e.g. *ηπεντο εβολ ηη[ε]pp[ωογ]* 'in the presence (*η-πε-ητο* εβολ) of the kings (*η-νε-ppωογ*)' (Eud. 44:8), *ητμε ετμηκωτε ηπηα ετεqαηαχωρει η2ητq* 'the villages (*η-τμε*) that (*ετ-*) (were) in the neighbourhood (*η-π-κωτε*) of the place (*η-π-ηα*) in (*η2ητ-q*) which he (Pachōm) lived as a hermit (*ετε-q-αηαχωρει*)' (V. Pach. 103a:18-20).

To derive the pronominal state form of such compound prepositions, the possessed noun is determined by the possessive article *πεq-* (sing. masc.), *τεq-* (sing. fem.), *νεq-* (plural) 'his', which expresses both definiteness and pronominal possession (see below, section 4.1.2.1 of the next unit), e.g. *ηπεκητο εβολ* 'before you (lit. in your presence (*η-πεκ-ητο*))' (Camb. 8:20), *2ατα2η* 'before me (lit. under (*2α*) my forepart (*τα-2η*))' (Eud. 34:26), *2η τεγμηητε* 'in (*2η*) their midst (*τεγ-μηητε*)' (Onnophr. 206:15), *ητμε ετμηπεκωτε* 'the villages (*η-τμε*) which (were) (*ετ-*) in his neighbourhood (*η-πεq-κωτε*)' (V. Pach. 3:26).

3.2.2.2 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

The by far most common compound prepositions involve the incorporation of a "bare" noun into a basic preposition, e.g. *ηca 2ενψαχε ηβppe* 'after (< *η-* 'in' + *ca-* 'back') new (*η-βppe*) words' (*2εν-ψαχε*)' (Hil. 1:18-19). The incorporated noun enters into two structural relations: it functions as the complement of the basic preposition, but at the same time serves as the head noun for the following prepositional object.

COMPOUND PREPOSITION		PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
BASIC PREPOSITION	INCORPORATED NOUN	
<i>η-</i> in	<i>ca-</i> back	<i>2ενψαχε ηβppe</i> new words

FIGURE 3.7 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

Table 3.6 lists the nominal and pronominal state allomorphs of the most common compound prepositions.

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ΕΤΝ-	ΕΤΟΟΤ=	to	ΝΤΝ-	ΝΤΟΟΤ=	from
ΖΙΤΝ-	ΖΙΤΟΟΤ=	by	ΖΑΖΤΝ-	ΖΑ(Ζ)ΤΗ=	besides, near
ΕΧΝ-	ΕΧΩ=	upon	ΖΙΧΝ-	ΖΙΧΩ=	upon, on
ΝCΑ-	ΝCΩ=	after	ΗΝΝCΑ-	ΗΝΝCΩ=	after
ΝΑΖΡΝ-	ΝΑΖΡΑ=	before	ΕΖΡΝ-	ΕΖΡΑ=	towards
ΖΑΡΝ-	ΖΑΡΩ=	before	ΖΙΡΝ-	ΖΙΡΩ=	at, upon
ΕΤΟΥΝ-	ΕΤΟΥΩ=	besides	ΕΠΑΖΟΥ-	ΕΠΑΖΟΥ	backwards
			ΗΜΟ=		of
ΕΡΑΤ= Ν-	ΕΡΑΤ=	to	ΖΑΡΑΤ= Ν-	ΖΑΡΑΤ=	beneath
ΖΗΤ= Ν-	ΖΗΤ=	before	ΕΤΒΕ-	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ=	because of
ΝΒΑ-	ΝΒΑΛΛΑ=	except	ΝΟΥΕΩΝ-		without

TABLE 3.5 The inventory of compound prepositions

The pronominal paradigm of the compound prepositions ΕΤΟΟΤ= 'to', ΝCΩ= 'after', and ΖΑΡΑΤ= 'beneath' is presented in table 3.6.

	ΕΤΟΟΤ=	ΝCΩ=	ΖΑΡΑΤ=
1 st sing.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Τ	ΝCΩ=Ι	ΖΑΡΑΤ
2 nd sing. masc.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Κ	ΝCΩ=Κ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Κ
2 nd sing. fem.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Ε	ΝCΩ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Ε
3 rd sing. masc.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Q	ΝCΩ=Q	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Q
3 rd sing. fem.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=C	ΝCΩ=C	ΖΑΡΑΤ=C
1 st pl.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Ν	ΝCΩ=Ν	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Ν
2 nd pl.	ΕΤΝ=ΤΗΥΤΝ	ΝCΩ=ΤΝ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=ΤΗΥΤΝ
3 rd pl.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=ΟΥ	ΝCΩ=ΟΥ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=ΟΥ

TABLE 3.6 The pronominal paradigm of compound prepositions

N.B. The incorporated noun in a compound preposition is historically derived from a body-part expression like ΤΕ- 'hand', ΡΑΤ- 'foot' or ΖΑ- 'face'. In the vast majority of cases, the anatomical meaning of the incorporated noun has been lost beyond recognition. This process of semantic bleaching is particularly evident when the compound preposition is construed with another body-part expression, e.g. ΑQZE ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΧΝ ΠQZO ΖΝ ΤΕΥΗΗΤΕ 'he (Pachôm) fell (Α-Q-ZE) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ) on (ΕΧΝ <Ε- 'at' + Χ(Ε) 'head') his face (ΠΕQ-ZO) in (ΖΝ) their (the brothers') midst (ΤΕΥ-ΗΗΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17).

Gaps in the inflectional paradigms of certain compound prepositions are compensated for by two auxiliary constructions:

- When a compound preposition has no nominal state allomorph, a predicational phrase with the locative preposition Ν- 'as' is added to the pronominal state form, e.g. <ΨΑ>ΝΤΟΥΕΙ ΕΡΑΤQ ΗΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ 'until they came (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΕΙ) towards (Ε-ΡΑΤ-Q) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) martyr (Η-Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:22-23). The pronominal state ΕΡΑΤ-Q contains an anticipatory pronoun that agrees in person, number and gender with the following noun phrase. The identity between the anticipatory pronoun and the co-referential noun phrase is indicated by the locative preposition Η-. The defective preposition ΖΗΤ= 'forward, before' lacks an initial basic preposition besides a nominal state form, e.g. ΕCΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΤΗQ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙΝ ΠΕCΧΠΟ 'and she (Eudoxia) had reverence (Ε-C-P ΖΟΤΕ) for (ΖΤΗ-Q) God (Η-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) since (ΧΙΝ) her birth (ΠΕC-ΧΠΟ)' (Eud. 50:4-5).
- When a compound preposition has no pronominal state allomorph, the pronominal state ΗΜΟ= of the locative preposition Ν- is used as a suppletive form and simply juxtaposed with its nominal state allomorph e.g. ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΗΜΟ= 'backwards of', e.g. ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΗΕ ΝΗΡΩΗΕ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΝΑΩ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΗΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥCΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΩΩΝΕ 'the one (Π-ΡΩΗΕ) (responsible for) the sick (ΕΤ-ΩΩΝΕ) people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΗΕ) shall stay (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-Ω) behind them (ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ) on account of (ΕΤΒΕ) a brother (ΟΥCΟΝ) who will become sick (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΩΝΕ)' (praec. Pach. 129).

3.2.3 Particle modification

The addition of a small word or particle can specify the spatial orientation of various basic and compound prepositions. In an example like α παλας ποσος $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\zeta\eta$ $\eta\mu\sigma\upsilon$ 'Paulus leaped (α ... ποσ- η) up ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) from ($\zeta\eta$) the water ($\eta\mu\sigma\upsilon$)' (Ac. A&P 198:62-63), the particle $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ 'up' underlines the upward directionality of the motion event being described. The most common reinforcing particles are the following ones:

1. $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ 'out'

The particle $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ indicates the departure from the point of origin of some motion event, e.g. $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\zeta\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\pi\iota$ (...) 'he (Apa Zênôn) came (α - η - $\epsilon\iota$) out ($\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$) of his cell ($\zeta\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\pi\iota$) (...)' (AP Chaine no. 179, 42:26), $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\zeta\eta\tau\sigma\upsilon\tau\eta$ $\zeta\eta$ $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\sigma$ $\eta\rho\omega\epsilon$ 'he (the official) went (α - η - $\epsilon\iota$) away ($\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$) from him (Pachôm) ($\zeta\eta$ - $\tau\sigma\upsilon\tau\eta$) very joyfully (lit. with ($\zeta\eta$) great ($\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\sigma$) joy (η - $\rho\omega\epsilon$))' (V. Pach. 138:7-8).

2. $\epsilon\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ 'into', $\eta\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ 'inside'

The particles $\epsilon\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ 'into' and $\eta\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ 'inside' describe inward direction and inside location, respectively, e.g. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\psi$ $\beta\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ 'so that ($\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) the apostles (η - $\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) could not go ($\eta\eta\epsilon$... $\epsilon\psi$ - $\beta\omega\kappa$) into the city ($\epsilon\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ ϵ - τ - $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$)' (Ac. A&P 206:152) vs. $\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\sigma\upsilon$ α $\eta\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\iota\mu$ $\eta\mu\omicron\eta$ $\eta\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ $\eta\tau\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon$ 'immediately ($\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\sigma\upsilon$) the holy (η - $\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) Mercurius moved (α ... $\kappa\iota\mu$) himself ($\eta\mu\omicron\eta$) inside the shroud ($\eta\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ η - τ - $\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon$)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:7-8), $\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ $\eta\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\sigma\upsilon\eta$ $\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\eta\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\pi\iota$ 'no one ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$) shall eat ($\eta\eta\epsilon$... $\sigma\upsilon\eta$) anything ($\eta\kappa\alpha$) inside his cell ($\eta\zeta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ η - $\tau\epsilon\kappa\pi\iota$)' (praec. Pach. 114).

3. $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ 'up, down'

The particle $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ is a polysemous expression that has two opposite semantic values: it may reinforce the upward or downward orientation of some movement, with the implication that the final destination has been reached. Thus, compare: $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau\iota\eta\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ (...) 'he

(the angel) brought him (Constantine) (α - η - $\eta\tau$ - η) up ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) to Constantinople (ϵ - $\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau\iota\eta\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$) (...)' (Eud. 42:27-28), $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon$ 'he climbed (α - η - $\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) up ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) on ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the peak (τ - $\alpha\pi\epsilon$) of the mountain (η - π - $\tau\omicron\upsilon$)' (Zen. 205:2) vs. $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ 'he (Christ) went (α - η - $\epsilon\iota$) down ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) to this place (ϵ - $\pi\epsilon\iota$ - $\mu\alpha$)' (Ac. A&P 202:103-104).

4. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ 'downwards'

To indicate the descending directionality of some motion event, the particle $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ is frequently used as an alternative for the polysemous particle $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$, e.g. $\eta\tau\epsilon[\rho\epsilon]\eta\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ $\epsilon\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ 'when he (Christ) had gone ($\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - η - $\epsilon\iota$) down ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$) to Hell (ϵ - $\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$)' (Ac. A&P 204:142-143), α $\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ (read $\pi\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda$) $\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ $\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$ 'the camel (π - $\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda$) put him (α ... $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ - η) down ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$) on ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the earth (π - $\kappa\alpha\zeta$)' (Mercur, Mir. 265:11-12), $\eta\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\sigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\eta\zeta\eta\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ $\eta\pi\mu\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$ 'for ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) (there) was ($\eta\epsilon$ - $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$) a great ($\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta\sigma$) heat (η - $\zeta\eta\mu\epsilon$) down ($\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$) in that ($\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$) place (η - π - $\mu\alpha$)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19).

3.3 Adverbial modifiers

Adverbial phrases are sentence modifiers that bear a close semantic relation to the verb and its arguments (subject, object). Adverb modifiers contribute to the semantic interpretation of the clause they modify by providing information about the temporal and spatial setting of some state of affairs or about the circumstances under which it took place. Coptic has no specialized derivational morphology to create adverbial expressions from nouns and adjectives. Rather, adverbial adjuncts are either derived from prepositional phrases or involve adverbially used noun phrases.

3.3.1 Genuine Adverbs

Coptic has a rest category of sentence modifiers that are not derived from prepositional phrases:

1. The interrogative pronoun **των** 'where'

indicates a questioned location, e.g. **εΤΕΤΝCΥΝΑΓΕ ΤΩΝ 'where (των) do you attend Mass (ε-τετν-συναγε)?'** (Onnophr. 221:11).

2. The epistemic adverbs **αρηγ** and **μεψακ** 'perhaps'

signal the non-commitment of the speaker to the truth of the utterance, e.g. **αρηγ αqμογ 'perhaps (αρηγ) he (Apa Ptolemaios) died (α-q-μογ)'** (KHML II 34:6), **μεψακ ογν ογα ναμεεγε εqσωτη xe (...)** 'perhaps (μεψακ) on hearing (it) (ε-q-σωτη), someone (ογα) might think (να-μεεγε) that (xe) (...)' (Zen. 200:12-13), **μεψακ μπογωψ ηπχοεις αν πε ψαχε ενταιχοοq 'maybe (μεψακ) the word (π-ψαχε) (that) I have spoken (εντ-α-ι-χοο-q) (is) not (αν) the will (π-ογωψ) of the Lord (η-π-χοεις)'** (V. Pach. 85a:20-23).

The locative preposition **ν-** and the directional preposition **ε-** are extremely widespread adverbial markers. Despite the fact that such adverbs have the morphological structure of prepositional phrases, there is good reason to believe that what we are dealing with is a distinct type of adverb formation. To begin with, the complement of **ν-** and **ε-** marked adverbs is not an existing noun in Coptic. Moreover, these adverbs have a specialized meaning and function that differs from that of the corresponding locative or directional phrase:

3. The weak deictic adverb **ημαγ** 'there'

The locative adverb **ημαγ** 'there' indicates distance from the deictic center, i.e. the place and time of the speech situation, e.g. **αλλα εις κεφυχη ημαγ 'but (αλλα), look (εις), (there was) another soul (κε-φυχη) there (ημαγ)'** (Ac. A&P 202:111). It also expresses deictic remoteness, e.g. **πμα ετμημαγ 'that place' (lit. the place (π-μα) which ((ετ-) (is) (over) there (ημαγ))'** (Onnophr. 206:11) (see section 4.1.1.3 of Unit 4 for a more detailed discussion of its use as a distal demonstrative).

4. The frequency adverb **μηνηε** 'daily'

The temporal adverb **μηνηε** 'daily' indicates recurring or habitual actions, e.g. **xeκac ερεσω εqμαγ ερος μηνηε 'so that (xeκac) he (Zeno) could continue (ε-q-σω) to see (ε-q-μαγ) her (Hilaria) (ερο-с) daily (μηνηε)'** (Hil. 12:9-10).

5. The adverb of temporal location **ncoy-** 'on day'

e.g. **αqερ μαρτυρος εχμ πραν ηπενχοεις ιc πεx̄c (...)** **ncoyμηνηε ηπεβοτ zλωp 'he (Apa Mena) became (α-q-ep) a martyr (μαρτυρος) for (εχμ) the name (π-ραν) of our Lord (η-πεν-χοεις) Jesus Christ (πε-x̄c) (...)** **on the fifteenth day (ncoy-μηνηε) of the month (η-π-εβοτ) Hathôr' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:12-19).**

6. The degree adverb **εματε** 'much, greatly'

A variety of **ν-** and **ε-** marked adverbs have function as degree adverbs or focus particles. The high degree modifier **εματε** 'much, greatly', for instance, describes the enormity or vastness of some action, e.g. **νεqπολιτεγε δε εματε 'he (Pachôm) performed ascetic labours (νε-q-πολιτεγε) greatly (εματε)'** (V. Pach. 103a:6-7).

7. The restrictive focus particle **ηματαε** 'only, merely'

The focus particle **ηματαε** 'only' has an exclusive meaning and expresses the singularity of events or participants, e.g. **μη εκνακαατ ncωκ ετβε ογzωb ηματαε 'will you abandon me (lit. put me (ε-κ-να-καα-τ) behind you (ncω-κ)) because of (ετβε) one thing (ογ-zωb) only (ηματαε)?'** (Ac. A&P 200:81-82), **ητα πλογοc βοιλε εγρωμε ηματαε νεε νογα ηνεπροφητης παρχαιος 'the word (π-λογος) merely (ηματαε) dwelled (ητα ... βοιλε) in a human being (ε-γ-ρωμε) like (νεε ν-) in one (ογα) of the ancient (η-αρχαιος) prophets (η-νε-προφητης)'** (Zen. 204: 11-12).

8. The scalar focus particle **ΕΝΕΞ** 'ever, never'

The focus particle **ΕΝΕΞ** 'ever, never' evaluates the truth of a sentence with respect to a temporal continuum, e.g. **ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΜΠΑΘΟΣ ΕΝΕΞ** 'the one (ΠΑΙ) who behaves thus (lit. of this kind (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ)) will not (ΜΕΡΕ) ever (ΕΝΕΞ) become (ΕΡ) master (ΧΟΕΙΣ) over any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (Ν-ΠΑΘΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:9).

3.3.2 Adverbially used noun phrases

Noun phrases that refer to temporal intervals or points on a scale may be used as frequency adverbs or adverbs of temporal location without further qualifications, e.g. **ΜΕΡΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ † ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ** 'Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗ) gave (ΜΕΡΕ ... †) them (the Persian kings) (ΝΑ-Υ) gifts (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΩΡΟΝ) annually (ΤΕ-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Eud. 42:14), **ΤΑΡΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙC** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (in) the beginning (ΤΑΡΧΗ) when they enter (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) the life of a hermit (Ε-Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΙC)' (Onnophr. 211:14-15). Reiterated "bare" noun phrases are associated with a distributive reading, e.g. **ΑΥΤ[ΡΕΥΝΗCΤΕΥΕ] ΔΕ CΝ[ΑΥ] [CΝ]ΑΥ** 'they made them fast (Α-Υ-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ) two on two (i.e. two succeeding days) (CΝΑΥ CΝΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:22).

The deictic expression **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ** (< **ΤΕ-ΟΥΝΟΥ** 'the hour') 'now, then, but now' does not usually have a temporal meaning, but rather serves as an attention marker, which signals the immediate relevance of what will be communicated next. In this function, **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ** is commonly used to add force to directive speech-acts (orders, commands, requests), e.g. **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ** 'now then (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ), rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ), let's go (ΜΑΡΟ-Ν)!' (Eud. 68:10), **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ CΩΤΗ ΝCΩΙ** 'but now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ), my son (ΠΑ-ΩΗΡΕ), listen (CΩΤΗ) to me (ΝCΩ-Ι)!' (KHML II 33:13-14).

3.3.3 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs generally describe the way in which some event or activity is performed. Coptic manner adverbs are prepositional phrases involving the locative-instrumental preposition **ΖΝ** 'with, through, by means of' and an indefinite noun phrase, which designates a mental or

psychological state, e.g. **ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΑQΧΙΤΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΜΠΙCΤΙC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ** 'he (the official) (ΝΤΟQ) accepted them (Pachôm's bounty) (Α-Q-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) faith (Η-ΠΙCΤΙC) towards (ΕΖΟΥΝ) God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 138:6-7), **ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕQΧΩ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΜΗΝΤΧΑCΙΖΗΤ** (...) 'when he (Diocletian) said (Ε-Q-ΧΩ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) arrogance (Η-ΜΗΝΤ-ΧΑCΙ-ΖΗΤ)' (Eud. 36:17), **ΑQΟΥΩΨΕ ΝΑQ ΝCΙ ΠΕQCΟΝ ΖΝ ΟΥCΩΝΤ** 'his brother (ΠΕQ-CΟΝ) answered (Α-Q-ΟΥΩΨΕ) him (Pachôm) (ΝΑ-Q) angrily (ΖΝ ΟΥ-CΩΝΤ)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18).

a) Postverbal placement

Manner adverbs tend to follow the verb and the direct and indirect object as closely as possible. The preferred word order is DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL LOCATION ADVERBS, as seen in: **ΑQΗΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤCΟΟΥΖC ΖΝ ΟΥΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΗΝ ΟΥΑΦΑΖΟΗ** 'he (Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) (Α-Q-ΗΝΤ-ΟΥ) into the convent (ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-Τ-CΟΟΥΖC) downhearted (lit. in (ΖΝ) a sadness (ΟΥ-ΗΚΑΖ) of heart (Η-ΖΗΤ)) and (ΗΝ) (with) a sigh (ΑΨ-ΑΖΟΗ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11), **ΑΥΩ ΑQΠΩΡΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΝΕQΔΙΧ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΡΙΜΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡC ΧΙΝ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΨΑ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (Pachôm) lifted (Α-Q-ΠΩΡΨ) his hands (Η-ΝΕQ-ΔΙΧ) up (ΕΖΡΑΙ) to God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) weeping (ΖΝ ΟΥΡΙΜΕ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-C) night (Η-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ) from (ΧΙΝ) evening (ΡΟΥΖΕ) till (ΨΑ) dawn (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3), **ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑQΧΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥCΕΠΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕCΙΩΝ** 'right away (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ), he (Constantine) sent (Α-Q-ΧΟΟΥ) quickly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-CΕΠΗ) (a message) to (ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-CΙΩΝ) Zion' (Eud. 70:18).

b) Conjunction of manner adverbials

Two or more manner adverbs can be joined together by the connective **ΗΝ** (see above, section 3.1.5.2). Since noun phrases can be headed by a single preposition only, the adverbial preposition **ΖΝ** is left out in the second conjunct, e.g. **[ΑΥΩ ΕΤΡΕΥ]ΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΗΝ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΑ[ΤΡΟ]ΟΥΨ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) that they come (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) negligently (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΛΙΑ) and (ΗΝ) (with) an unconcerned (Η-ΑΤ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) attitude (ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ)' (Camb. 8:8-9), **ΑQΗΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤCΟΟΥΖC ΖΝ ΟΥΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΗΝ ΟΥΑΦΑΖΟΗ** 'he

(Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) into (εΖΟΥΝ) the convent (ε-Τ-COΟΥΖC) *downhearted* (lit. in (ΖΝ) a sadness (ΟΥ-ΜΚΑΖ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) and (ΜΝ) (with) a sigh (ΑΨ-ΑΖΟΗ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11).

3.3.4 Cognate objects

Cognate objects derive their name from the fact that they contain a copy of the main verb. In Coptic, cognate objects are syntactically encoded as manner adverbs. There are no selectional restrictions with respect to the type of verb they modify, witness the fact that transitive as well as intransitive verbs can co-occur with such cognate objects, e.g. ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (read ΤΠΥΛΗ) ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΥ) *very securely* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΑΦΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΦCΩΒΕ ΖΝ ΟΥCΩΒΕ ΕΦΟΥΛΑΒ 'he (the holy Apa Mercurius) came (Α-Φ-ΕΙ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ) laughing (Ε-Φ-CΩΒΕ) *a holy* (Ε-Φ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) *laugh* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-CΩΒΕ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:6-7), ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (read ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. in *a dying* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

Cognate objects convey a quantificational meaning and indicate the high degree or amount of the activity or state referred to by the main verb, e.g. ΑΦΡΑΨΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΝΟΥΝΟC (for ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC) ΝΡΑΨΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) *rejoiced* (Α-Φ-ΡΑΨΕ) about it (ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ-Φ) with (ΖΝ) *great* (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *joy* (Ν-ΡΑΨΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:21-22), ΜΝΝCΑ ΟΥΟΓΟΕΙΨ ΔΕ ΑΦΨΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΩΝΕ 'after (ΜΝΝCΑ) some time (ΟΥ-ΟΥΟΕΙΨ) he (the brother) became very sick (lit. he became sick (Α-Φ-ΨΩΝΕ) *in a great* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *sickness* (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ))' (AP Chafne no.1, 1:4-5), ΑΥΩ CΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΖΝ <ΖΕΝ>ΚΟΛΑCΙC ΕΥΝΑΨΤ 'and (ΑΥΩ) we will be punished (lit. *they* will punish (CΕ-ΝΑ-ΚΟΛΑΖΕ) us (ΜΜΟ-Ν))' in (ΖΝ) *severe* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑΨΤ) *punishments* (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΛΑCΙC)' (Onnophr. 208:2-3).

3.3.5 Greek adverbs

The inventory of Coptic sentence modifiers is supplemented with a variety of Greek loan adverbs, many of which are morphologically marked by the ending -ΩC (see above, section 1.4.1.4 of Unit 1). Particularly common examples are:

1. The manner adverbs ΚΑΛΩC 'well, rightly' and ΚΑΚΩC 'badly'

e.g. ΑΦΧΕ (read ΑΦΧΕΚ) ΠΕΦΑΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΚΩC 'he (the brother) accomplished (Α-Φ-ΧΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) his (life)-time (ΠΕΦ-ΑΖΕ) *badly* (ΚΑΚΩC)' (AP Chafne no. 1, p.1:3-4), ΚΑΛΩC ΑΦΧΟΟC ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝCΑΖ ΤΗΡΝ ΠΕΧC ΖΜ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'rightly (ΚΑΛΩC) said (Α-Φ-ΧΟΟ-C) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the scribe for all (ΤΗΡ-Ν) of us (ΠΕΝ-CΑΖ) in (ΖΜ) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Gospel (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)' (Abbatôn 229:9-11), ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΨΙ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'the ones who serviced (ΝΕ-ΝΤΑ-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) well (ΚΑΛΩC) (are) the ones who reached (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ) the measure (Π-ΨΙ) of the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

2. The degree adverbs ΖΩΛΩC 'entirely, altogether, at all'

is particularly common in negated sentences, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΡΟΥΨ ΕCΩΤΗ ΕΤΚΑΤΑΛΛΙΑ ΖΩΛΟC 'and (ΑΥΩ) do not wish (ΜΠΕΡ-ΟΥΨ) to listen (Ε-CΩΤΗ) to slander (Ε-Τ-ΚΑΤΑΛΛΙΑ) *at all* (ΖΩΛΟC)' (Test. Is. 233:27-28), ΝΦΤCΟ ΑΝ ΖΩΛΟC ΦΩΨΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'he (the pagan commander) *does not restrain* (himself) (Ν-Φ-Τ CΟ) at all (ΖΩΛΟC), since (ΓΑΡ) he imprisons (Φ-ΩΨΕ) everybody (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ)' (KMHL II 29:13-14).

3. The temporal adverb ΤΟΤΕ 'then'

introduces a new chain of events and hence marks a major transition in the development of the story-line, e.g. ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΥ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) Andreas said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to them (the Jews) (ΝΑ-Υ)' (Ac. A&P 196:37), ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥΕΝ ΠΗΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ ΕΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) they brought (Α-Υ-ΕΝ) the blessed (Π-ΗΑΚΑΡΙΟC) Apa Nahrow to the theatre (Ε-Π-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 4:6-7)

4. The modal adverb **ΠΑΝΤΩΣ** 'no doubt'

implies uncertainty on the part of the speaker, e.g. **ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΠΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ** 'it (ΠΕ) (is) *no doubt* (**ΠΑΝΤΩΣ**) the predestination (**Π-ΤΩΩ**) of God (**Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ**) that you came (**ΝΤ-ΑΚ-ΕΙ**)' (Hil. 4:31-32).

Key Terms:

Head-dependent distinction	The head of the phrase is the element that determines its syntactic category. The non-head or dependent constituent of a phrase is the element with a more peripheral function: it can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire expression.	§3.1.1
Nominal compounds	Coptic has two types of nominal compounds, analytic and synthetic ones. Analytic compounds consist of two components, which have a fully specified lexical meaning. In synthetic compounds, on the other hand, the head noun has a grammaticalized meaning and function.	§3.1.2
Adjectival modification	In Coptic, there is no special word class of "adjectives". To ascribe properties to individuals, the attributive construction is used, where property-denoting expressions may appear as head as well as dependent nouns. Such attributive phrases are marked by the linking marker Ν- .	§3.1.3
Nominal possession	Possessive noun phrases consist of a possessed and a possessor noun, the latter being marked by the connectives Ν- and ΝΤΕ 'of'.	§3.1.4

Noun coordination	Coptic has several markers to express the notion of "and" in the nominal domain, ranging from basic prepositions like ΜΝ and ΖΙ to clausal conjunctions like ΑΥΩ .	§3.1.5
Appositions	are extra-clausal noun phrases, which have the same referent as the proper name or pronoun they modify.	§3.1.6
Prepositional object	the noun or pronoun that complements the preposition to form a prepositional phrase.	§3.2.1
Nominal vs. pronominal state form	Basic and compound prepositions have context-dependent allomorphs that are dependent on the nominal or pronominal character of the prepositional object. These allomorphic forms are called the nominal or pronominal state of that preposition.	§3.2.1
Adverbial modifiers	adverbs are modifying expressions which bear a close semantic link to the verb; they locate the state of affairs that is described in space and time, or provide additional information about the way in which it came about.	§3.3
Cognate objects	constitute a subclass of manner adverbs that contain a copy of the main verb, e.g. ΖΝ ϸΩΒΕ in ϸΩΒΕ ΖΝ ΟΥϸΩΒΕ 'to laugh in a laugh'.	§3.3.4

- (3) 2N ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ (H-/NTE) ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'in (2N) a peace (ΟΥ-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) of God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:2)
- (4) ΝΕΖΟΟΥ (H-/NTE) ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΙΣΑΛΚ 'the days (ΝΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) of the patriarch (Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ) Isaac' (Test. Is. 229:1-2)
- (5) ΠΝΟΒΝΕΘ (N-/NTE) ΝΤΑΜΑΛ 'the mockery (Π-ΝΟΒΝΕΘ) of my mother (ΤΑ-ΜΑΛ)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:19).

C. Translate the following attributive or possessive noun phrases:

- (1) ΟΥΝΟΘ ΝΨΩΝΕ (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1: 5)
- (2) ΟΥΑΠΟΤ ΝΗΡΠ (AP Chaîne no. 16, 3:17)
- (3) ΠΜΑ ΝΝΧΩΜΕ (V. Ant. 6:9)
- (4) ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ (Hil. 2:3)
- (5) ΨΕΕΡΕ CENTE ΝCΖΙΜΕ (Hil. 2:5)

D. Translate the following appositional phrases into English:

- (1) ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC (Hil. 3:28)
- (2) ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ (Test. Is. 231:9) (ΠΕ-С 'her')
- (3) ΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC (Mena. Mir. 7b:4-6)

3.4 Noun coordination

A. Fill in the proper conjunction, e.g. ΤΠΕ ____ ΠΚΑΖ → ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ 'heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΝ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Eud. 46:12):

- (1) ΖΕΝCΙΟΥ ΝΡΟΥΖΕ ____ ΖΕΝCΙΟΥ ΝΖΤΟΟΥΕ 'the evening (N-ΡΟΥΖΕ) and the morning (N-ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) stars (ΖΕΝ-CΙΟΥ)' (Hil. 1:10-11)

- (2) ΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΙΜΕ ____ ΠΒΑΖΘΖ ΝΝΟΒΖΕ 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) of weeping (H-Π-ΡΙΜΕ) and gnashing (Π-ΒΑΖΘΖ) of teeth (N-N-ΟΒΖΕ)' (Ac. A&P 204:142)

B. Translate the following coordinate noun phrases:

- (1) Η CΩ[ΝΕ] [Η CΖΙΜ]Ε Η ΨΗ[ΡΕ] (KHML I 73:2)
- (2) Ν-ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΥΩ Ν-ΑΥΤΩΚΡΑΤΟΡ (Mercur, Martyrd. 256:12)
- (3) 2N ΟΥCΘΡΑΖΤ ΜΝ ΟΥΟΥΧΑΙ (AP Chaîne no.5, 2:23)

3.5 Simple and compound prepositions

A. Fill in the correct nominal or pronominal state form of the preposition in the following table.

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	__=q	because of, for
__ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	ΕΡΟ=q	to, towards
__ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	ΜΠΕCΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ	in the presence of

B. Complete the following sentences by selecting the correct preposition or adverbial modifier.

- (1) (ΜΝΝCΑ/ΖΗ) ΨΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕCΨΟΟΠ (ΖΕΝ/Η-) ΝΕΙΝΟΘ ΝΝΑCΚΥCΙC (read ΝΑCΚΥCΙC) 'after nine (ΨΠΕ) years (N-ΡΟΜΠΕ) that she (Hilaria) continued (Ε-С-ΨΟΟΠ) in these great (ΝΕΙ-ΝΟΘ) mortifications (N-ΑCΚΥCΙC)' (Hil. 6:34-35)
- (2) ΑC† (ΖΙΩΨC/ΝΖΗΤC) ΝΟΥCΧΗΜΑ ΝCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC 'she (Hilaria) put (Α-С-†) on her a knight's (N-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC) garment (N-ΟΥ-СХΗΜΑ)' (Hil. 3:14-15)

- (3) ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΕ ΟΥΡΕΜΝΗΜΕ ΠΕ (ΚΑΤΑ/ΠΑΡΑ) ΠΕΦΓΕΝΟΣ 'the holy (Π-ΠΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mena was (ΝΕ-) an Egyptian (ΟΥ-ΡΕΜ-ΚΗΜΕ) *by origin* (ΠΕΦ-ΓΕΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-7)
- (4) ΑΦ-ΣΛΟΒΛΟ ΕΧΗ ΠΑΣΩΜΑ (ΖΝ/ΗΝ) ΝΦΟΙΧ 'he (the angel) smoothened (Α-Φ-ΣΛΟΒΛΟ) (ΟΠ) (ΕΧΗ) my body (ΠΑ-ΣΩΜΑ) *with* his hands (ΝΦ-ΟΙΧ)' (Onnophr. 209:3-4)
- (5) ΑΝΟΚ ΨΟΟΠ (ΝΗΜΑΚ/ΝΑΚ) (ΖΙΤΗ/ΖΗ) ΜΑ ΝΗΜ 'I am (ΨΟΟΠ) *with you in every* (ΝΗΜ) place (ΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 9b:21-23)
- C. Translate the following prepositional phrases.
- (1) ΖΗ ΠΚΑΚΕ (praec. Pach. 94)
- (2) ΕΡΟ (Mena, Mir. 27a:22)
- (3) ΖΙΤΟΟΤ (KHML I 1:5)
- (4) ΕΧΗ ΟΥΣΠΗΛΛΙΟΝ (Onnophr. 205:16)
- (5) ΖΑΡΑΤΦ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ (Eud. 32:12-14)
- (6) ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΗΜΗΗΨΕ (Ac. A&P 196:47)

Unit 4

Deixis, interrogation, quantification

This Unit deals with a closed class of nominal-functional elements that perform some of the most fundamental functions of language: deixis (locating entities), interrogation (asking questions), and quantification (counting things). As a technical term of grammar, deixis means 'pointing by language'. The label "demonstratives" is used as a cover term for grammatical items like *this* and *that*, which accomplish this task of pointing. Apart from this localising function, demonstratives can also serve anaphoric functions and keep track of previously mentioned discourse entities. Section 4.1 reviews the deictic and anaphoric uses of Coptic demonstratives.

Questions are pragmatically marked speech-acts, which signal a request for information on the part of the speaker about something he believes that the addressee knows. The missing piece of information is indicated by question words like *who* or *what*. Coptic has a fairly extensive class of such question words, which will be discussed in section 4.2. Another topic of this section concerns dedicated interrogative particles that type the clause they modify as a question.

Quantificational sentences like *all birds fly* are interpreted as general statements about a particular kind or species. This interpretation is imposed by the quantifier *all* in the noun phrase *all birds*. Section 4.3 examines the semantic properties and syntactic distribution of quantificational expressions in Coptic. Dependent on the syntactic context in which they occur, such quantifiers assume different interpretations.

4.1 Deixis

Sahidic Coptic has an elaborate system of deictic expressions. These fall into two classes: demonstratives and possessives. Demonstratives, such as the such as the pronominal article $\pi\epsilon\iota$ - 'this' in $\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'this man' express a deictic relation proper and locate individuals or objects in the vicinity of the speaker. Possessive demonstratives, on the other hand, such as the possessive article $\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ - 'his' in $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'his brother', indicate not so much closeness to the speaker, but rather a relationship between two discourse entities referred to by the possessor and the possessed noun.

All demonstratives and possessive are morphologically derived from the deictic root π - (singular masculine), τ - (singular feminine), \mathfrak{n} - (plural). They are formally distinguished with respect to a particular vowel pattern and with respect to prosodic status as a bound or free morpheme. While some deictic expressions function exclusively as pronouns, such as the demonstrative pronoun $\pi\alpha\iota$ 'this one' or the possessive pronoun $\pi\omega\text{-}\iota$ 'mine', others are used as articles on demonstratively or possessively determined noun phrases, such as the above mentioned demonstrative article $\pi\epsilon\iota$ - 'this' or the possessive article $\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ - 'his'.

4.1.1 Demonstratives

In Sahidic Coptic, there are two types of demonstratives, which are deictically contrastive: proximal demonstratives refer to entities near the speaker and distal demonstratives to entities that are located at a certain distance away from the speaker. Proximal and distal demonstratives can function either as pronouns or as determiners (so-called demonstrative articles). In addition, there are the enclitic deictic pronouns $\pi\epsilon$ (singular

masculine), $\tau\epsilon$ (singular feminine) and $\mathfrak{n}\epsilon$ (plural), which are restricted to nominal sentences, where they fulfil anaphoric and agreement-marking functions (see above, section 2.4.3 of Unit 2). The full inventory of Coptic demonstratives is presented in table 4.1. All demonstrative forms appear in their singular masculine form:

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE	$\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$, $\pi\iota\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ this man (here)	$\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{y}$ that man (over there)
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN	$\pi\alpha\iota$ this one (here)	$\pi\epsilon\tau\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{y}$ that one (over there) $\pi\mathfrak{h}$ that one (over there)
ENCLITIC DEICTIC PRONOUN	$\pi\epsilon$ this one, he	

TABLE 4.1 Demonstratives

Due to its obsolete status, the distal demonstrative pronoun $\pi\mathfrak{h}$ is only marginally attested in literary Sahidic, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\tau$ $\mathfrak{m}\pi\epsilon\iota\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$ \mathfrak{h} $\pi\mathfrak{h}$ 'Iool ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) Christ ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\tau$) (is) in this place (here) ($\mathfrak{m}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$) or (\mathfrak{h}) that one ($\pi\mathfrak{h}$)' (AP Chaîne no.146, 32:25), $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\pi\mathfrak{h}$ $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\varsigma\omega\lambda\pi$ $\mathfrak{m}\pi\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\gamma\mathfrak{z}$ $\mathfrak{n}\tau\epsilon\gamma\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) that one ($\pi\mathfrak{h}$) will ($\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$) break up (the connection) (lit. cut of ($\omega\lambda\pi$) the rope ($\mathfrak{m}\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\gamma\mathfrak{z}$) immediately ($\mathfrak{n}\tau\epsilon\gamma\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}$)' (AP Elanskay: 24a:22-23). It will not be considered in the following description of the morphologically fully productive demonstratives.

4.1.1.1 The demonstrative article $\pi\epsilon\iota$ -, $\pi\iota$ -

The demonstrative article takes two shapes, the full form $\pi\epsilon\iota$ - / $\pi\epsilon\iota$ -/ 'this' and the short form $\pi\iota$ - / $\pi\iota$ -/, the latter being the result of monophthongization, i.e. the phonological reduction of a diphthong to a single vowel: $\pi\epsilon\iota$ - → $\pi\iota$ -, e.g. $\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$ (KHML I 3:8) vs. $\pi\iota\text{-}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$ 'this place' (Hil. 5:27). Number and gender distinctions yield the six forms in table 4.2 below:

	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
FULL FORM	<u>π</u> ει- /pej-/	<u>τ</u> ει- /tej-/	<u>ν</u> ει- /nej-/
SHORT FORM	<u>π</u> ι- /pi-/	<u>τ</u> ι- (var. τι-) /ti-/	<u>ν</u> ι- /ni-/

TABLE 4.2 The demonstrative article πει-/πι-

The allomorphic character of the ει /ej/ ~ ι /i/ interchange is particularly evident in co-ordinated noun phrases, where the full and reduced forms of the demonstrative article occur side by side, e.g. *αἶσινε ντιπύγη* (for *πῆγη*) *ἡμοῦ μν τειβννε μν πεισπύλαιον* 'I discovered (α-ι-σινε) *this well* (τι-πύγη) of water (μ-μοῦ) together with (μν) *this date tree* (τει-βννε) and (μν) *this cavern* (πει-σπύλαιον)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11), *εφωοπ ζν τειαναχωρησις μν πισρεζτ* 'while he (Apa Mena) lived (ε-φ-ωοπ) in (ζν) *this isolation* (τει-αναχωρησις) and (μν) *this peace* (πι-σρεζτ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:19-21).

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

The most important deictic and anaphoric functions of the demonstrative article πει-, πι- are the following:

a) Spatial deixis

As a deictic pointer, the proximal demonstrative article is typically used to direct the addressee's attention to some individual or object in the vicinity of the speaker, e.g. *†[ναζωτβ μμο] ζν τεισχε ετζν τασιχ* 'I will kill (†-να-ζωτβ) you (μμο) with (ζν) *this sword* (τει-σχε) in (ετ-ζν) my hand (τα-σιχ)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-7), *αληωσ μπειναγ εχοι ενεζ νοε ηπειχοι* 'verily (αληωσ), never ever (ενεζ) have I seen (ηπε-ι-ναγ) a ship (ε-χοι) like (νοε ν-) *this ship* (in front of me) (πει-χοι)' (KHML I 81:4-5).

b) Anaphoric use

Apart from this localising function, the demonstrative article is widely used to keep track of previously mentioned discourse referents, e.g. *α περζητ νογος ετβε πεικογι νφαχε* 'his (Pachôm's) heart (περζητ) became acrid (α νογος) because of (ετβε) *this little* (πει-κογι) (previously described) *argument* (ν-φαχε)' (V. Pach. 1:20), *αγω ντοκ κογω εεμτον ζν τειωμογνε νρομπε* 'and (αγω) you (ντοκ), do you want (κ-ογω) to find peace (ε-εμτον) in *these* (mere) *eight* (τει-ωμογνε) *years* (ν-ρομπε) (mentioned previously in the conversation)' (AP Chafne no. 34, 7:3).

c) Discourse deixis

The demonstrative article may refer to previous events and thus establish a link between two propositions: the one in which it occurs and the one it keeps track of, e.g. *αγω ντειζε αρωψ εβολ εζραι επνογτε ντεγση τηρς* 'and (αγω) in *this manner* (ν-τει-ζε) (as previously depicted), he (Pachôm) cried (α-φ-ωψ) out (εβολ) to (εζραι) God (ε-π-νογτε) the entire (τηρ-ς) night (τε-γση)' (V. Pach. 2:14-15). Occasionally, it adopts a cataphoric function and anticipates what is to be communicated in the subsequent discourse, e.g. *ερε νεσμογ ηππατριαρχς ναωπτε (...)* *μν νετσωτμ ενειφαχε* 'the blessings (νε-σμογ) may be (να-ωπτε) (...) with (μν) those who listen (ν-ετ-σωτμ) to *these* (i.e. the following) *words* (ε-νει-φαχε)' (Test. Is. 228:6-7).

d) Generic interpretation

The proximal demonstrative article may impose non-specific or generic interpretation on the determined noun in much the same way as the definite article (see above, section 2.2.2.1 of Unit 2 for some discussion on non-specific and generic definites), e.g. *νοε ννειεσογ εφαγβι* (for *εφαγβι*) *ντοοτογ ηπεγψως* 'like (νοε ν-) *sheep* (νει-εσογ) whose shepherd (πεγ-ψως) had been taken away (ψα-γ-γι lit. *they take away*) from them (ντοοτ-ογ)' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1), *νοε ννιαιτος* '(wings) like (νοε ν-) *eagles* (νι-αιτος)' (Onnophr. 211:26-27). When reference

is made to kinds, the plural form *ni-* may even vary with the indefinite plural article *zen-*, e.g. *nim gar petnaaze ep[at]q emiwe mn neiuyzoor h nim petnatton mn niarx nim ntoq petnacwp eboa emiwe mn zenmoyi axn woxne zi cw* 'because (*gar*) who (*nim*) (is it) that would stand up (*et-na-aze epatq*) to fight (*e-miwe*) with (*mn*) dogs (*nei-uyzoor*) or (*h*) who (*nim*) would struggle (*et-na-tton*) with (*mn*) bears (*ni-arx*), who (*nim*), indeed (*ntoq*), would set out (*et-na-cwp eboa*) to fight (*e-miwe*) with (*mn*) lions (*zen-moyi*) without (*axn*) plan (*woxne*) and (*zi*) counsel (*cw*)' (Camb. 8:15-18).

e) Emotive use

The proximal demonstrative article may be used to express emotional deixis, reflecting the speaker's attitude towards the referent of the determined noun phrase. Contrary to what is stated in most Coptic grammars, both the full form *pei-* and the short form *pi-* may assume a pejorative meaning and function. Compare: *anok peireqrhoe* 'I (*anok*), *this sinner* (*pei-req-rhoe*)' (KHML II 53:15), *peianomos xe dioke* 'that criminal (*pei-anomos*) Diocletian' (Eud. 34:15-16) vs. *anok pirqrhoe* (V. Pach. 2:10) 'this sinner' *pi-anomos* 'that criminal' (Mena, Mir. 30b:18); *neiatnouye nioudai* 'those godless (*nei-at-nouye*) Jews (*n-ioudai*)' (Eud. 58:24), *ptopos mpanazwraios xe ic* 'the place (*pi-topos*) of that Nazarene (*m-pi-nazwraios*) Jesus' (Eud. 52:27-28). The demonstrative article may also express the speaker's empathy and affection for the discourse referent in question, e.g. *eyoyw exw mptaiio mpeinos nstratiwthc nte pexc pzagios apa mhma* 'wishing (*e-yoyw*) to proclaim (*e-xw*) the honour (*m-pi-taiio*) of *this great* (*m-pei-nos*) soldier (*n-stratiwthc*) of (*nte*) Christ (*pe-xc*), the holy (*pi-zagios*) Apa Mena' (Mena, Enc. 36a:15-20), *xe oyntetn* (read *oynthtn*) *mhay mpinos mprebweythc za2tm pxoeic* 'because (*xe*) you have (*oynthtn*) *this great* (*m-pi-nos*) intercessor (*m-prebweythc*) before (*za2tm*) the Lord (*pi-xoeic*)' (KHML II 58:16-18).

4.1.1.2 The demonstrative pronoun *pai*

Demonstrative pronouns are free morphemes, which may appear in all nominal positions of the clause. They are morphologically distinguished from the demonstrative article through the invariant vowel pattern /ai/: *pai* (singular masculine), *tai* (singular feminine), *nai* (plural) 'this one, these ones'.

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

Demonstrative pronouns serve two major purposes. As deictic expressions, point out someone or something in the visual field of the speech participants. As anaphoric expressions, they serve as functional equivalents of third person pronouns.

a) Spatial deixis

The original spatio-deictic meaning of the demonstrative pronoun *pai* is particularly clear when the speaker notices a strange individual, object or location in his immediate surroundings and has a question about it, e.g. *anopos ne nai* 'what kind (*aw*) of places (*n-topos*) (are) *these* (*nai*) (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140), *oy pe pinobe nta pai aa paxoeic* 'what (*oy*) (is) the sin (*pi-nobe*) that *this one* (*pai*) has done (*nt-a ... aa-q*), my lord (*pa-xoeic*)?' (Test. Is. 234:11-12).

a) Anaphoric use

Proximal demonstrative pronouns as an alternative for personal pronouns when a discourse participant is mentioned for the second time, e.g. (there was a Samaritan woman in the city Alexandria) *tai de neyen oyno nqwn[ne] zn tecaie* '(as for) *her* (*tai*), there was (*ne-yen*) a serious (*oynos*) illness (*n-qwne*) in (*zn*) her head (*tec-aiie*)' (Mena, Mi 26a:13-16), *nta pai gar aitei nouzwb ntoot para peqmwa* 'for (*gar*) *this (person)* (*pai*) (i.e. the disobedient monk) has asked (*nt-a . aitei*) something (*oy-zwb*) from me (*ntoot*) beyond (*para*) his merit (*peq-mwa*)' (V. Pach. 140:15-16).

b) Discourse deixis

Demonstrative pronouns may assume a recapitulative function, referring back to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. *α παι ψωπε μοι* 'this (i.e. the fall from the throne) (παι) happened (ψωπε) to me (μοι)' (Eud. 36:7-8), *ετβε παι εκεψωπε 2N νταρταρος ψα πε200Y μπ2απ* 'because of (ετβε) this (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil) you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-ψωπε) in (2N) the Tartaros (ν-ταρταρος) until (ψα) the day (πε-200Y) of the judgment (μ-π-2απ)' (Ac. A&P 202:127-128), *ναι δε εφxω μοοY 2N οYνoδ μμντxαcι2HT* 'when he (Diocletian) said (ε-φ-xω) these (words) (ναι) with (2N) great (οY-νοδ) arrogance (μ-μντ-xαcι-2HT)' (Eud. 36:17). Demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used cataphorically, anticipating upcoming information, e.g. *ναι νε νεψαxε νεββιο νταρc2αicoy ετεπιστολη* 'these (ναι) (are) the humble (ν-εββιο) words (νε-ψαxε) that he wrote (ντ-α-φ-c2αi-coy) in the letter (ε-τ-επιστολη)' (Hil. 7:20-21).

c) Appositional use

In the context of emphatic deictic reference, demonstrative pronouns appear as appositions to demonstratively determined noun phrases. They fulfil similar functions as appositionally used independent pronouns (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2), e.g. *αYω νερε πεμμεεYε παι ψτορτρ μοοq* 'and (αYω) this very (παι) thought (πει-μμεεYε) troubled (νερε ... ψτορτρ) him (μοο-φ)' (Hil.10:18-19), *νσεφi προσφορα ν2HToy 2M πει200Y παι* 'and they should offer (νσε-φi) the Eucharist (προσφορα) in them (i.e. the churches) (ν2HT-oy) on (2M) this very (παι) day (πει-200Y)' (Eud. 40:10), *πει2ωβ παι πα2ενρωμε νατπλθoс νε* (read πe) 'this thing (πει-2ωβ παι) (i.e. to take a girl into a monk's cell) is only for (πα-) people (2εν-ρωμε) free from passions (ν-ατ-παθoс)' (Hil. 9:7-8).

4.1.1.3 The distal demonstrative ετμμαY

The distal demonstrative ετμμαY 'that, those' is, syntactically speaking, a relative clause, consisting of the relative complementiser ετ- and the locative adverb μμαY 'there': *πρωμε ετμμαY* 'that man' (lit. 'the man

(π-ρωμε) that (ετ-) (is) over there (μμαY)'). It functions both as a postnominal modifier and as a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, consider: *πcon ετμμαY* 'that brother' (V. Pach. 140:30) vs. *π-ετμμαY* 'the latter' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:26-27).

	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
ARTICLE	πρωμε ετμμαY that man	τεc2ime ετμμαY that woman	νερωμε ετμμαY those people
PRONOUN	πετμμαY that one	τετμμαY that one	νετμμαY those

TABLE 4.3 The distal demonstrative ετμμαY

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

The distal demonstrative ετμμαY 'that, those' works in the opposite direction of the proximal demonstrative article πει- and its pronominal counterpart παι. It indicates remote deixis, i.e. distance away from the speaker. When used anaphorically, ετμμαY refers to less prominent (i.e. non-topical) discourse entities.

b) Spatial deixis

As a spatial-deictic expression, ετμμαY draws the addressee's attention to entities or objects that are located far away from the speaker, e.g. *φcotti νοi πμοY ντετμμαY παρα πων2 νται* 'the death (π-μοY) of *that* (daughter) (ν-τετμμαY) (far away from me) is better (φ-cotti) than (παρα) the life (πον2) of this (daughter) (ν-ται) (here with me)' (Hil. 8:7-8). It may also indicate distance in time, e.g. *πΔιαβοYλoс λqκω2 μπεοYοειψ ετμμαY* 'the devil (π-ΔιαβοYλoс) got jealous (λ-φ-κω2) in *that* (ετμμαY) time (μ-πε-οYοειψ)' (Onnophr. 207:14).

c) Anaphoric use

When used anaphorically, the distal demonstrative **ετῆμα** quite frequently refers to less important protagonists, whose exact identity is not considered relevant for the development of the story-line, e.g. **ταὶ τε οὗ ντα πδαιμῶνιον ετῆμα ρ 2α2 μηθεοογ** 'this (**ταὶ**) (was) the manner (**οὗ < τ-2ε**) in which *that demon* (**πδαιμῶνιον ετῆμα**) did (**ντ-α ρ**) many (**2α2**) evil (things) (**μ-πεθεοογ**)' (KHML II 53:8-9), **αγω πετῆμα νεφαιτι ννεσνιγ εταδιακονει νογ2αλντ μπαποι ετρεφομον** 'there was also another brother in that place who was very sick) (**αγω**) *that one* (**πετῆμα**) asked (**νε-φ-αιτι**) the brothers (**νεσνιγ**) who serviced (**ετ-διακονει**) for a small (**μ-παποι** lit. chicken) bird (**μ-ογ-2αλντ**) to eat (**ε-τρε-φ-ομον-φ**)' (V. Pach. 143:19-20). It is sometimes used as a free-choice pronoun, designating any arbitrary individual or object that fits a particular description, e.g. **βωκ νγτοβκ ευσον εφρ 2οτε ν2ητφ μπνουτε αγω εβωλ [2ν] τμντρεφρ2οτε μηπετῆμα κναρ 2οτε 2ωβκ ν2ητφ μπνουτε** 'go (**βωκ**) and attach yourself (**νγ-τοβ-κ**) to *some brother* (**ε-γ-σον**) who fears (**ε-φ-ρ 2οτε**) God (**μ-π-νουτε**) and (**αγω**) through' (**εβωλ 2ν**) the devoutness (**τ-μντ-ρεφ-ρ-2οτε**) of *that one* (**μ-πετῆμα**) you, too (**2ωβ-κ**), will fear (**κ-να-ρ 2οτε**) God (**μ-π-νουτε**)' (AP Chaîne no.4, 2:17-18).

d) Emotive use

The distal demonstrative **ετῆμα** may express emotional deixis, reflecting emotional distance on the part of the speaker, e.g. **μννσα 2ενκεκογ ν2οογ αφνιφε νβι πσον ετῆμα** 'after (**μννσα**) a few days (**ν-2οογ**) more (**2εν-κε-κογ**) *that* (**ετῆμα**) (disobedient) *brother* (**π-σον**) cooled down (**α-φ-νιφε**)' (V. Pach. 140:30), **αλο 2α 2ναγ νιμ ντε τεσ2ιμε ετῆμα** 'I left (**α-ι-λο 2α**) every (**νιμ**) possession (**ναγ**) of (**ντε**) *that* (**ετῆμα**) (wicked) *woman* (**τεσ2ιμε**)' (Onnophr. 208:9).

e) Correlative use of **παι** and **πετῆμα**

When the proximal demonstrative pronoun **παι** 'this one' and its distal counterpart **πετῆμα** 'that one' occur side by side, the former refers back

to the discourse entity that was mentioned first and the latter to the one that was mentioned subsequently, e.g. **ναι δε αγχι ντμντppc μηπετῆμα** '(It happened in the second year of the reign of Valentian (and) Diocletian after the overthrowing of Numerian, the one who was king before them). *The former* (**ναι**) (i.e. Valentian and Diocletian) took (**α-γ-χι**) the kingdom (**τ-μντ-ppo**) from *the latter* (**μ-πετῆμα**) (i.e. Numerian)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

4.1.2 Possessives

Unlike the proximal or distal demonstratives considered so far, possessive forms are generally distance neutral, meaning that they primarily describe a possessive relationship between two entities rather than their relative position to the speaker. There are three sets of possessive forms: the possessive article, the possessive prefix, and the possessive pronoun. The possessive article functions exclusively as a prenominal determiner, while the possessive prefix and the possessive pronoun are free morphemes. The possessive prefix and the possessive pronoun differ from each other with respect to their vowel pattern as well as to the nominal or pronominal character of the possessor.

	NOMINAL POSSESSOR	PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR
POSSESSIVE ARTICLE	εϛα	πεφ-ειωτ his father
POSSESSIVE PREFIX	πα-πνουτε He of God (proper name)	
POSSESSIVE PRONOUN		πω-φ his (one)

TABLE 4.4 Possessive demonstratives

4.1.2.1 The possessive article **πεφ-**

The possessive article consists of two morphemes. One is the full form of the definite article **πε-** (singular masculine), **τε-** (singular feminine) and **νε-** (plural) and the other is a bound pronoun which designates the

b) As a determiner of time-indicating nouns

e.g. ΜΠΕΡΡΑΚΤΕ ΑΓΩΜΟΟΣ ΕΠΕΗΜΑ ΝΘΙ ΖΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΣ ΖΗ ΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'on the (lit. his) next day (Μ-ΠΕΡΡΑΚΤΕ) Armenius sat down (Α-Γ-ΖΜΟΟΣ) on the tribune (Ε-Π-ΕΗΜΑ) in (ΖΗ) the theatre (ΠΕ-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), (in combination with a numeral) ΕΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΜΠΑΜΕΖΩΜΤ ΝΖΟΥ 'on the morning (Ε-ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) of my third (Μ-ΠΑ-ΜΕΖ-ΩΜΤ) day (Ν-ΖΟΥ)' (Eud. 58:12-13), ΕΝΕ ΠΕΡΩΜΝΤ ΠΕ ΕΜΠΕΡΟΥΩΜ 'while (Ε-) it (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ-) his (Ραχόμ's) third (day) (ΠΕΡ-ΩΜΝΤ) that he had not eaten (Ε-ΜΠΕ-Ρ-ΟΥΩΜ)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).

4.1.2.2 The possessive prefix ΠΑ-

The possessive prefixes ΠΑ- 'he of' (singular masculine), ΤΑ- 'she of' (singular feminine) and ΝΑ- form a prosodic complex with the following noun phrase. They represent the phonologically reduced counterpart of the demonstrative pronoun ΠΑΙ: παῖ → πα-.

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

As the terminology suggests, the possessive prefix ΠΑ- designates the possessed item and the following noun the possessor, e.g. ΠΑ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ [he-of (ΠΑ-) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)] 'Paphnoute (he of God) (a proper name)'.

a) Partitive use

The demonstrative possessive prefix ΠΑ- picks out entities from a given discourse domain, whose exact identity are not specified or questioned, e.g. ΝΑΠΤΜΕ ΣΝΑΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ 'the inhabitants (of) (ΝΑ-) those (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) two (ΣΝΑΥ) villages (Π-ΤΜΕ)' (KHML II 52:21-22), ΠΑΠΕΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ 'something (of) (ΠΑ-) the sovereign (ΠΕ-ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:20), ΝΤΩΤΗ ΝΑΛΩ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ 'which (ΑΩ) city (Μ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (are) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ) inhabitants (of) (ΝΑ-)' (KHML I 80:6). When used as a partitive expression, the possessive prefix is commonly found with reference to descent, ethnicity or social background, e.g. ΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΠΤΟΥ ΝΑΤΡΗΠΕ 'Ara Shenute from (ΠΑ-) the mountain (Π-ΤΟΥ) of Atripe (Ν-ΑΤΡΗΠΕ)'

(KHML II 22:5-6), ΝΑΠΕΡΗ 'those (of) (ΝΑ-) his (Isaac's) household (ΠΕΡ-Η)' (Test. Is. 231:25).

b) Sense-of-identity use

In elliptical contexts, the possessive prefix is used as a so-called sense-of-identity pronoun, which is anaphorically related to, but not exact identical with the referent of an antecedent noun phrase, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΠΕΡΡ ΠΟΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΡΩΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΑΝΕΠΑΡΤΑΛΗΣ 'while (ΕΡΕ) his (the hermit's) hair (ΠΕΡ-Ω) was spread (ΠΟΡΩ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) over (ΕΧΗ) his body (ΠΕΡ-ΩΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ Μ-) that of (ΠΑ-) panthers (ΝΕΙ-ΠΑΡΤΑΛΗΣ (Onnophr. 210:2-3).

4.1.2.3 The possessive pronoun ΠΩ-

Different vowel patterns exist for the singular and plural forms possessive pronoun ΠΩ- 'his one' (lit. the one of him). Further note that the ω /ɔ/ ογ /u/ alternation is not dependent on the vocalic or consonantal nature of the incorporated pronoun.

PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
1 st sing.	ΠΩΙ	ΤΩΙ	ΝΟΥΙ
2 nd sing. masc.	ΠΩΚ	ΤΩΚ	ΝΟΥΚ
2 nd sing. fem.	ΠΩ	ΤΩ	ΝΟΥ
3 rd sing. masc.	ΠΩΔ	ΤΩΔ	ΝΟΥΔ
3 rd sing. fem.	ΠΩC	ΤΩC	ΝΟΥC
1 st pl.	ΠΩΝ	ΤΩΝ	ΝΟΥΝ
2 nd pl.	ΠΩΤΗ	ΤΩΤΗ	ΝΟΥΤΗ
3 rd pl.	ΠΩΟΥ	ΤΩΟΥ	ΝΟΥΟΥ

TABLE 4.6 The forms of possessive pronoun ΠΩ-

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

The possessive pronoun **πω-ϙ** 'his one' (lit. the one of him) represents the pronominal counterpart of the possessive prefix **πλ-**. But unlike the possessive prefix, the possessive pronoun **πω-** attracts stress and therefore represents the phonologically intact head of the entire construction: **πω-ϙ** [*he-of* (**πλ-**) *of-him* (**-ϙ**)] 'his one, his'.

a) Partitive use

The possessive pronoun **πω-** is commonly used as the predicate of a nominal sentence to indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, e.g. **ΝΟΥ ΝΕ** 'they (**ΝΕ**) (are) *mine* (**ΝΟΥ**)' (V. Pach. 4:23), **ΤΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΩΚ ΤΕ ΠΙΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ** 'the power (**Τ-ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ**) (is) *yours* (**ΤΩΚ**), (God) Almighty (**Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ**)' (Test. Is. 235:19).

b) Sense-of-identity use

In coordinate structures of the kind *my books and yours* (i.e. *your books*), it commonly functions as a sense-of-identity pronoun, e.g. **ΠΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΝ ΠΩΚ** 'my salvation (**ΠΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ**) and (**ΜΝ**) *yours* (**ΠΩΚ**)' (KHML II 33:1), **ΑΜΟΥ ΝΓΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΠΤΩ ΝΝΑΤΩΒΕ ΜΝ ΝΟΥΚ** 'come (**ΑΜΟΥ**) and show me (**ΝΓ-ΤΑΜΟ-Ι**) the border (**Ε-Π-ΤΩ**) between my bricks (**Ν-ΝΑ-ΤΩΒΕ**) and (**ΜΝ**) *yours* (**ΝΟΥΚ**)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:29-30); similarly in comparative constructions: **ΑΦΕΠΙΘΕΜΕΙ** (for **ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ**) **ΝΤΩΒΕ** (read **ΝΝΤΩΒΕ**) **ΜΠΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΝΟΥϙ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'he (the magistrate) desired (**Α-ϙ-ΕΠΙΘΕΜΕΙ**) the bricks (**Ν-Ν-ΤΩΒΕ**) of the saint (**Μ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ**) more (**ΝΖΟΥΟ**) than all (**ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ**) (of) *his* (**Ε-ΝΟΥϙ**)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:13-14).

4.2 Interrogation

Questions are pragmatically marked speech-acts designed to elicit information. One commonly distinguishes two types of interrogative sentences, namely constituent questions and yes/no questions. Constituent or word questions are also known as *wh*-questions, since most English

questions words begin with a *wh*-sequence. The syntax of Coptic question words and their contextual uses are addressed in section 4.2.1, while section 4.2.2 is concerned with yes/no questions, with particular attention for interrogative particles. Finally, section 4.2.3 briefly discusses so-called rhetorical questions, i.e. interrogative sentences that are not used for the purpose of triggering a response.

4.2.1 Constituent/*wh*-questions

Wh-questions are typically used when the speaker and the addressee share some knowledge about some state of affairs, but one piece of information is missing in the speaker's file. The queried element is represented by the question word. The most common Coptic question words are listed below.

QUESTION WORD	GLOSS	QUESTION WORD	GLOSS
ΝΙΜ	who	ΟΥΗ(Η)Ρ	how much, many
ΟΥ	what	ΕΤΕ ΟΥ	because of what, why
ΑΦ	which, what	ΝΑΦ ΝΖΕ	in what manner, how
ΤΩΝ	where	ΑΖΡΟ=	what about, why

TABLE 4.7 The inventory of Coptic question words

Coptic question words show some degree of affinity with specific indefinites, witness the fact that predicatively used interrogative pronouns may be determined by the singular or plural forms of the indefinite article, e.g. **ΝΤΚ ΟΥΟΥ** 'what (kind of man)(are) (**ΟΥ-ΟΥ**) you (**ΝΤΚ**)?' (Sh. 38:17), **ΖΕΝΑΦ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΝΕ** 'they (**ΝΕ**) (are) *what* (**ΖΕΝ-ΑΦ**) kind (of people) (**Μ-ΜΙΝΕ**)?' (Ac. A&P 198:68).

4.2.1.1 The syntactic placement of question words

Coptic *wh*-questions exhibit special morphosyntactic properties that distinguish them from declarative clauses. Some of the items listed in table 4.7 above function exclusively as pronouns, e.g. **ΟΥ** 'what', and some determiners, e.g. **ΑΦ ΝΖΩΒ** 'which (**ΑΦ**) matter (**Ν-ΖΩΒ**)'. Others function either as pronouns or as determiners, e.g. **ΝΙΜ** 'who' vs. **ΝΙΜ ΝΡΡΟ** 'who

not tell me), *where* (των) he had put it (the deposit) (ΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΚΑΑ-Γ) (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:23-24), but may also refer to the point of departure of some movement, e.g. ΕΚΝΗΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΘΩΝ 'where (των) are you coming (from) (ε-κ-νηυ), my brother (πα-θων)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). To specify its spatial orientation, it is frequently combined with the directional preposition ε- 'to' or the particle εβωλ 'out', e.g. ΕΡΒΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ 'where (ε-των) are you (woman) going (ερ-βωκ) to?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22), ΕΒΩΛ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'from where (εβωλ των) did you come (α-τετν-ει) to this place?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

When the question word των assumes a predicative function, the nominal subject undergoes inversion to the clause-final position, while its base-position is occupied by a co-referential subject pronoun, e.g. ΕΓΤΩΝ ΠΤΑΦΟΣ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'where (is) (των) the tomb (π-ταφος) of my lord (μ-πα-χοειC)?' (Eud. 58:25) (see above, section 10.1.5.2 of Unit 10).

4. αψ 'what (kind)'

is mainly used as the determiner of partitive interrogative phrases, e.g. αψ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ 'what (kind) (αψ) of places (Ν-ΤΟΠΟΣ) (are) these (ΝΑΙ) (places) (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140). Particularly common is the questioned manner phrase αψ ΝΖΕ 'how' (lit. in what (Ν-αψ) of manner (Ν-ΖΕ), e.g. ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΑΨ ΝΖΕ 'how (Ν-αψ (Ν-ΖΕ) did you come (ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (ε-πει-μα)?' (Onnophr. 206:29).

5. ουν(η)ρ 'how much, how many'

functions as a degree modifier in interrogative and exclamative sentences. Thus, compare: ουνηρ νουοειω χιντακει επειμα 'look (ειC), how much (ουνηρ) time (Ν-ουοειω) (has passed), since (χι(η)) you came (ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΕΙ) here? (ε-πει-μα)' (Onnophr. 206:33-34) vs. ΤΗΝΤΑΤΝΑ ΖΟΥΥ ΝΟΥΗΡ 'you have seen how (Ν-ουνηρ) evil (ΖΟΥΥ) the pitilessness (ΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΝΑ) is' (KHML II 51:13-14).

6. α2πο= 'what about, how come'

Unlike other interrogative expressions, α2πο= is positionally restricted to the topmost position of the interrogative sentence it modifies. It is

typically used when the condition of participants or non-participants of speech situation is at issue, e.g. α2ΠΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΗ ΡΩΜΕ 'what about (α2ΠΟ=Ι) with (ΜΗ) mankind (ΡΩΜΕ) (i.e. what do I have to do with people)?' (AP Chaîne no.3, 2:13), α2ΠΟΚ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ 'what (is) (it) about (α2ΠΟ=Κ) (i.e. what is the matter with you), my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ (KHML II 29:7-8). The incorporated pronoun of the α2ΠΟ= phrase is referential with the subject of the associated clause, e.g. α2ΠΟΚ ΕΡΡ ΖΟ Ω ΠΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'how come (α2ΠΟ=Κ) (that) you are afraid (ε-ΖΟΤΕ), oh (ω) servant (Π-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)?' (Onnophr. 206:23).

4.2.2 Yes-no questions

Yes/no questions are interrogative sentences that seek comments on a degree of truth of the questioned proposition and can appropriately be answered by the equivalents of the words *yes* and *no* in English. There are two varieties of yes/no questions in Coptic: those that are introduced by interrogative particle and those that lack such lexicalised question cues.

4.2.2.1 Unmarked yes/no questions

Unmarked yes/no questions take exactly the same form as the corresponding declarative clauses, e.g. ΑΠΑ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΖΟΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΨΠΝΨΩΠ ΨΑΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΩΩΚ 'Abba (ΑΠΑ), if (ΕΡΨΑΝ) something frightening (ΟΥ-ΖΟΤΕ) happens (ΨΩΠΕ) all of a sudden (ΖΝ ΟΥΨΠΝΨΩΠ) will you be afraid (ΨΑ-Κ-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ), too (ΖΩΩ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no.35, 7:5), ΝΑΝΟΥ † ΖΑΖ ΜΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'is it good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) to repent (one's sin many times (lit. to give (†) many (ΖΑΖ) repentances (ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ))?' (AP Chaîne no.131, 30:1), ΜΠΡΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΝΑΡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ 'have you (woman) not heard (ΜΠ-Ρ-ΩΤΗ) that (ΧΕ) the night (ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ) will become (ΝΑ-Ρ) bright (ΟΥΟΕΙΝ) like (ΝΕΕ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ [Psalm 138:12])?' (KHML I 81:6-7). Such unmarked yes/no questions were in all likelihood distinguished from simple declaratives by means of question intonation pattern.

4.2.2.2 Yes/no questions with interrogative particles

Coptic makes productive use of interrogative particles, some of which are drawn from the native stock, for instance **ENE**, while others are borrowings from Greek, for instance **MH**. These lexicalised question cues must be placed in clause-initial position. For this reason, interrogative particles are in complementary distribution with subordinating complementisers. Interrogative particles indicate not only the interrogative force of the clause within their scope, but also serve various rhetorical and pragmatic purposes.

1. **ENE**

is a neutral interrogative particle, which is compatible with a positive or negative response, e.g. **ENE OYAGATHON EQXHK EBOA TE THNTATZNAAY** '(ENE) (is) the state of not having property (T-MHT-AT-ZNAAY) something (E-Q-XHK EBOA) perfectly good (OY-AGATHON)?' (AP Chaîne no.29, 5:28-29).

2. **EIE**

introduces a focused yes-no question, where the speaker is not in doubt about the truth of an entire proposition, but rather a single element thereof, which will consequently attract question focus, e.g. **EIE MPEKΩTH NTAK** (for NTOK) **ETBE PΩHP E MPECTPATYΛATHC MHPPO X<E> MPT CA** (for CO) **EPQ** '(EIE) have you not heard (MPE-K-ΩTH) about (ETBE) the son (P-ΩHP E) of the king's (M-P-PPO) general (M-P-CTPATYΛATHC), that (XE) I did not pardon (M-P-I-T CO) him (EPQ-Q)?' (KHML I 73:27-28).

3. **MH**

involves a systematic bias towards a negative response when formulated in the affirmative, e.g. **MH AKOYΩ ETAKA OYCKANTAΛΩN ENECNHY MNHCΩI** '(MH) did you intend (A-K-OYΩ) to let me leave (E-TAKA) an offence (OY-CKANTAΛΩN) for the brothers (E-NE-CNHY) (coming) after me (MNH-CΩ-I)?' (V. Pach. 92:11-12), and towards a positive response, when formulated in the negative, e.g. **MH MPENAY EPQOY MPECNAY POYEW**

MH TOYMAAY '(MH) haven't you (woman) seen (MPE-NAY) them (EPQ both (M-PE-CNAY), (namely) your father (POY-EIWT) and (MH) mother (TOY-MAAY)?' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:16-17).

4.2.3 Rhetorical questions

Unlike the information-seeking questions considered so far, so-called rhetorical questions are never uttered with the purpose of being answered, but rather are declarative statements in disguise, e.g. **MH EITAIHY ANOK EPIAXOEIC** '(MH) am I (ANOK) more (E-ZOY(O)) honoured (E-I-TAIHY) than the Lord (E-PA-XOEIC)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7) (implied meaning: I am *not*...), **EIE NTA NIM AΠOTACCE MPEOY ETPOYEIT MΠIKOC NTEIZE NEE NTAI** '(EIE) *who* (NIM) has renounced (NT-A ... AΠOTA the vain (ET-POYEIT) glory (M-P-EOY) of this (inferior) (M-PI-KOCMOC) in such a manner (N-TEI-ZE) like (NEE) this (N-TAI)?' (Hil. 12:31-32) (implied meaning: *no one but this girl* renounced ...), **OY PE HP OY PE OINOYMH OY PE ΛAAY MHOT NTE PEIKOCMOC NNAZPN TEXAPIC MPEXC** 'what (OY) (is) wine (I what (OY) (is) food (OIN-OYMH), what (OY) (is) any (ΛAAY) corn (MOTNEC) of (NTE) this world (PEI-KOCMOC) compared to (NNAZPNH grace (TE-XAPIC) of Christ (M-PE-XC)?' (KHML II 35:16-18) (implied meaning: *nothing* compares to the grace of Christ).

4.3 Quantification

Quantificational sentences like *all birds fly* can be decomposed into layers of meaning: one is the propositional content (i.e. *birds fly*) and the other is the quantification, which is brought about by the prenominal determiner *all*. The quantifier *all* has an exhaustive interpretative meaning that the totality of a domain of discourse entities must be taken into consideration. This section reviews the inventory of quantificational expressions in Sahidic Coptic. Quantifiers fall into different classes depending on what kind of quantificational relation they describe. Universal quantifiers like **NIM** 'every, each' exhaustively specify an entire domain of discourse entities, while cardinal quantifiers like **ZAQ** 'n

most' have a proportional reading and specify smaller or larger parts of some domain of discourse entities. By contrast, indefinite pronouns like $\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$ 'someone, anyone' pick out any arbitrary member of some domain. Non-/identity pronouns $\kappa\epsilon$ 'other' and $\sigma\gamma\omega\tau$ 'same', on the other hand, indicate the sameness or distinctness of a given item from the one already mentioned. Finally, there are so-called emphatic reflexives like $\zeta\omega\omega=\alpha$ in $\nu\tau\sigma\alpha\zeta \zeta\omega\omega\alpha$ 'he *himself*' that place the referent of the nominal or pronoun constituent they modify into the centre of attention.

TYPE OF QUANTIFIER	INVENTORY		
UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS	NIM every, each	THP= entire, all	
CARDINAL QUANTIFIERS	$\zeta\alpha\zeta$ many	$\kappa\sigma\gamma\iota$ few	$\zeta\sigma\gamma\sigma$ more
INDEFINITE (FREE CHOICE) PRONOUNS	$\sigma\gamma\sigma\text{N}$ Someone	$\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$ Someone	$\sigma\gamma\alpha$ Someone
	$\zeta\sigma\text{INE}$ Some	$\text{ME}\omega\epsilon \text{NIM}$ So-and-so	
(NON)IDENTITY PRONOUNS	$\kappa\epsilon$ other	$\sigma\gamma\omega\tau$ same	
EMPHATIC REFLEXIVES	$\zeta\omega\omega=$ self	MAYAA= alone,	MMIN MMO= own

TABLE 4.8 The quantifier system of Sahidic Coptic

The semantic distinctions and contextual uses of different quantificational expressions of the same class will be examined in the following sections. Particular attention will be drawn to the different interpretations of Coptic quantifier expressions that are largely dependent on the syntactic context in which they occur.

4.3.1 Universal quantifiers

Coptic has two universal quantifiers that express the notions of exhaustiveness, completeness or totality of a given discourse domain. One is the distributive quantifier NIM 'every, all' and the other the holistic quantifier THP= 'entire, complete'. These two universal quantifiers are in complementary distribution with one another.

1. NIM 'every, all'

quantifies over a domain of discrete, i.e. countable entities or objects can only be combined with kind-referring "bare" noun, e.g. PMN-PAN NIM '(as for) *every* (NIM) dignitary (PMN-PAN)' (praec. Pach. 115), GEN NIM NPOME [ϵ]- $\tau\psi\sigma\sigma\text{N}$ ζN $\tau\alpha\text{MNTPPO}$ '*every* (NIM) human (N-POM race (GENOC) which lives ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\psi\sigma\sigma\text{N}$) in (ζN) my kingdom ($\tau\alpha\text{-MNT-PP}$ (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-22). The distributive universal quantifier generally occurs in series where the antecedent noun designates one of major ontological categories, such as *person, thing, place, time*, e.g. PW NIM 'everybody' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), $\zeta\omega\epsilon \text{NIM}$ 'everything' (Eud. 54:1 Pach. 5:7). In combination with indefinite pronouns, it forms a maxime generic expression, such as $\sigma\gamma\sigma\text{N NIM}$ (Test. Is. 228:8) or $\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$ 'everyone' (Onnophr. 219:8).

- Universally quantified noun phrases with NIM are semantically underspecified with respect to grammatical number, as evident from singular or plural specification of a co-referential pronoun, e.g. $\text{PW NIM ETNANEX EITN MTEQH EBOA}$ '*everybody* (PWME NIM) who throw ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-NA-NEX}$) garbage (EITN) out (EBOA) of *his* house (M-TN H)' (Eud. 52:26-27), $\zeta\omega\epsilon \text{NIM XOOY NA}$ '(concerning) *everyth* ($\zeta\omega\epsilon \text{NIM}$), tell *it* (XO-OY) (lit. tell them) to me (NA-I)!' (Eud. 54:17).
- In negative sentences, the universal quantifier has an indefinite interpretation 'anyone', e.g. $\text{MEI}\omega\epsilon\text{INE}$ (for ωINE) NCA PANTON $\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma \text{N}\zeta\omega\alpha$ (for $\zeta\omega\epsilon$) $\text{PARA OYON NIM N}\zeta\text{HTTHYTN}$ 'I did not let ($\text{ME-I-}\omega\text{INE}$) for (NCA) my comfort (PA-MTON) in (ζN) anything (λN $\text{N-}\zeta\omega\epsilon$) more than (PARA) *anyone* ($\sigma\gamma\sigma\text{N NIM}$) of you ($\text{N}\zeta\text{HT-THYT}$ (V. Pach. 88:28-29).

2. THP= 'entire, all'

represents some domain of discourse entities as an entirety. The holistic universal quantifier THP= differs from its distributive counterpart NIM in two respects. First, it modifies definitely and indefinitely determined phrases as well as personal pronouns, but cannot be combined with a ze determined "bare" noun. Second, it contains a pronominal suffix that l

the same person, number and gender specification as the antecedent noun or pronoun, e.g. **πκαζ τηρϣ** 'the *entire* (τηρ-ϣ) earth (π-καζ)' (Ac. A&P 200:80), **τεγψη τηρϣ** 'the *entire* (τηρ-ϣ) night (τε-γψη)' (Onnophr. 218:30), **μμανψωπε ννεψγχοογε τηροϣ** 'the dwelling places (μ-μμανψωπε) of *all* (ν-τηρ-οϣ) souls (ν-νε-ψγχοογε)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), **πεϣωμα τηρϣ** 'his *whole* (τηρ-ϣ) body (πεϣ-ωμα)' (praec. Pach. 92), **†παρακαλει μμωτην τηρτην ζμ πεχ̄** 'I beseech (†παρακαλει) you (μμω-την) *all* (τηρ-την) in (ζμ) Christ (πε-χ̄)' (Hil. 7:25).

- The quantificational adverb **ε-π-τηρ-ϣ** 'entirely, at all' ranges over events and activities, e.g. **αλλα χε αϣψταμ ννεϣβαλ ετμδωψτ εροϣ επτηρϣ** 'but (αλλα) because (χε) he has shut (α-ϣ-ψταμ) his eyes (ν-νεϣ-βαλ) not to see (ε-τμ-δωψτ) it (the sun) (ερο-ϣ) *at all* (επτηρϣ)' (Zen. 200:27-28).

4.3.2 Cardinal quantifiers

Cardinal quantifiers like **ζαζ** 'many' have a proportional interpretation and indicate subparts of some discourse domain.

3. ζαζ 'many, most'

denotes the larger or largest portion of a contextually given set of entities, e.g. **ζαζ νρεμαο ντε τπολις** '*many* (ζαζ) rich people (ν-ρεμαο) of (ντε) the city (τ-πολις)' (KHML I 72:1), **αγω νερ ζαζ** (read **νερε ζαζ**) **ον ζν νεσνηγ ρειμε** (for **ριμε**) 'and (αγω) *many* (ζαζ) of (ζν) the brothers (νε-σνηγ) wept (νερε ... ριμε), too (ον)' (V. Pach. 90:17). When used as a pronoun, the cardinal quantifier **ζαζ** is conventionally interpreted as having human reference, e.g. **νεψαρε ζαζ γαρ ναγ εροϣ εϣϣωδε επεσντ ζμ πρπε** 'because (γαρ) *many* (people) (ζαζ) used to (νε-ψαρε) see (ναγ) him (the demon) (ερο-ϣ) jumping (ε-ϣ-ϣωδε) down (επεσντ) from (ζμ) the temple (π-ρπε)' (KHML II 53:6-7).

4. κογι 'some, a few'

is a paucal quantifier, which expresses a low degree or proportionality and is always determined by the indefinite article. When modifying mass nouns, the cardinal quantifier **κογι** is determined by the singular form **οϣ-**,

e.g. **οϣκογι νζμοϣ** '*a little* (οϣ-κογι) salt (ν-ζμοϣ)' (V. Pach. 5:4 **μννκα οϣκογι δε νογοειψ** 'after (μννκα) *a short* (οϣ-κογι) while (ι ογοειψ)' (Zen. 201:24), and the plural form **ζεν-** when it modifies count noun, e.g. **ζεν[κογι ν]δαμοϣα** '*a few* (ζεν-κογι) came (ν-δαμοϣα)' (Mena, Mir. 8a:31-b:1), **μννκα ζενκογι δε ον νζοϣ** 'after (μννκα) *a few* (ζεν-κογι) days (ν-ζοϣ)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:21).

5. ζοϣο 'more'

is a degree quantifier that indicates amounts or quantities being compared e.g. **οϣζοϣο νβεεκε** '*a bigger* (οϣ-ζοϣο) reward (ν-βεεκε)' (Onnophr. 207:9), **πεζοϣο ννεψαλλμοϣ** '*the larger part* (πε-ζοϣο) of (ν-) the psalms (νε-ψαλλμοϣ)' (Hil. 2:8). As a quantificational adverb, **επεζοϣο** expresses an intensified action or activity, e.g. **ναι δε αϣτογνοϣ επεζοϣο** '(as for) them (ναι) they revived it (the prosecution) (α-ϣ-τογνοϣ-ϣ) (even) *more* (ε-πε-ζοϣο)' (Mena, Maryrd. 1b:3-5).

4.3.3 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns like the numeral **οϣα** 'one' are commonly used as free choice pronouns that refer to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain, e.g. **εϣψανσν οϣα εϣ†των (...)** 'if they find (ε-ϣ-ψαν-σν) *someone* (no matter who) (οϣα) quarelling (ε-ϣ-†-των) (...)' (praec. inst. Pach. 9). The quantificational system of Coptic Egyptian lacks series of negative pronouns like *no one*, *nothing* as well as indefinite pronouns like *anyone*, *anything*. These expressions, which are associated with negative contexts, but may appear in interrogative or conditional sentences, are known as negative polarity items in the linguistic literature. As we will see next, the function of the "missing" negative polarity items is taken over by normal indefinite pronouns, e.g. **ννε ααϣϣ κοϣρε εβολ νρατϣ νρωμε** '*no one* (ααϣϣ) shall pull (ννε ... ν) a thorn (κοϣρε) out (εβολ) from anyone's (ν-ρωμε) foot (ν-ρατ-ϣ)' (praec. Pach. 96).

6. ΟΥΟΝ 'someone, a certain, anyone, no one'

The indefinite pronoun ΟΥΟΝ is conventionally interpreted as a specific indefinite with human reference 'someone, a certain' in affirmative sentences, e.g. Α ΟΥΟΝ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ Ρ ΖΜΕ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΑΤΟΥΩΜ ΝΑΤΩ 'one (ΟΥΟΝ) amongst (ΖΗ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ) spent (Α ... Ρ) forty (ΖΜΕ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥ) without eating (Ν-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩΜ) (and) drinking (Ν-ΑΤ-Ω) (KHML II 35:18-20), and as a negative indefinite 'no one, nobody' in negative sentences, e.g. ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛΙ 'no one (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) has (ever) dared (ΜΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have accomplished (ΠΕ-ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΑΛ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71). It conveys a strong distributive sense in combination with the universal quantifier ΝΙΜ: ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'everybody', e.g. ΖΑΠΑΩΣ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΟΤΤΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΩ 'briefly (ΖΑΠΑΩΣ), everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) that had been imprisoned (ΕΤ-ΖΟΤΤΙ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of Jesus (Ν-ΙΣ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΩ)' (Eud. 40:24-25).

7. ΛΑΛΥ 'someone, something, anyone, anything, no one, nothing'

is not specified for animacy distinctions, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΙ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΕΙΔΩΣ ΝΤΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΑΧΜ ΠΕΦΡΜΗΗΙ 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall take (ΝΝΕ ... ΧΙ) anything (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΕΙΔΩΣ) (away) from (ΝΤΝ) anybody (ΡΩΜΕ) without (ΑΧΜ) his steward (ΠΕΦ-ΡΜΗ-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 106), ΟΥΝ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΜ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΜΟΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ 'and he (the resentful monk) did not eat (Ε-ΜΕ-Φ-ΟΥΕΜ) anything (ΛΑΛΥ) besides (ΝΑ) bread (ΟΕΙΚ) and (ΖΙ) salt (ΖΜΟΥ) alone (ΜΜΑΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:2). Co-reference with a following pronoun shows that ΛΑΛΥ is grammatically specified as singular masculine, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΒΕ ΕΜΠΟΥΧΟΥΦ 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall go (ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) an enclosure (for sheep) (Ε-ΡΒΕ) who has not been sent (lit. they have not sent him (Ε-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΧΟΥΦ-Φ))' (praec. Pach. 108), ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΦΕΡΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΚΕ 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall talk (ΝΝΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΦ-ΕΡΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the dark (Π-ΚΑΚΕ)' (praec. Pach. 94). Since ΛΑΛΥ is a maximally generic expression, its exact interpretation is determined by the syntactic context in which it occurs:

- As a free-choice pronoun, ΛΑΛΥ conveys a strong distributive reading ΛΑΛΥ ΝΙΜ 'each one', e.g. ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΑΩΣ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΦΗΝ ΕΝΦΑΦΧΟΥΨ ΨΑΥΑΥΞΑΝΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ 'briefly (ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΑΩΣ) each (ΛΑΛΥ) of all (ΝΙΜ) the trees (Ν-ΦΗΝ) that he (Απα Ματθαι) planted (ΕΝ-ΦΑ-Φ-ΧΟ-ΟΥΨ) grew (ΨΑ-Υ-ΑΥΞΑΝΕ) very much (ΕΜΑΤΕ)' (KH II 19:6-7).
- In negated sentences, ΛΑΛΥ functions as a negative polarity i expressing the non-occurrence of any representative member of a kind, e.g. ΕΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'without (there) being (Ε-ΜΝ) any (ΛΑΛΥ) in them (i.e. the deserted streets of Hell) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Ac. I 204:132), ΑΥΩ ΜΝΤΑΝ ΝΛΑΛΥ ΝΚΟΛΑ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΚΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ' (ΑΥΩ) we do not have (ΜΝΤΑ-Ν) any (ΛΑΛΥ) physical (ΚΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ) comfort (Ν-ΚΟΛΑ)' (Hil. 5:23).
- In nominal sentences, the indefinite pronoun ΛΑΛΥ may adopt predicative function, witness the presence of the indefinite article ΟΥ-, ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΛΑΛΥ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (Α (am) a nobody (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ)' (AP Chafine no. 225, 65: 31-32), ΟΥΛΑΛΥ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΤΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'it (ΠΕ) (our endeavour) (is) not (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ) compared to (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) the ascetic life-style (Τ-ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ that (man) (Απα Zenobius) (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Zen. 201:2).

8. ΟΥΑ 'someone, anyone, a certain'

The numeral ΟΥΑ 'one' is a widely used indefinite pronoun, which covers a broad spectrum of semantic distinctions.

- The numeral ΟΥΑ is interpreted as a specific indefinite interpretation much the same way as the indefinite article ΟΥ-. Compare, then: Α ΝΝΕΚΝΗΥ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΣΤΑΜΩΝ 'one (ΟΥΑ) of the brotl (Ν-ΝΕ-ΚΝΗΥ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Απα Παταμôn' (AP Chafine no. 5:15) vs. Α ΟΥΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ Π[ΟΙ]ΜΗΝ 'a (certain) brother (ΟΥ-Ο asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Απα Ποιμên' (AP Chafine no. 63, 14:11).

- As a specific indefinite, the numeral *ογα* selects a referent whose existence and uniqueness is presupposed by the speaker, although its exact identity is either unknown to him or known but not divulged, e.g. *α ογα μετανοι νογοειω λqσραzt* 'a certain (monk) (*ογα*) once (*ν-ογοειω*) made repentance (*μετανοι*) (and) found rest (*λ-q-σραzt*)' (AP Chaîne no.195, 50:24).
- Since the numeral *ογα* presupposes the individuality of its referent, it is commonly used as a sense-of-identity anaphor: *π-ογα ... πε-κε-ογα* 'the one ... the other (one)'. Sense-of-identity anaphors refer back to an antecedent quantified noun phrase, with which they share descriptive content, although they are not identical with it, e.g. *λqταμi[ο] μπιναz cnaγ α πογα ε[i] εβολ εqcoτπ μπαρα* (for *παρα*) *πεκεογα* 'he manufactured (*λ-q-ταμi*) two (*cnaγ*) dishes (*πιναz*) (and) one (*π-ογα*) came (*α ... εi*) out (*εβολ*) better (*ε-q-coτπ*) than (*μπαρα*) the other (*πε-κε-ογα*)' (Mena, Mir. 18a:3-7).
- In the context of negation, *ογα* is used as a negative polarity item, e.g. *μπειπετi[μα] ννογα* (for *νογα*) *νζητ-τιγτi ενεz (...)* *ειμiτ ετβε ποxαι ντεqφγχι* 'I never (*ενεz*) reprimanded (*μπ-ει-πετi[μα]*) anyone (*ν-ογα*) of you (*νζητ-τιγτi*) (...) except (*ειμiτ*) for (*ετβε*) the salvation (*π-οxαι*) of his soul (*ν-τεq-φγχι*)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19).
- In conditional constructions, the numeral *ογα* assumes a non-specific interpretation and refers to a hypothetical individual: whoever fits the description given in the protasis clause qualifies as a potential referent, e.g. *ερωαν ογα ετι* (read *αιτει*) *μμοκ νογzωε (...)* 'if (*ερωαν*) anyone (*ογα*) asks (*αιτει*) you (*μμο-κ*) something (*ν-ογ-zωε*) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14).
- The reduplicated form *ογα ογα* expresses iconically the plurality of referents: *zenoγα ογα* 'some people', e.g. *ντοq δε νεγνiηγ φαροq νοi zenoγα ογα εβολ zη νtηε ετηπεqκωτε* '(as for) him (Pachōm) (*ντοq δε*), occasionally people (*zenoγα ογα*) came (*νε-γ-νiηγ*) to him (*φαρο-q*) from (*εβολ zη*) the villages (*ν-tηε*) in the neighbourhood (*ετ-η-πεq-κωτε*)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26); *πογα πογα* 'everybody, each', e.g. *νεφαγσωγz ενεγερηγ ντε πογα πογα*

ταγε πετqcooγν μμοq εβολ zη νεγραφη 'they (the brothers) used to gather (*νε-φα-γ-σωγz*) with one another (*ε-νεγ-ερηγ*) an (*αγω*) everybody (*πογα πογα*) told (*ντε ... ταγε*) what he knew (*π-ετ-q-cooγν*) from (*εβολ zη*) the Scriptures (*νε-γραφη*)' (V. Pach. 137:4-6), *λqcmoy επογα πογα μμον* 'he (the angel of the Lord) blessed (*λ-q-cmoy*) each one (*πογα πογα*) of us (*μμο-ν*)' (Onnoph. 222:5).

9. *zoiue* 'some'

typically refers to a small, but representative set of discourse entities, e.g. *α zoiue ει νογοειω zη θηβαic φα ογzαλο* 'once (*ν-ογοειω*) some (people) (*zoiue*) in (*zη*) the Thebais (*θηβαic*) went (*α ... ει*) to (*φα*) (certain) old man (*ογ-zαλο*)' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:10), *αλ λqτογnoc ναν νzenpeqρ zγμμε* (read *zμμε*) *zoiue nca zenkooγe npeqtaγe oeiω* 'but (*αλλa*) he (God) raised (*λ-q-toγnoc*) for us (*να-ν*) guides (*zen-peq-p zμμε*), some (*zoiue*) teachers (*ν-caz*) others (*zen-kooγe*) preachers (*ν-peq-taγe-oeiω*)' (Hil. 1:14-15). Unlike its singular counterpart *ογα*, it is never used as a negative polarity item, e.g. *μηποc ντε zoiue bi* (for *qi*) *πεqσμα νxioγe* 'that no (*μηποc*) some (people) (*zoiue*) would carry away (*ντε ... qi*) hi (Pachōm's) body (*πεq-cωμα*) secretly (*ν-xioγe*)' (V. Pach. 94:7).

10. *meγe nim* 'so-and-so'

replaces a proper name, when this name is not considered to be relevant for the development of the narrative, e.g. *βωκ φα μεγe νηi ναρχιμαδριτiс* 'go (*βωκ*) to (*φα*) the Archimadrite (*ν-αρχιμαδριτiс*) so and-so (*μεγe nim*)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 29:1).

4.3.4 (Non)identity pronouns

11. *ke* 'other'

presupposes the existence of two or more exemplars of the same kind. It functions either as a determiner-like expression or as a pronoun.

a) Determiner

As a determiner, the invariant form *κε* is sandwiched between the definite or indefinite article and the head noun, e.g. *μη ζενκεψην ευψευ* *ε-υ-ψευ* *εβολ* 'and (μη) other trees (ζεν-κε-ψην) that spread (ε-υ-ψευ) forth (εβολ) a sweet odour (ε-υ-ψευ)' (Onnophr. 219:24-25), *τεκεπαψε* 'the other half (τε-κε-παψε) (of the garment)' (Onnophr. 217:30), *ουμντсавε ουζυπομινε ουραψε ουακнсic* [*μη*] *νκεαρεθι τηρου* 'wisdom (ου-μντ-савε), patience (ου-ζυπομινε), joy (ου-ραψε), an ascetic life-style (ου-ακнсic) and (μη) all (τηρ-ου) the other virtues (ν-κε-αρεθι)' (Zen. 201:29-30). Invariant *κε* is often used as an additive focus particle 'also, even, as well', e.g. *πεсmнтψомте ncioyp μη κεco нπαρενος нтас* 'her thirteen (πεс-мнт-ψомте) eunuchs (н-сioyp) and (μη) also six (κε-сo) of her own (нтас-с) virgins (н-παρενος)' (Eud. 56:6-7), *ουδε νευκενουτε нпсψинε ncwoy* 'and not (ουδε) even their (the Persian) gods (νευ-κε-νουτε) did he (Constantine) pay a visit (нп-с-ψинε)' (Eud. 42:16).

b) Pronoun

The corresponding pronominal forms are: (singular masculine) *κε*, *σε*, *κεт*, (singular feminine) *κετε*, (plural) *κοοуе*, *κεκοοуе* '(the) other, others', e.g. *αυω нтерειδομoм επειкет (...)* 'when I touched (нтерει-δομoм) this other thing (ε-πει-кет) (...)' (Onnophr. 206:1-2), *τκλөнкеи δε нтннcтeиa εснap тoуi зм пeснeи* *αυω тκεте зм пнн нпeсψннp* '(as for) the service (τ-κλөнкеи) of fasting (н-т-ннcтeиa): he shall make (ε-с-нa-р) the first one (т-oуi) in (зм) his house (пeс-нeи) and (αυω) the other (т-κεте) in (зм) his friend's (н-пeсψннp) house (π-нн)' (praec. Pacl. 115), *α нzααтe μη нтeт oуwm нzенκοоуе* 'the birds (н-зααтe) and (μη) the fish (н-тeт) ate (α ... oуwm) others (н-zen-κοоуе)' (Zen. 202:13-14), *oψт нгнay ενικεκοоуе* 'look (oψт) and see (нг-нay) these other ones (ε-нн-κεκοоуе) (sinners)' (Test. Is. 234:31).

12. οуωт 'single, same'

is a postnominal modifier, whose primary function is one of restriction or exclusion. In the context of indefinites, the identity pronoun *οуωт* str. the uniqueness or singularity of a particular referent, e.g. *οуωнpε нс пeтψооп нαι* 'it (is) just (н-οуωт) one son (οу-ωнpε) that bel (εт-ψооп) to me (на-и)' (Ac. A&P 194:22), *нeуo нoуzнт нoуωт* *οуψχн нoуωт* 'they (the brothers) were (нe-γ-ο) one (н-οуωт) i (οу-знт) and (μη) one (н-οуωт) soul (οу-ψχн)' (V. Pach. 4:21). When modifying demonstratively determined noun phrases, it serves as an emphatic marker of identity, e.g. *нeун зенкeс[ннγ] де зм пн нoуωт зи птoоy* '(there) were (нe-γн) other brothers (зен-ке-снн (зм) that same (н-οуωт) place (пeи-нa) on (зи) the mountain (π-тo (Zen. 201:31).

4.3.5 Emphatic reflexives

Emphatic reflexives like *herself* in *the Queen herself went to the opening of the new museum* are focus particles, which place the referent of noun phrase they modify into the centre of attention: of all visitors of newly opened museum *the Queen* is singled out as the most prominent one. Coptic has three types of emphatic reflexives that indicate different semantic focus types, viz. *зωω* = '-self', *мaγaλ* = 'alone', and *нмнн* = 'own'. They all contain a co-pronoun that has the same person, number and gender specification as the focalised noun or pronoun.

1. *зωω* = '-self'

As inclusive focus particle, *зωω* presents the involvement of a particular discourse referent in some state of affairs as a remarkable fact, e.g. *αср зωωс on нoи пωнpε нтннтψанзтнч* 'the Son (π-ωнpε) of M (н-т-мнт-ψан-зтн-с) himself (зωω=с) also (он) wept (α-с-пимε)' (I 34:8-9). With independent pronouns, it conveys a strong sense of continuity, e.g. *αнoк зω тaαγoнн[з]ε нн нeиoγдaи нкeкoуi* 'I (αнoк), howe (зω), intend to fight (тa-αγoннe) with (нн) the Jews (нe-иoγдaи) for a little longer (н-ке-кoуi) (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

2. **ΜΑΛΑΑ** = 'alone, by oneself'

serves as a restrictive focus marker, which asserts that no other discourse entity other than the referent of the focus phrase fits the description expressed by the associated predicate, e.g. **ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΛΑΑ** 'you (**ΝΤΟΚ**) *alone* (**ΜΑΛΑΑ=α**) (are) God (**ΠΝΟΥΤΕ**)' (Eud. 46:14), **ΕΑΚΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΑΛΑΑΚ** 'and you killed (**ε-α-κ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ**) yourself (**ΜΜΟ-κ**) *by your own doing* (**ΜΑΛΑΑ=κ**)' (Ac. A&P 202:127).

3. **ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** = 'OWN'

is used for the emphatic assertion of identity in reflexive predicates and possessive noun phrases, e.g. **ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΕΦΘΟΝΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΩ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) he (Αρα Zenobius) finally (**ΛΟΙΠΟΝ**) was no longer (**ΟΥΚΕΤΙ**) very (**ΕΜΑΤΕ**) angry (**ΝΕ-φ-ΘΟΝΤ**) *at himself* (**ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-ω ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ω**)' (Zen. 203:29-30), **†ΩΡΚ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΙ ΧΕ** (...) 'I swear (**†-ΩΡΚ**) *to myself* (**ΜΜΟ-ι ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ι**) that (**ΧΕ**) (...) (KHML II 107:8-9), **ΝΑΙΑΤΩ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΗΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** **ΝΟΥΟΕΩ ΝΙΜ** 'rather (**ΝΖΟΥΟ**) (is) blessed (**ΝΑΙΑΤ-ω**) he who will always (**Ν-ΟΥΕΩ ΝΙΜ**) see (**Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ**) *his own* (**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ω**) *sins* (**Ε-ΝΕΦ-ΝΟΒΕ**)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΨΑΝΤΕΩΧΠΟ ΝΑΩ ΗΠΕΦΟΕΚ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** 'so that he gained (**ΨΑΝΤΕ-ω-ΧΠΟ**) *his own* (**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ω**) *bread* (**Η-ΠΕΦ-ΟΕΚ**)' (AP Chaîne no.31, 6:9-10).

Key Terms:

Proximal-distal contrast	Proximal and distal demonstratives are deictically contrastive: the former refer to items near the speaker and the latter to items located at some distance away from the speaker.	§4.1.1
Wh-questions	are information-eliciting speech-acts. The queried piece of information is indicated by the question or <i>wh</i> -word.	§4.2.1

DEIXIS, INTERROGATION, QUANTIFICATION

Yes-no questions	are questions that address the validity or the truth of some statement.	§4.2.2
Interrogative particles	are lexicalised question cues that signal the interrogative character of the clause they introduce.	§4.2.2
Rhetorical questions	are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the disguise of a question.	§4.2.3
Universal quantifiers	have an exhaustive interpretation and make reference to the entirety of some discourse domain.	§4.3.2
Cardinal quantifiers	designate proportions or subsets of a given domain of discourse entities.	§4.3.3
Free-choice pronouns	are indefinite pronouns that refer to any representative member of a given category.	§4.3.4
Emphatic reflexives	are focus assigning expressions that place some discourse referent into the centre of attention.	§4.3.6

Exercises

4.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
 1. Coptic demonstratives have anaphoric and discourse deictic uses.
 2. The proximal demonstrative article **πι**- may have a generic (i.e. kind-referring) interpretation.
 3. Two demonstratives cannot modify one and the same expression.

4. The question word **αφ** 'which' functions as an interrogative determiner of partitive interrogative phrases.
5. A yes-no questions must always be introduced by a question particle to indicate its interrogative force.
6. The universal quantifiers **νιμ** and **τιμ**= appear in free variation.
7. Coptic has no negative polarity items like English *any*.
8. Emphatic reflexives assign focus to the main verbal predicate of the clause.

4.2 Deixis

A. Fill in the correct form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun **παι** in the following Coptic examples:

- (1) ___ **ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕϞΖΜΟΟC** **ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC** **ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ** (...) 'when *this one* (Zeno) came to sit (**ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϟ-ΖΜΟΟC**) upon (**ΖΙΧΜ**) the imperial (**Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ**) throne (**ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟC**) (...)' (Hil. 2:2-3)
- (2) ___ **ΤΕ ΤΦΟΡΠΕ ΝΒΑCΑΝΟC** **ΝΤΑϞΤΑΛC** **ΝΑϞ** 'this (was) the first (**Τ-ΦΟΡΠΕ**) torture (**Ν-ΒΑCΑΝΟC**) that he (the judge) had given (**ΝΤ-Α-ΤΑΑ-C**) him (**ΝΑ-Ϟ**) (Ara Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8)
- (3) ___ **ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC** **ΠΕ** '(as for) *this one* (the rich Alexandrian), he (**ΠΕ**) was (**ΝΕ**) a christian (**ΟΥ-ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC**)' (Mena, Mir.13a:11-12)
- (4) ___ **ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕϞΧΟΟϞ** (...) 'when he (Andrew) had spoken (**ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϟ-ΧΟΟ-Ϟ**) *these* (words) (...)' (Ac. A&P 196:41)
- (5) ___ **ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ** '*this one* (is) my wife (**ΤΑ-CΖΙΜΕ**)' (AP Chafne no.241, 73:30)

DEIXIS, INTERROGATION, QUANTIFICATION

B. Translate the following demonstratively determined noun phrases

- (1) **ΠΕΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ** (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:24-25)
- (2) **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΙϞ** (Ac. A&P 196:32)
- (3) **ΠΙΜΑ** (Hil. 11:25)
- (4) **ΤΕΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΜΠΝΙΚΩΝ** (Hil. 1:20)
- (5) **ΠΕΙΜΕΕϞΕ ΠΑΙ** (Hil. 10:19)
- (6) **ΝΙΦΑΧΕ ΝCΕΩ ΜΗ ΝΙΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΩΝΖ** (Test. Is. 228:7)
- (7) **ΠΕ[Ι]ΑΠΟΤ ΜΜΟΟϞ** (Ac. A&P 198:56)
- (8) **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙΑΤΤΑΖΟϞ** (Test. Is. 232:23) (< **ΤΑΖΟ** 'to reach, touch')

C. Fill in the correct the form of the possessive article:

- (1) ___ **CΩΝΕ** '*his* sister' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1)
- (2) ___ **ΖΗΠΑΡ** '*my* liver' (Onnophr. 208:30)
- (3) ___ **ΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ** '*her* name Maria' (Test.Is. 231:9)
- (4) ___ **ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ** '*his* letter' (V. Pach. 3:12)
- (5) ___ **ΑΠΕ** '*his* head' (Ac.A&P 200:97)
- (6) ___ **ΕΙΩΤ** '*our* father' (Zen. 199:9)
- (7) **ΙΑΚΩΒ** ___ **ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΦΗΡΕ** 'Jacob, *your* beloved (**ΜΕΡΙΤ**) child (**Ν-ΦΗΡΕ**)' (Test. Is. 229:14)

D. Complete the following sentences by selecting one of the three options.

- (1) ΕΤΡΑΧΙ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε__ 'such that (ε-) I could take (τρα-χι) a woman (ςζιμε) inside (εζουν ε-) my living quarters' (Hil. 9:6-7)
☐ ΠΕΚΜΑΝΩΠΕ
☐ ΝΑΜΑΝΩΠΕ
☐ ΠΑΜΑΝΩΠΕ
- (2) ΧΙ Ν__ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΜΑΝΩΠΕ 'take (χι) this little girl to your living quarters (ε-πεκ-μανωπε)!' (Hil. 9:4)
☐ ΤΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΕΕΡΕ
☐ ΠΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ
☐ ΤΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ
- (3) __ ΔΕ ΕΓΧΩ ΗΜΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΘ ΗΜΗΤΧΑΙΖΗΤ 'when he (Diocletian) said (ε-γ-χω) these (words) with (ζν) great (ογ-νοθ) arrogance (η-μητχαιζητ)' (Eud. 36:17)
☐ ΝΕΙ
☐ ΝΙ
☐ ΝΑΙ
- (4) __ ΝΕ 'they (νε) (are) mine' (V. Pach. 4:23)
☐ ΝΩΙ
☐ ΝΟΥΙ
☐ ΝΑΙ
- (5) ΝΕΓΜΕ ΗΜΟC ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ __ ΝΑΙΚΑΙΟΥΝΗ 'he (Constantine) loved (νε-γ-με) her (ημο-с) (Eudoxia) very much (εματε) for (ετβε) her works of (η-) righteousness (δικαιοуνη)' (Eud. 56:4-5)
☐ ΝΕCΖΒΗΥΕ
☐ ΝΕCΖΩΒ
☐ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ

- (6) ΠΕΓCΟΝ ΠΕ ΑΝΑΤΩΛΙΟC ΠΕΠΑΡΧΟC __ 'his brother (πεγ-сon (was) Anatol, the eparch (π-επαρχοc) of that time' (Mena, Eni 40a:2-6)
☐ ΗΠΕΥΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ
☐ ΗΠΕΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ
☐ ΗΠΕΙΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ

E. Translate the following definite noun phrases. Particular attention should be paid to the meaning differences between the various demonstratives.

- (1) ΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΗ (Test. Is. 229:20)
 (2) ΤΕΝΗΜΤΡΡΟ (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:31)
 (3) ΝΑΤΕΨΥΧΗ (Hil. 1:12)
 (4) ΤΕΨΨΕΕΡΕ CΕΝΤΕ (Hil. 2:17)

4.3 Interrogation

A. Complete the following questions by selecting the correct question word.

- (1) ΕΡΒΗΚ (ΕΤΩΝ/ΕΝΙΗ) 'where are you going to (ερ-βωκ)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22)
 (2) (ΟΥ/ΝΙΗ) ΡΗΤΚ 'what (is) your name (ρηт-к)?' (KHML II 31:15)

B. Decide whether the following yes/no questions anticipate a positive or a negative answer:

- (1) ΗΗ ΕΚΝΑΚΑΛΤ ΝCΩΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΗΜΑΤΕ 'will you abandon (ε-κ-να-καλ-т) me (η-сω-к) because of (ετβε) one thing (ογ-ζωβ) only (ηματα)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

- (2) **ΗΝ** **ΗΠΕΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** **ΗΠΕCΝΑΥ** **ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ** **ΗΝ** **ΤΟΥΜΑΛΥ** '(Η) haven't you (woman) seen (ΗΠΕ-ΝΑΥ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) both (Η-ΠΕ-CΝΑΥ), (namely) your father (ΠΟΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) and (ΗΝ) your mother (ΤΟΥ-ΜΑΛΥ)?' (AP Chaine no. 210, 56:16-17).

4.4 Quantification

A. The universal quantifier \forall requires cross-reference with an antecedent noun or pronoun. Fill in the correct form of the copronoun in the following sentences.

- (1) ΝΤΝΡ ΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡ__ ΝΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ 'and we spent (ΝΤ-Ν-Ρ) the *entire night* of Sunday (Ν-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ) with (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 221:8-9)
- (2) †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΤΗΡ__ ΖΜ ΠΕΧ̄C 'I beseech (†-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) you (ΜΜΩ-ΤΝ) *all* in (ΖΜ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄C)' (Hil. 7:25)
- (3) ΝΕΠΟΛΙC ΤΗΡ__ ΕΤΖΑ ΠΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ 'all the cities that (were) under (ΕΤ-ΖΑ) their government (ΠΕΥ-ΑΜΑΖΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:10-11)
- (4) †ΝΑΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡ__ ΝΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC 'I will exterminate (†-ΝΑ-ΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ) the *entire* race (Μ-Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of the Christians (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (Eud. 36:6-7)

Nominal sentences

This Unit completes our survey of the nominal domain by taking a closer look at the Coptic equivalents of sentences like *John is a physician*, where the indefinite noun phrase *a physician* does not refer to any particular individual, but rather predicates something about the subject *John*, namely his profession as a medical doctor. Such sentences are called nominal sentences, since they contain a noun phrase that is used predicatively.

Coptic nominal sentences are peculiar in two ways. First, they are verbless constructions in the present tense, i.e. they lack a verbal copula corresponding to English *be*. Thus, one class of nominal sentences is formed by juxtaposition of a personal pronoun and an indefinite noun phrase in predicative function, e.g. $\text{AN}\Gamma \text{ OY}\Pi\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}$ 'I (AN Γ) (am) a ghost (OY- $\Pi\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}$)' (Onnophr. 206:19). The syntax and semantics of such bipartite nominal sentences are the topic of section 5.1. Second, there is another type of nominal sentences, which contain an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. $\text{ANOK } \Pi\epsilon \text{ } \Pi\psi\text{HP}\epsilon \text{ } \text{M}\Pi\text{NOY}\text{TE}$ 'I (ANOK) (am) the son (PI- $\psi\text{HP}\epsilon$) of God (M-PI-NOYTE)' (Abbatôn 240:13). As will be shown in section 5.2, the added pronoun $\Pi\epsilon$ in such tripartite nominal sentences has no anaphoric role (i.e. it does not refer to previously mentioned discourse participants), but rather fulfils a purely grammatical function as an agreement clitic, which links the subject to the nominal predicate.

Nominal sentences have a relatively transparent syntax with only a limited degree of word order variation. Yet, a broad spectrum of

semantic distinctions is expressed by means of bi- and tripartite nominal sentence patterns, depending on the meaning of the nominal predicate chosen. This Unit follows a taxonomic approach, where the structural description of commonly occurring nominal sentence patterns is combined with a functional analysis of the various types of predicative relationships.

5.1 Bipartite nominal sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences, as suggested by the terminology, are composed of two elements, the subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. **ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25). While a variety of nominal expressions appear in the predicate position, there is a strict selectional restriction on the subject of a bipartite nominal sentence, which must be a personal pronoun.

5.1.1 The "mixed" paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Coptic has two morphologically distinct sets of pronominal clitics. One consists of the phonologically reduced and deaccented proclitic forms of the independent first and second person pronouns, to wit **ΑΝΓ** (< **ΑΝΟΚ**) 'I', **ΝΤΚ** 'you (man)' (< **ΝΤΟΚ**), **ΝΤΕ** 'you (woman)' (< **ΝΤΟ**), **ΑΝ(Ν)** 'we' (< **ΑΝΟΝ**), **ΝΤΕΤΝ** 'you (plural)' (< **ΝΤΩΤΝ**). The other set of pronouns consists of the enclitic deictic pronouns **ΠΕ** 'he', **ΤΕ** 'she' **ΝΕ** 'they'. These are used as suppletive pronominal forms in the context of third person reference, since there are no proclitic variants of the freestanding third person pronouns (see above, section 2.4.3.1 of Unit 2). The mixed pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences is illustrated in table 5.1 below.

In the context of emphatic pronominal reference, however, the independent pronouns for first and second person may be used as pronominal subjects instead of their proclitic counterparts. Particularly common are contrastive topics, e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΦΩC ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a shepherd (ΟΥΦΩC) and (ΑΥΩ) this one (here)(ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaine no. 241, 73:30), **ΑΝΟΝ ΖΕΝΡΕCΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΟΥΠΕΤΟΓΑΛΒ ΠΕ** 'we (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) sinners (ΖΕΝΡΕCΡ ΝΟΒΕ), but (as for him) him (Jesus Christ) (ΝΤΟC), lic (ΠΕ) (is) holy (ΟΥΠΕΤΟΓΑΛΒ)' (Sh. III 142:29-30).

Independent personal pronouns can also be found in the context of question-answer pairs, e.g. **ΝΤΩΤΝ ΝΑΛΩ ΜΠΟΛΙC - ΑΝΟΝ ΝΑΘΙΕΛΗ** 'from which (ΝΑ-ΛΩ) city (Μ-ΠΟΛΙC) (are) you (ΝΤΩΤΝ)? We (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) from Jerusalem (ΝΑ-ΘΙΕΛΗ)' (KHML I 80:6-8), **ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΡΗΤΩΝ - ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΗΝΕΚΙΝΤΩΡΕ ΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΕ ΘΗΒΑΙC** 'you (ΝΤΟΚ) (are) a man from whence (ΟΥΡΗ-ΤΩΝ)? I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a man of Nekintôre (Dendera) (ΟΥΡΗ-ΝΕΚΙΝΤΩΡΕ), a town (ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙC) of (ΝΤΕ) the Thêbais (ΘΗΒΑΙC)' (KMHL II 31:22-25).

BIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCES		
[PREDICATE ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ] [SUBJECT ΠΕ] He (is) a man		
1 st sing.	ΑΝΓ ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ / ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ	I (am) a man / a woman
2 nd sing. masc.	ΝΤΚ ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ	You (are) a man
2 nd sing. fem.	ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ	You (are) a woman
3 rd sing. masc.	ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ	He (is) a man
3 rd sing. fem.	ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ	She (is) a woman
1 st pl.	ΑΝ(Ν) ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ	We (are) people
2 nd pl.	ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ	You (are) people
3 rd pl.	ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ ΝΕ	They (are) people

TABLE 5.1 The pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Further examples: (1st sing.) **ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ** 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27), **ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΓ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** '(as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Eud. 54:11-12), (2nd sing. masc.) **ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΙC** 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ) such that (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) glory (Ν-ΕΟΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΙC)?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1), (2nd sing. fem.) **ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25), (3rd sing. masc.) **ΟΥΦΩC ΠΕ ΕΦΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ** 'he (ΠΕ) (is) a shepherd (ΟΥΦΩC) who pastures (Ε-Φ-ΜΟΟΝΕ) sheep (Ν-Ν-ΕCΟΟΥ)' (AP, Chaine no. 241, 73:24), (3rd sing. fem.) **ΚΑΝ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ** 'be it (ΚΑΝ) (that) she (ΤΕ) (is) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 154:12), (1st pl.) **ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑΡΞ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (ΝCΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12), (2nd pl.) **ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are)

shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΤ-ΩΠΤΕ)' (Eud. 64:11), (3rd pl.) ΖΕΝΑΩ ΜΙΝΕ ΝΕ 'they (NE) (are) what (ΖΕΝ-ΑΩ) kind (of people) (Μ-ΜΙΝΕ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:67).

5.1.2 Word order

Bipartite nominal sentences display two fundamentally different word order patterns that can be directly related to the prosodic status of the subject pronoun chosen. First and second person pronouns appear in subject-initial clauses, whereas third person pronouns occur in predicate-first sentences in which the predicate noun is placed in front of the pronominal subject. The factor motivating this word order contrast is the prosodic behaviour of the subject pronoun in question. Thus, proclitic pronouns are phonologically attached to the right of the host word, which is the nominal predicate, and the result is subject-first order. Enclitic pronouns, on the other hand, must follow their phonological host, which gives rise to predicate-first order. Thus, compare: ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27) vs. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he (ΠΕ) (is) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:18-19), ΑΝΓ ΟΥΠΝΑ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΠΝΑ)' (Onnophr. 206:19) vs. ΤΑΧΑ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΠΕ 'perhaps (ΤΑΧΑ) he (ΠΕ) (is) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΠΝΑ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:7)

5.1.2.1 Clitic clustering

Proclitic and enclitic pronouns appear not only on opposite sites of their phonological host, the nominal predicate, but also exhibit different degrees of prosodic boundness. The proclitic first and second person pronouns form a single, indivisible prosodic constituent with the adjacent nominal predicate. It is therefore not possible for enclitic elements to split up the subject-predicate complex. As a result, prosodically weak function words, such as the Greek discourse markers ΔΕ and ΓΑΡ 'since', the additive focus particle ΟΝ 'also, too' or the negative adverb ΑΝ 'not' must appear in clause-third position, to the left of the predicate nominal, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a soldier (ΟΥ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10), ΕΩΧΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΜΑΛΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΣΑΒΗ 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) you (ΝΤΕ) (are) also (ΟΝ) a wise (Ν-ΣΑΒΗ) mother (ΟΥ-ΜΑΛΥ)' (Sh. III 22:21), ΑΝΓ ΟΥΚΑΤΑΡΩΤΗ ΑΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) not (ΑΝ) a man (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) of your kind (ΟΥ-ΚΑΤΑΡΩ-ΤΗ)' (Sh. III 117:5). The postponement of enclitic function words and particles can also be observed in the context of emphatic pronominal

reference, when an independent pronoun replaces the corresponding proclitic in clause-initial position, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ ΑΝ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ (am) not (ΑΝ) a magician (ΟΥ-ΜΑΓΟΣ)' (KHML I 5:13), ΑΝΟΚ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ 'for (ΓΑΡ) we (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) (just) human (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ) (Sh. IV 155:1-2).

A different situation obtains in predicate-initial nominal sentences where third person pronouns compete with enclitic function words and particles for the clause-second position. As a rule, enclitic third person pronouns are placed in clause-third position, to the left of the enclitic particle, e.g. ΟΥΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΝΡΩΜΕ 'he (ΠΕ) (is) inferior (ΟΥ-ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ) in the eyes of (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) people (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) (Pach. Catéch. 19:22-23), ΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Apa Ptolemy) (is) a nobleman (ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ)' (KHML II 34:6) ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΑΤΤΩΛΗ 'he (ΠΕ) (Apa Mena) also (ΟΝ) (was) a spotless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΤΩΛΗ) virgin (ΟΥ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 59a:10-12), ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΤΕ 'it (ΤΕ) (the distinction between words and deeds) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a small one (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ)' (Zen. 201:11), ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him (ΝΑ-Φ) (Apa Zenobius) it (ΠΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a fault (ΟΥ-ΑΡΙΚΕ)' (Zen. 203:22).

Figure 5.1 on the next page gives a schematic representation of clitic order in bipartite nominal sentences. (PN stands for 'predicate nominal', PROCL for 'proclitic, ENCL for enclitic, DAT-CL for 'dative clitic', and PCL for 'particle'; brackets indicate prosodic domains).

PRONOUN	WORD ORDER	PARTICLE PLACEMENT
PROCLITIC	SUBJECT-FIRST ORDER	[PROCL PN] PCL
ΑΝΓ, ΝΤΚ, etc	ΑΝΓ ΟΥΠΝΑ 'I (am) a ghost' (Onnophr. 206:19)	ΑΝΓ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ 'I (am) a soldier' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10)
ENCLITIC	PREDICATE-FIRST ORDER	[PN] DAT-CL] PCL] ENCL]]
ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ	ΤΑΧΑ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΠΕ 'perhaps he (is) a ghost' (AP Chaîne no.243, 75:7)	ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him it (is) not a fault' (Zen. 203:22)

FIGURE 5.1 Word order in bipartite nominal sentences

5.1.2.2 Possessor splitting

Enclitic deictic pronouns and function words differ from one another not only with respect to the cluster-internal position, but also with respect to what might be called possessor splitting (i.e. the disruption of the syntactic continuity of possessive noun phrases). Enclitic pronouns may but need not be placed between the possessed noun and the possessor noun, e.g. *οὐρῳη πε ντε πνοῦτε* 'he (πε) (is) a man (οὐ-ρῳη) of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε)' (AP, *Chaîne* no. 243, 75:18-19), *πμα ηπεντον πε* 'it (πε) (the Henaton) (is) the place (π-μα) of rest (η-πε-ητον)' (Hil. 5:18). Enclitic function words, on the other hand, are always placed between the possessed and the possessor noun, e.g. *οὐφηρε γαρ ντε περητ πε νεε νισαακ ην σαμουη* 'since (γαρ) he (πε) (Ara Mena) (was) a child (οὐ-φηρε) of (ντε) the vow (π-ερητ) like (νεε ν-) Isaak and (ην) Samuel' (Mena, Enc. 45b:1-5).

5.1.2.3 The Preterit auxiliary νε

Nominal sentences have a limited distribution with respect to tense marking. While present tense reference is morphologically unmarked, the Preterit auxiliary *νε* is used to indicate a present-in-the past. The auxiliary *νε* always precedes the subject-predicate complex, e.g. *νε τεῦψη γαρ τε* 'because (γαρ) it (τε) was (νε) night (τε-ῦψη)' (KHML I 80:28), *παι δε νε ουχρηστιανος πε* '(as for) this one (i.e. the rich Alexandrian) (παι δε), he (πε) was (νε) a Christian (οὐ-χρηστιανος)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:11-12).

5.1.2.4 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a topicalized noun or pronoun, which appears in front of the subject-predicate complex. The preclausal topic constituent designates the discourse referent that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent and is therefore called comment clause. Its grammatical features (person, number and gender) are resumed by the pronominal subject, e.g. *πζαγιος σε απα μηνα ογεγεννης πε εβολ ζη πκαζ νκημε* '(as for) the holy (π-ζαγιος) *Apa Mēna*, he (πε) (was) a nobleman (οὐ-εγεννης) from (εβολ) the land (π-καζ) of Egypt (ν-κημε)' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-39b:2), *ννοῦτε ννζεθνος ζηδαιμωνιον νε* '(as for) *the gods*

(ν-νοῦτε) of the pagans (ν-ν-ζεθνος), *they* (νε) (in fact) (are) demons (ζη-δαιμωνιον)' (KHML 13:12-4:1).

The preclausal topic must be cross-referenced by the subject clitic in the associated bipartite nominal sentence. In the context of contrastive pronominal reference, the topicalization of first and second person pronouns gives rise to what has been called clitic doubling in the linguistic literature, where the co-referential subject pronoun is either a full or a phonologically reduced copy of the freestanding personal pronoun, e.g. *ανοκ δε αντ ουκαζ αυ αντ ουπαασμα ντε νεφολχ* '(as for) *me* (ανοκ), *I* (αντ) (am) earth (οὐ-καζ) and (αυ) a creature (οὐ-παασμα) of (ντε) his (God's) hands (νεφ-ολχ)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14), *ανον γαρ αν ζενρωμε νσαρξ* 'because (γαρ) (as for) *us* (ανον), *we* (αν) (are) fleshy (ν-σαρξ) men (ζεν-ρωμε)' (Eud. 70:12), *ντωτη ην νετηνρρωου ντωτη ζενπαρανομος νασειβης* '*you* (ντωτη) and (ην) your kings (νετη-ρρωου), *you* (ντωτη) (are) godless (ν-ασειβης) criminals (ζεν-παρανομος)' (Mena, Enc. 51a:20-25).

The discourse status of the preclausal noun or pronoun is commonly indicated by topic-indicating particle like *δε*, e.g. *πζαγιος δε απα μηνα νε ουρεμνηκημε πε κατα πεφγενος* '(as for) the holy (π-ζαγιος) *Apa Mēna*, *he* (πε) was (νε) an Egyptian (οὐ-ρεμνη-κημε) by (κατα) origin (πεφ-γενος)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-8), *ευφυμια δε τεφςζιμε νε ουαδρην τε* '(as for) his wife (τεφ-ςζιμε) *Euphymia*, *she* (τε) was (νε) barren (οὐ-αδρην)' (Mena, Enc. 42a:12-14), *ανοκ δε ζω αντ ουρηντοου ντκζε* '*I* (ανοκ) *myself* (ζω), *I* (αντ) (am) a hermit (οὐ-ρην-τοου lit. man of the mountain) of your kind (ν-τκ-ζε)' (Onnophr. 210:13). See figure 5.2 for further illustration.

PRE-CLAUSAL TOPIC	COMMENT CLAUSE	
	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREDICATE NOUN
ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ (As for) me	ΑΝΤ I	ΟΥ-ΚΑΖ (am) earth
ΕΥΦΥΜΙΑ ΔΕ ΤΕΦΣΖΙΜΕ (As for) his wife Euphymia	ΝΕ ΟΥΑΔΡΗΝ PRETERIT barren	SUBJECT PRONOUN ΤΕ she

FIGURE 5.2 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

The syntactic status of bipartite nominal sentences with a topicalised noun phrase is not entirely clear or obvious. Despite the structural similarities with the clitic doubling construction, we may very well be dealing with a different sentence construction, given that the subject position of bipartite nominal sentences is incompatible with full noun phrases. In such bipartite nominal sentences, the topic position seems to have been reanalysed as a normal subject position for noun phrases and their equivalents. Under this analysis, the enclitic deictic pronoun at the end of the subject-predicate complex would function not so much as a cross-reference device, but rather serve a purely grammatical marker of the subject-predicate relationship.

5.1.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

The previous section has largely been concerned with word order phenomena in bipartite nominal sentences. The focus of this section is on the different types of semantic relationships expressed by the nominal predicate. A basic distinction concerns the referring or non-referring character of the nominal predicate. Predicational sentences derive their name from the fact that the nominal predicate has no specific discourse referent, but says something about the subject, such as a property, role or indication of class membership. Predicational sentences can be further subdivided in ascriptive and classificational sentences, depending on the property- or class-denoting interpretation of the nominal predicate, e.g. *ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ* 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ)' (Eud. 64:11) vs. *ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ* 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥC-ΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25).

Next to predicational sentences, there are identificational sentences, whose predicate nominal is a referring expression. The semantic basis of identificational sentences is the division of reference: both the subject and the nominal predicate pick out the same individual or object from the realm of discourse. Such identity relations are generally encoded as tripartite nominal sentences, which will be discussed in section 5.2.2. There are, however, also a few bipartite nominal sentence patterns, where the nominal predicate has an identificational role, e.g. *ΤΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΗΣ ΤΕ* 'she (ΤΕ) (Thekla) (is) the sister (Τ-ΩΝΕ) of Paëse (Μ-ΠΑΗΣ)' (KHML I 83:30), *ΠΜΑ ΗΠΕΝΤΟΝ ΠΕ* 'it (the Henaton) (is) the place (Π-ΜΑ) of rest (Η-ΠΕ-ΜΤΟΝ)' (Hil. 5:18), *ΝΤΕΤΝ ΝΩΠΡΕ ΗΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΗΩΥCΗC* 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) the children (Η-ΩΠΡΕ) of the holy

(Η-Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) Apa (ΑΠΑ) Moses' (KHML II 48:21).

Bipartite nominal sentences with a referring predicate noun are, generally speaking, restricted to pragmatically marked construction types with a specialized meaning and function. In identity questions, for example, the predicatively used interrogative pronoun represents the missing piece of information necessary for the recognition of the subject referent, e.g. *ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΠΑΧ[Ο]ΕΙC* 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Eud. 50:18-19), *ΝΙΜ ΡΝΤΚ* 'what (ΝΙΜ) (is) your name (ΡΝΤ-Κ)?' (KHML II 31:15).

Second, there are presentational sentences of the form *ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ* 'it (ΠΕ) (is) me (ΑΝΟΚ)', which are commonly used as responses to identity questions, e.g. *ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΒΑΛΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΕCΟΟΥ (...)* *ΝΒΑΛΜΠΕ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ (...)* 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΛΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕCΟΟΥ)? (...)' (as for) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΛΜΠΕ), it (ΠΕ) (is) me (ΑΝΟΚ)' (AP, Chaïne no. 140, 31:14-15). A final group of bipartite identificational sentences consists of so-called situational sentences, which describe a particular temporal setting or ambience, e.g. *ΕΩΠΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΩΩΜ ΠΕ* 'when it (ΠΕ) (is) summer' (Π-ΩΩΜ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Figure 5.3 presents a taxonomy of the most common types of predicational relationship in bipartite nominal sentences:

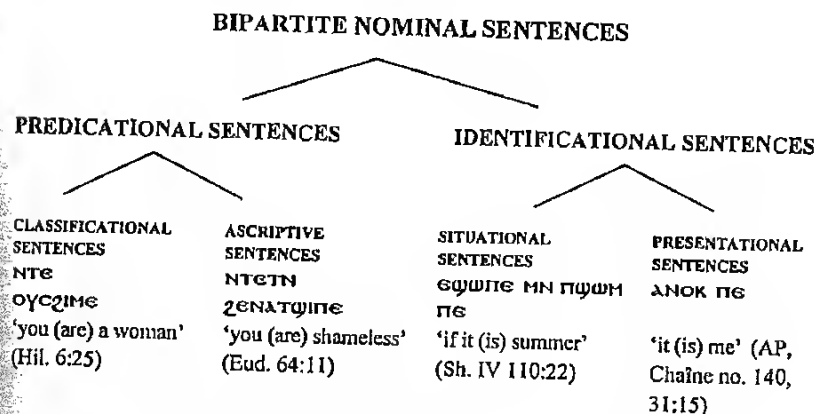


FIGURE 5.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

In the remainder of this section, each type of predicative relationship will be discussed individually, starting with classificational sentences.

5.1.3.1 Classificational sentences

Classificational sentences are associated with a partitive reading and specify a semantic relation of class inclusion. The referent of the subject is conceptualized as a representative member or, in the case of plural reference, as a subset of a particular class of entities, species or kind. The kind-referring predicate nominal is syntactically encoded as an indefinite noun phrase, which has the same number specification as the pronominal subject, e.g. **ΑΝΓ ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ** 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a Christian (ΟΥ-ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ) openly (ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ)' (Mena, Enc. 49b:28-50a:1), **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΙC ΠΕΧC** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) not (ΑΝ) a magician (ΟΥ-ΜΑΓΟΣ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a servant (ΟΥ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (KHML I 5:13-14), **ΝΤΚ ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'you (ΝΤΚ) (are) a holy (one) (ΟΥ-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (KHML I 46:22-23), **ΝΤΚ ΟΥΨΗΜΟ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΡΕΝΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC** '(are) you (ΝΤΚ) a stranger (ΟΥ-ΨΗΜΟ) or (ΧΕ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ) a man of this city (ΟΥ-ΡΕΝ-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙC)?' (Mena, Enc. 50a:5-7), **ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑΡΞ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (Ν-CΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12).

a) Locative and manner predicate nominals

Locative and manner adverbs can be converted into indefinite noun phrases to function as the nominal predicate of a classificational sentence, e.g. **ΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΖΝΕΒΟΛ ΝΕ ΖΝ ΤΗΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC** (for ΤΗΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC) **ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ ΝΤΕ ΚΗΜΕ** '(as for) his parents (ΝΕΦ-ΕΙΟΤΕ), they (ΝΕ) were (ΝΕ) from (ΖΝ-ΕΒΟΛ) the glorious (ΕΤ-ΤΑΙΝΥ) capital (Τ-ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC) of (ΝΤΕ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (Mena, Enc. 39b:2-6), **ΠΕCΜΟΤ ΔΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΩΡΕ ΝCΑΙΗ** '(as for) the appearance (ΠΕ-CΜΟΤ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mena, he (ΠΕ) (was) of this kind (ΟΥΕ-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ): a strong (Ν-ΧΩΡΕ) (and) handsome (Ν-CΑΙΗ) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:19-25).

b) Possessive nominal predicates

Since possessive demonstratives are associated with a partitive reading, they are commonly used as kind-referring nominal predicates, e.g. **ΠΑΠΜΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ ΠΕ** 'he (Apa Mena) (was) a native of the Mariôtês (ΠΑ-Π-ΜΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 36b:30-37a:2), **ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ** 'they (ΝΕ)

(are) mine (ΝΟΥ-Ι)' (V. Pach. 4:23), **ΠΖΩΒ ΠΑΠΕΔΕCΠΟΤΗΣ ΠΕ** 'the affair (Π-ΖΩΒ) it (ΠΕ) (is) something (concerning) the sovereign (ΠΑ-ΠΕ-ΔΕCΠΟΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:20).

5.1.3.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal describes a property, state or characteristic feature of the subject referent. Since the indefinite nominal predicate denotes a property that is measurable on a scale, it is commonly modified by degree adverbials, for instance, quantificational adverbs or adverbs of comparison, e.g. **ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ** '(do you think that) he (ΠΕ) (Christ) (is) stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΡΕ) than us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), **ΟΥΕΥCΕΒΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ** 'for (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Apa Mena) (was) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) pious (ΟΥ-ΕΥCΕΒΗΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:31-32), **ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΕΥCΕΒΗΣ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ** 'and (ΚΑΙ) because (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Zeno) (was) pious (ΟΥ-ΕΥCΕΒΗΣ) in (ΖΝ) every (ΝΙΜ) respect (ΖΩΒ)' (Hil. 8:19-20), **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΖΝ ΘΗΛΥΚΙΑ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) (still) very young (lit. small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) in (ΖΝ) age (ΘΗΛΥΚΙΑ < Τ-ΖΗΛΥΚΙΑ)' (KMHL II 35:2).

5.1.3.3 Situational sentences

Situational sentences set up a temporal frame for the following discourse. They have an expletive pronoun as their subject, which roughly corresponding to impersonal *it* in English. The predicate typically is a time-indicating noun, e.g. **ΝΕ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) it (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ)' (KHML I 80:28), **ΕΝΕ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΠΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗΣ** 'while *it* (ΠΕ) was (Ε-ΝΕ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Marcus, the Evangelist (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:32-33), **ΠΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΝΧΠCΟ Η ΧΠ†** '*it* (ΠΕ) (is) the time (Π-ΝΑΥ) of the sixth (Ν-ΧΠ-CΟ) or (Η) the fifth hour (Π-ΧΠ-†)' (Sh. IV 110:22-23), **ΕΨΩΠΕ ΜΗ (read ΜΕΝ) ΠΨΩΜ ΠΕ** 'when *it* (ΠΕ) (is) summier' (Π-ΨΩΜ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Setting up a discourse frame may also involve reference to some physical or mental condition, e.g. **ΝΕ ΟΥΨΩΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΝΑΨΤ ΠΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) *it* (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ) a heavy (Ε-Φ-ΝΑΨΤ) illness (ΟΥ-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:28), **ΝΤΕΤΝCΟΜ ΑΝ ΤΕ** '*it* (ΤΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) (in) your power (ΤΕΤΝ-CΟΜ) (i.e. something you can influence) (Ac. A&P 196:40-41).

5.1.3.4 Presentational sentences

Presentational sentences of the kind $\alpha\text{ΝΟΚ ΠΕ}$ 'it (ΠΕ) (is) me (ΑΝΟΚ)' are used as responses to identity questions. The main function of the expletive pronoun ΠΕ is to pinpoint the discourse entity whose identity is at stake, e.g. $\text{ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ} - \text{ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ ΠΡΗΝΚΗΜΕ ΠΕ}$ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (is) that (ΠΑΙ)? - It (ΠΕ) (is) Nahrow the Egyptian (Π-ΡΗΝ-ΚΗΜΕ)' (KHML I 7:20-21), $\text{ΝΙΜ [Τ]ΕΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΣΩΡΗ ΜΠΗΗΨΕ [ΑΝ]ΟΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΠΕ}$ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) it (ΠΕ) (is) who (ΝΙΜ) that (ΕΤ-) misleads (ΣΩΡΗ) the crowd (Μ-Π-ΜΗΗΨΕ)? (Is) it (ΠΕ) us (ΑΝΟΝ) or (ΧΕ) (is) it (ΠΕ) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ)?' (Ac. A&P 212:231), ΠΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΕ '(Apa Ptolemy realized that) it (ΠΕ) (was) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (KMHL II 30:24-25).

5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

The basic subject-predicate configuration that underlies bipartite nominal sentences can be transformed into a new sentence pattern by inserting the deictic pronouns ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ into the structure, e.g. ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ 'my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ) (is) Nahrow' (KHML I 3:6-7), ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (AP Chaïne no. 241, 73:30), $\text{ΖΕΝΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΥΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ}$ 'for (ΓΑΡ) their ascetic labours (ΝΕΥ-ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ) (are) great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC)' (Hil. 7:9). Such extended nominal sentence patterns are composed of three elements, viz. the subject, the predicate noun, and the added deictic pronoun:

SUBJECT	AGREEMENT CLITIC	PREDICATE NOUN	
ΠΑΙ	ΠΕ	ΠΑΖΑΙ	This (is) my husband.
This	SING. MASC	my husband	
ΤΑΙ	ΤΕ	ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ	This (is) my wife.
This	SING. FEM	my wife	
ΝΑΙ	ΝΕ	ΝΑΨΗΡΕ	These (are) my children.
These	PLURAL	my children	

TABLE 5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

Bi- and tripartite nominal sentences differ from one another in the number of sentence constituents defining each pattern, which reflects different types of agreement marking. In bipartite nominal sentences,

the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate is marked by pro- and enclisis, respectively. This contrasts with tripartite nominal sentences that employ a specialized formative, the agreement clitic, to link the subject to the nominal predicate. Moreover, bipartite nominal sentences are syntactically more restricted than their tripartite counterparts. While the subject of bipartite nominal sentences must be a pronoun, no such selectional restrictions apply in tripartite nominal sentences, which tolerate all kinds of nominal and pronominal expressions as subjects. The greater syntactic flexibility of tripartite nominal sentences has a semantic correlate in a broader spectrum of meaning distinctions than is customary in bipartite nominal sentence patterns.

5.2.1 The syntactic role of the agreement clitic

The obligatory third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences are not associated with anaphoric reference (i.e. they are not linked to a preceding noun phrase), but rather function as purely morphological markers that indicate the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate. In this grammar, the term agreement clitic will be used to describe the structural role of the non-anaphoric pronoun in this nominal sentence pattern. The reason why Coptic uses a desemanticized pronoun as an agreement-marking device is to prevent potential structural ambiguity between a phrasal and a sentential interpretation of a sequence of two noun phrases. By separating the subject from the nominal predicate, the intervening singular masculine pronoun ΠΕ distinguishes the sentential structure from its phrasal counterpart.

5.2.1.1 Main differences between agreement clitics and copular verbs

Most Coptic grammars use the term "deictic copula" to indicate the syntactic function of the non-anaphoric third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences. The added pronoun has actually very little in common with copular verbs. Coptic has two equivalents to the English copular verb *be*, ΟΥΝ '(there) is' and ΜΗΝ '(there) is not', which appear clause-initially in existential sentences, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ 'is (ΟΥΝ) someone (ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (AP, Chaïne no. 261, 80:5), ΜΗΝ ΛΑΛΥ '(there) is no (ΜΗΝ) one (ΛΑΛΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:7). The verbal copulas ΟΥΝ and ΜΗΝ differ from the agreement clitics of tripartite nominal sentences in the following respect:

- The copular verb functions as the semantic predicate in asserting the existence or non-existence of some discourse entity. This contrasts with the agreement-marking clitic of tripartite nominal sentences, which has no such predicate role and can therefore not be construed as part of the sentence predicate.
- The agreement clitic has no negative counterpart comparable to the negative copular verb *μη*. To assign a negative value to the nominal predicate, the negative adverb *αν* 'not' has to be inserted into the structure, e.g. *ντοκ αν πε πρπο* 'you (*ντοκ*) (are) not (*αν*) the king (*π-ρπο*)' (Ac. A&P 202:108).
- While the verbal copula must be construed with an indefinite subject, the subject of tripartite nominal sentences must be a definite. Thus, compare: *μη νουτε νσα πεχ̄c̄ ic̄c̄ πνουτε ηπζαγιος απα μινα* '(there) is no (*μη*) God (*νουτε*) besides (*νσα*) Jesus Christ (*πε-χ̄c̄ ic̄c̄*), the God (*π-νουτε*) of the holy (*μ-π-ζαγιος*) Apa Mena' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21) vs. *ογα πε πνουτε ναπα πτελεμη πεχ̄c̄ ic̄c̄* 'unique (*ογα*) (is) the God (*π-νουτε*) of Apa (*ν-απα*) Ptolemy, Jesus Christ (*πε-χ̄c̄*)' (KMHL II 36:27-37:1).

5.2.1.2 Agreement behaviour

As fully grammaticalized markers of the subject-predicate relation, the desemanticized third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences generally have the same number and gender (though not person) specification as the clausal subject, e.g. *ανοκ πε πεχ̄c̄* 'I (*ανοκ*) (am) Christ (*πε-χ̄c̄*)' (AP, Chaîne no.145, 32:16), *πεςραν πε ευδοσια* 'her name (*πες-ραν*) (was) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:4).

The subject-orientation of the agreement clitic is particularly clear in interrogative nominal sentences where the predicatively used question word itself is not specified for grammatical number and gender, e.g. *νιμ πε πεκραν* 'what (*νιμ*) (is) your name (*πεκ-ραν*)?' (KMHL I 3:6), *νιμ νε νεαμπε αυω νιμ νε νεσοου* 'who (*νιμ*) (are) the goats (*ν-βαμπε*) and (*αυω*) who (*νιμ*) (are) the sheep (*ν-εσοου*)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14), *αω πε πωι ενταυπωζ εροφ* 'what (*αω*) (is) the height (*π-ωι*) that they have reached (*εντ-α-υ-πωζ*)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:19), *αω τε τεεργαγια* [for *τεκεργαγια*] 'what (*αω*) (is) your profession (*τεκ-εργαγια*)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 241, 73:29).

When the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence is a coordinated no phrase, the agreement clitic agrees with the second conjunct, e.g. *τεκεραμис αυω πεκταχρο πε πνουτε μαγααφ* 'your hope (*τεκεραμис*) and (*αυω*) your strength (*πεκ-ταχρο*) (is) God (*π-νουτ* alone (*μαγαα-φ*)' (Sh. III 101:9), *τιντ[ρ]μιν[ζ]ητ ν[να]ζπαυ ι τ[μ]νταοητ αυω τινταοητ νναζπαυ τε τιντ[ρ]μιν[ζ]ητ* 'wisdom (*τ-μιντ-μιν-ζητ*) (is) for them (*νναζπα-υ*) foolishness (*τ-μιντ-ατ-ζη* and (*αυω*) foolishness (*τ-μιντ-ατ-ζητ*) wisdom (*τ-μιντ-μιν-ζητ*)' (S IV 41:22-23).

5.2.1.3 The interaction between the agreement clitic and personal pronouns

The presence of the agreement-marking deictic pronoun does not interfere with the selection of personal pronouns. That is, tripartite nominal sentences tolerate both nouns and pronouns as clausal subject and therefore have a much broader syntactic distribution than their bipartite counterparts, which are only compatible with pronominal subjects. The pronominal subject of tripartite nominal sentences is, as a rule, an independent personal pronoun, e.g. *ανοκ πε περεφρ νοβε ντοκ πε περεφκω εβολ* 'I (*ανοκ*) (am) the sinner (*π-ρεφ-ερ νοβε*) you (*ντοκ*) (are) the Redeemer (*π-ρεφ-κω εβολ*)' (Test. Is. 232:31) *ντοφ πε πεγειωτ μιννα πνουτε* 'he (*ντοφ*) (Pachôm) (was) their father (*πεγ-ειωτ*) after (*μιννα*) God (*π-νουτε*)' (V. Pach. 4:11). The selection of proclitic pronouns is only marginally attested as an alternative, e.g. *ανγ πε γαβριηλ* 'I (*ανγ*) (am) Gabriël' (AP Chaîne no.143, 32:6), *ανγ πε θεωδοσιος πρπο* 'I (*ανγ*) (am) King (*π-ρπο*) Theodosius' (AP Chaîne no.141, 31: 28-29).

5.2.1.4 Clitic clustering

The agreement clitic comes last in a cluster of enclitic function words and particles, e.g. *νευβηβ δε νε νζητ ννρωμε νατνουτε* 'their (the demons') caverns (*νευ-βηβ*) (are) the hearts (*ν-ζητ*) of godless (*ν-ατ-νουτε*) people (*ν-ν-ρωμε*)' (Sh. IV 177:4-5), *ογατογω γαρ νακ πε πντον νφα ενεζ* 'for (*γαρ*) never-ending (*ογ-ατ-ογω*) (is) for you (*να-κ*) eternal (*νφα ενεζ*) rest (*π-ντον*)' (AP, Chaîne no. 30, 6:7), *πως γαρ αν πε πσα αλλα πα πενταφιλασσε ημος πε* 'because (*γαρ*) beauty (*π-σα*) (is) not (*αν*) of her (*πω-ς*) (the pretty woman), but (*αλλα*) it (*πε*) is something belonging to (*πα-*) him who has

created (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΠΑΛΛΕ) her (ΗΜΟ-Ο) (Sh. Or 44 168: 10-14).

5.2.2 Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences

Although tripartite nominal sentences display the familiar distinction between predication and identification sentences, they tend to make more fine-grained distinctions than their bipartite counterparts. On the one hand, there are classificational sentences, which describe a relation of class inclusion, e.g. **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΖΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΝ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ** 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), your gods (ΝΕΚ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) not (ΑΝ) gods (ΖΗ-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (KHML I 4:2-3). On the other hand, there are ascriptive sentences that indicate property assignment, e.g. **ΟΥΝΟΘ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΚΛΗΡΟC** 'your heritage (ΠΕΚ-ΚΛΗΡΟC) (is) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ)' (KHML II 30:12). Next to classificational and ascriptive sentences, there are characterisational sentences, which provide an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject referent, e.g. **ΝΑCΕΒΗC ΝΕ ΝΕΤCΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ** 'the impious ones (Ν-ΑCΕΒΗC) (are) those who reject (Ν-ΕΤ-CΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ) the prescriptions (Ν-Ν-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ) of our fathers (Ν-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)' (Sh. III 152:29-153:1).

The same diversity of predication sentence types obtains in identificational sentences. Identity relations are based on what might be called the division of reference: one entity is referred to by two different names. Depending on how this division of reference is syntactically realized, one can distinguish at least three distinctive classes of identificational sentences, viz. (i) identity statements proper, which can be paraphrased as "the referent of the subject is the same or not the same person as the referent of the predicate", e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΚΦΕΡΕ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) Hilaria your daughter (ΤΕΚ-ΦΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 11:28-29), **ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧC** 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Sh. III 114:5), (ii) assertoric sentences, the subject of which is a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a deictic pointer, e.g. **ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ** 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaine no. 241, 73:30), and (iii) specificational sentences, whose subject is a semantically incomplete expression or variable like **ΡΑΝ** 'name' that is assigned an interpretation by the predicate noun, e.g. **ΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΥΛΟC** 'his name (ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Paul' (KHML I 72:8-9).

Figure 5.4 below presents a taxonomy of the most common types of predication relations in tripartite nominal sentences:

BIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCES

PREDICATIONAL SENTENCES

IDENTIFICATIONAL SENTENCES

CLASSIFICA-
TIONAL
SENTENCES
ΖΗΝΟΥΤΕ
ΑΝ ΝΕ
ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ

ASCRIPTIVE
SENTENCES
ΟΥΝΟΘ ΠΕ
ΠΕΚΚΛΗΡΟC

IDENTITY
SENTENCES
ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ
ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ

ASSERTORIC
SENTENCES
ΤΑΙ ΤΕ
ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ

SPECIFICA-
TIONAL
SENTENCES
ΠΕΦΡΑΝ
ΠΕ
ΠΑΥΛΟC

CHARACTERIS-
TIONAL
SENTENCES
ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟC
ΑΝ ΗΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ
ΟΥΡΩΜΕ
ΕΦΧΑΖΗ

'Your gods
(are) not
gods'
(KHML I
4:2-3)

'Your
heritage (is)
great'
(KHML II
30:12)

'I (am)
Hilaria'
(Hil. 11:28)

'This (is) my
wife' (AP,
Chaine no.
241, 73:30)

'His name
(was) Paul'
(KHML I
72:8-9)

'The impure one
(is) not only an
un-clean man
(...)' (Sh. A II
55)

FIGURE 5.4 Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences

The following sections elaborate on the semantic distinctions between the various classes of predication and identificational sentences, which are often subtle.

5.2.2.1 Classificational sentences

Tripartite classificational sentences describe a semantic relation of class inclusion in much the same way as their bipartite counterparts. Various types of indefinite or partitive expressions qualify as classificational predicates, to wit (i) indefinite noun phrases, which have the same number specification as the nominal subject, e.g. **ΑΛΗΘΩC ΟΥΝΟΘ ΗΜΑΓΟC ΠΕ ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ** 'really (ΑΛΗΘΩC), this man (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) (is) a great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) magician (Η-ΜΑΓΟC)' (KHML I 7:22-23), **ΕΠΙΔΗ ΖΗΡΕΦΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝ** (for ΖΗ) **ΤΕΥΦΥCΙC** 'for (ΕΠΙΔΗ) women (ΝΕ-ΖΙΟΜΕ) (are) by (ΖΕΝ) their nature (ΤΕΥ-ΦΥCΙC) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (ΖΗ-ΡΕΦ-ΩΤΟΡΤΡ))' (Hil. 11:35-12:1), (ii) possessive demonstratives, which agree in both number and gender with the subject, e.g. **ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΑΤΕΦΥCΙC ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΖΩΩΛΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΩΒ** 'because (ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ) to fail (ΖΩΩΛΕ) in (ΖΗ) something (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) (is) intrinsic to the nature (ΠΑ-ΤΕ-ΦΥCΙC) of human beings ((Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) (BHom.12:19-20), **ΤΑΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΕCΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ** 'from whence (ΤΑ-ΤΩΝ) (is)

this (woman) (ΤΑΙ) who defends (herself) (Ε-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ) in such a manner (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ)?' (KHML I 83:29), ΠΩΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΘΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΤΑΙΟ 'yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the glory (Π-ΘΟΥ) and (ΜΗ) the honour (Π-ΤΑΙΟ)' (KHML I 83:17-18), and (iii) zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. ΠΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) their god (ΠΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (is) human (ΡΩΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 183:6).

5.2.2.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences have the same syntax as classificational ones, the main difference being the adjectival interpretation of the indefinite predicate noun, e.g. ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΥΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ 'for (ΓΑΡ) their ascetic labours (ΝΕΥ-ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ) (are) great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ)' (Hil. 7:9), ΟΥΑΤΟΥΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΠΜΤΟΝ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ 'for (ΓΑΡ) never-ending (ΟΥ-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩ) (is) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) eternal (ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ) rest (Π-ΜΤΟΝ)' (AP Chaîne no.30, 6:7).

It is rather common for the nominal predicate of ascriptive sentences to involve comparison or modification of degree, e.g. ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΕΝ ΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΩ ΗΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the mighty deeds (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) and (ΜΗ) wonders (ΝΕ-ΨΗΡΕ) that happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) through (ΖΙ-ΤΟΟΤ-Ω) our father (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Apa Matthew (are) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ)' (KHML II 18:14-16), ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΤΕ ΤΕΨΗΡΕ ΗΠΕΙΖΑΛΟ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΘΛΙΤΗΣ 'very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) miraculous (ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ) (was) the miracle (ΤΕ-ΨΗΡΕ) of this blessed (Η-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) athletic (Η-ΑΘΛΙΤΗΣ) old man (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΖΑΛΟ)' (Oimophr. 215:14-16), ΕΙΕ ΖΝΑΤΘΟΜ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡΕ 'are) your gods (ΝΕΚ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) so (Η-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) utterly (ΤΗΡ-Ε) powerless (ΖΝ-ΑΤ-ΘΟΜ)?' (KHML I 11:10-11).

Ascriptive sentences may also be construed with "bare" nominal predicates without any obvious semantic differences with their corresponding indefinitely determined counterparts. Compare: ΕΣΙΩΕ ΠΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΖΑΙ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΤΕ ΠΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΙ 'when (Ε-) bitter (ΕΣΙΩΕ) (is) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) in which (ΕΤ-) the husband (Π-ΖΑΙ) talks (ΕΡΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the wife (ΤΕ-CΖΙΜΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) abominable (ΒΟΤΕ) the manner (ΟΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) in which (ΕΤ-) the wife (ΤΕ-CΖΙΜΕ) talks (ΕΡΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the husband (Π-ΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 159:34-41) vs. ΟΥCΙΩΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΒΟΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΝΟΘ ΗΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC 'bitter (ΟΥ-CΙΩΕ) and

(ΜΗ) abominable (ΟΥ-ΒΟΤΕ) (is) the greatness (Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΝΟΘ) of this world (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 33:9-10).

5.2.2.3 Characterisational sentences

The nominal predicate of characterisational sentences provides an exhaustive specification or definition for the subject, instead of classifying it as the holder of some property or representative member of a particular class of entities. The subject is typically a non-specific or generic noun phrase, while the predicate nominal is drawn from the set of quantificational expressions or non-specific definites. In a sense, then, the set of entities referred to by the subject is co-extensive with the set of entities referred to by the nominal predicate: both constituents describe two overlapping or partially intersecting domains of individuals or objects, e.g. ΝΕΤΨΗΝΕ ΝCΑ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΗΠΕΦΝΟΜΟC ΜΗ ΝΕΦΕΝΤΟΛΗ 'the ones who search (Η-ΕΤ-ΨΗΝΕ) for (ΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) every (ΝΙΜ) man (ΡΩΜΕ) who studies (Ε-Φ-ΜΕΛΗΤΑ) His law (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΝΟΜΟC) and (ΜΗ) His prescriptions (ΝΕΦ-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ)' (Abbatōn 227:9-11), ΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΕΦ† ΚΩΤ ΗΠΕΝΒΙΟC ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ{Υ} ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΟΥΩΖ ΖΝ ΤΝΗΜΤΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) a woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ) to stay (Ε-ΤΡΕ ... ΟΥΩΖ) in (ΖΝ) our midst (ΤΝ-ΗΜΤΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) something (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) fitting (Ε-Φ-† ΚΩΤ) our life (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΒΙΟC)' (Hil. 6:25-26), ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΩΙ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'the ones who serviced (ΝΕ-ΝΤΑ-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) well (ΚΑΛΩC) (are) the ones who reached (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ) the measure (Π-ΩΙ) of the Scriptures (Η-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

5.2.2.4 Identity statements

The concept of identity is intimately related to the division of reference. Identity relations express this idea by equating two names, both of which refer to one and the same individual. Both the subject and the nominal predicate of identity statements are therefore referential expressions like proper names or personal pronouns, e.g. (those who say) ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧC 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Sh. III 114:5), Ω ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΟ ΤΕ ΘΕΚΛΑ ΤΨΕΡΕ ΝΖΗΛΙΑC 'oh (Ω) woman (ΤΕ-CΖΙΜΕ) you (ΝΤΟ) (are) Thekla, the daughter (Τ-ΨΕΡΕ) of Elias (Η-ΖΗΛΙΑC)' (KHML I 80:15). The division of reference that defines identity relations may also involve reference to a temporary stage or

role of the discourse entity whose identity is in the center of interest, e.g. $\lambda\alpha\kappa\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\eta\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\chi\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\ \rho\iota\ \iota\ (\lambda\alpha\kappa)\ (am)\ Pa\acute{\epsilon}se$, who had been thrown ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\nu\omicron\chi\text{-}\epsilon$) into the oven ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\ \rho\iota$)' (KHML I 79:7-8), $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \nu\tau\omicron\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\ \rho\ \rho\omicron\ \epsilon\gamma\ \gamma\alpha\ \rho\alpha\ \tau\kappa$ 'and he ($\nu\tau\omicron\epsilon$) (Constantine) (is) *the king* ($\pi\text{-}\rho\ \rho\omicron$) under you ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\gamma\alpha\text{-}\rho\alpha\ \tau\text{-}\kappa$)' (Eud. 54:12-13).

5.2.2.5 Assertoric sentences

Assertoric sentences, unlike identity statements, have as a subject a proximal demonstrative pronoun $\pi\alpha\iota$, $\tau\alpha\iota$, $\nu\alpha\iota$ 'this, these'. This type of identificational sentence has been called assertoric in the linguistic literature, because the demonstrative subject pronoun does not so much name a particular individual or object concerning which an assertion is made, but rather functions as a mere deictic pointer, whose logical role is to draw the addressee's attention to someone or something in his immediate surroundings, e.g. $\pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\ \alpha\ \nu\tau\omega\ \nu\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\ \gamma\omega\ \mu\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\ \nu\ \pi\epsilon\ \tau\ \rho\omega\ \nu\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega\delta\omega\ \rho\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\ \alpha\ \pi\alpha\ \psi\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\gamma\ \tau\epsilon$ 'this ($\pi\alpha\iota$) (is) Antonius, this ($\pi\alpha\iota$) (is) Pachôm and ($\mu\ \nu$) Petronius and ($\mu\ \nu$) Theodorus, *this* ($\pi\alpha\iota$) (is) Apa Shenûte' (KHML II 22:3-5), $\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\ \nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \iota\varsigma\ \mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \nu\chi\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\varsigma\ \iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \chi\ \tau\epsilon$ 'this ($\tau\alpha\iota$) (is) the resurrection ($\tau\text{-}\alpha\ \nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \iota\varsigma$) of our Lord ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\ \nu\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\varsigma$) Jesus Christ ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\ \tau\epsilon$)' (Eud. 66:22-23), $\gamma\epsilon\ \nu\tau\omicron\ \rho\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\ \lambda\ \iota\ \mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\varsigma\ \delta\ \mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \gamma\omega\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \rho\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\ \iota\ \epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \varsigma\ \iota\gamma\ \epsilon\ \alpha\ \mu\ \nu\tau\epsilon$ 'these ($\nu\alpha\iota$) (are) *places* ($\gamma\epsilon\ \nu\text{-}\tau\omicron\ \rho\omicron\varsigma$) the Lord ($\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\varsigma$) did not visit ($\mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \dots\ \delta\ \mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \gamma\omega\ \nu\epsilon$) when he descended ($\nu\tau\epsilon\ \rho\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\ \iota$) into Hell ($\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\ \mu\ \nu\tau\epsilon$)' (Ac. A&P 204:141-142), $\nu\ \mu\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\ \lambda\ \iota\ \epsilon\ \tau\ \gamma\ \mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\ \iota\chi\epsilon\ \nu\ \nu\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\ \nu\omicron\varsigma\ -\ \nu\ \lambda\ \iota\ \tau\ \eta\ \rho\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\ \nu\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\ \rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \nu\ \lambda\ \iota\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \epsilon\ \iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \mu\ \pi\ \kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\varsigma$ 'who ($\nu\ \mu$) (are) these ($\nu\ \lambda\ \iota$) who sit ($\epsilon\ \tau\text{-}\gamma\ \mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$) on ($\gamma\ \iota\chi\epsilon\ \nu$) their thrones ($\nu\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\ \nu\omicron\varsigma$)? - All ($\tau\ \eta\ \rho\omicron\gamma$) those ($\nu\ \lambda\ \iota$) you see ($\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\nu\alpha\gamma$), they ($\nu\ \lambda\ \iota$) (are) the fathers ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\ \iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$) of the world ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\varsigma$)' (KHML II 21:19-22).

Assertoric sentences may represent not only a simple act of naming or pointing, but may also organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. As a discourse anaphor, the demonstrative subject pronoun refers back to the preceding narrative unit, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\ \iota\ \rho\epsilon\ \mu\ \mu\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\ \mu\ \mu\alpha\gamma\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\omega\ \nu\ \mu$ 'this ($\tau\alpha\iota$) (was) the manner ($\theta\epsilon\ < \tau\text{-}\gamma\epsilon$) that he (Pachôm) acted ($\epsilon\text{-}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\ \iota\ \rho\epsilon$) with them ($\mu\ \mu\ \eta\alpha\text{-}\gamma$) (the brothers) at every ($\nu\ \mu$) time ($\nu\text{-}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\ \iota\omega$)' (V. Pach. 5:6-

7), $\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\ \psi\omicron\ \rho\ \pi\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \alpha\ \varsigma\ \alpha\ \nu\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\ \tau\alpha\ \gamma\ \tau\alpha\ \varsigma\ \nu\ \alpha\ \gamma$ 'this ($\tau\alpha\iota$) (was) the first ($\tau\text{-}\psi\omicron\ \rho\ \pi\epsilon$) torment ($\nu\text{-}\alpha\ \varsigma\ \alpha\ \nu\omicron\varsigma$) which he (the judge) gave ($\nu\ \tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\tau\alpha\ \alpha\text{-}\varsigma$) him ($\nu\ \alpha\text{-}\gamma$) (Apa Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8).

Alternatively, the demonstrative subject pronoun of assertoric sentences may also be used cataphorically, making reference to what is to be communicated next, e.g. $\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \nu\ \iota\ \tau$ 'this ($\pi\alpha\iota$) (is) the glory ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$) of Jesus' (Eud. 76:25), $\alpha\ \lambda\ \lambda\ \alpha\ \pi\alpha\ \psi\ \eta\ \lambda\ \alpha\ \nu\omicron\kappa\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \gamma\omega\ \nu\ \mu\ \nu\ \pi\epsilon\ \gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\ \tau\ \rho\alpha\ \rho\alpha\ \nu\ \alpha\ \gamma\ \mu\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\varsigma$ 'but ($\alpha\ \lambda\ \lambda\ \alpha$) my prayer ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\psi\ \eta\ \lambda$) by night ($\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\omega\ \nu$) and ($\mu\ \nu$) day ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$) (is) this ($\pi\alpha\iota$) that I may please ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\ \rho\alpha\text{-}\rho\ \alpha\ \nu\ \alpha\text{-}\gamma$) the Lord ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\varsigma$)' (Mena, Enc. 52a:20-25).

5.2.2.6 Specificational sentences

The subject expression of specificational sentences represents a variable, i.e. a term which is compatible with several values that is assigned a particular value by the predicate noun. Such sentences are identifying in the sense that the specification of the variable makes it possible to establish the identity of its referent. Several types of nominals may qualify as such open expressions or variables. Kinship terms, for instance, do not provide enough information to pick out a referent from a set and are therefore linked to a strongly referential expression (a proper name or personal pronoun), e.g. $\pi\epsilon\ \gamma\ \varsigma\ \omicron\ \nu\ \pi\epsilon\ \alpha\ \nu\ \alpha\ \tau\omega\ \lambda\ \iota\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\ \rho\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \gamma\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\omega\ \epsilon\ \tau\ \mu\ \mu\alpha\gamma$ 'his brother ($\pi\epsilon\ \gamma\text{-}\varsigma\ \omicron\ \nu$) (was) Anatôlius, the *eparch* ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\ \rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$) of that ($\epsilon\ \tau\ \mu\ \mu\alpha\gamma$) time ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\omicron\epsilon\ \iota\omega$)' (Mena, Enc. 40a:2-6), $\nu\ \tau\omicron\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\ \iota\omega\ \tau\ \mu\ \nu\ \nu\ \varsigma\ \alpha\ \pi\ \nu\ \gamma\epsilon\ \iota\omega\ \tau\ \mu\ \nu\ \nu\ \varsigma\ \alpha$ 'he ($\nu\ \tau\omicron\epsilon$) (Pachôm) (was) their father ($\pi\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\text{-}\iota\omega\ \tau$) after ($\mu\ \nu\ \nu\ \varsigma\ \alpha$) God ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\ \tau\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 4:11).

In specificational sentences that represent a simple act of naming, the possessively determined noun phrase $\pi\epsilon\ \gamma\text{-}\rho\ \alpha\ \nu$ 'his name' functions as the variable, which is assigned a particular value (the proper name in question) by the nominal predicate, e.g. $\nu\ \mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \kappa\ \rho\ \alpha\ \nu\ -\ \nu\ \alpha\ \gamma\ \rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'what ($\nu\ \mu$) (is) your name ($\pi\epsilon\ \kappa\text{-}\rho\ \alpha\ \nu$)? (...) Nahrow (is) my name ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\rho\ \alpha\ \nu$)' (KHML I 3:6-7), $\tau\ \nu\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\ \psi\epsilon\ \epsilon\ \rho\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \varsigma\ \rho\ \alpha\ \nu\ \pi\epsilon\ \gamma\ \lambda\ \lambda\ \alpha\ \rho\ \iota\ \alpha\ \tau\ \kappa\ \rho\ \omicron\gamma\ \iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \varsigma\ \rho\ \alpha\ \nu\ \pi\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\ \pi\ \iota\varsigma\ \tau\ \eta$ '(as for) the elder ($\tau\text{-}\nu\omicron\varsigma$) daughter ($\nu\text{-}\psi\ \eta\ \rho\epsilon$), her name ($\pi\epsilon\ \varsigma\text{-}\rho\ \alpha\ \nu$) was ($\nu\epsilon$) Hilaria, (as for) the younger (one) ($\tau\text{-}\kappa\ \rho\ \omicron\gamma\ \iota$), her name ($\pi\epsilon\ \varsigma\text{-}\rho\ \alpha\ \nu$) was ($\nu\epsilon$) Theopistê' (Hil. 2:8-10).

The assignment of a value to a variable comes close in meaning to

enumerating items on a list, e.g. $\pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\ \nu\omega\rho\eta\ \epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\ \mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda\ \pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'he ($\pi\alpha\iota$) who came ($\epsilon\pi\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\chi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) before ($\nu\omega\rho\eta\ \epsilon\text{-}$) my father ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) (is) the archangel ($\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\chi\eta\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) Michael' (Eud. 52:8-9), $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \nu\tau\alpha\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \beta\omicron\lambda\pi\eta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\iota\ \nu\eta\eta\tau\tau\eta\upsilon\tau\eta\ \dots\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omega\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \nu\theta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \nu\tau\varsigma\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon$ 'the man ($\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) whom God ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) has revealed ($\nu\tau\text{-}\alpha\ \dots\ \beta\omicron\lambda\pi\text{-}\eta$) to me ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\iota$) from among you ($\nu\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\upsilon\tau\eta$) (...) (is) Petronius, the abbot ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) of ($\nu\text{-}$) the monastery ($\theta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ < \tau\text{-}\zeta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$) of Tsmeine' (V. Pach. 93:7-9). The last example can be paraphrased as "the list of persons that God had revealed to me contains a single person: Petronius, the abbot of Tsmeine". Specificational sentences of this sort always have an exhaustive reading; they imply that the list of values satisfying the variable represented by the free relative clause is limited.

5.2.2.7 Concluding remarks

The picture that emerges from the previous discussion is that identificational nominal sentences are semantically just as diverse as predicational ones. This is because the division of reference that underlies identity relations manifests itself in different forms. We have seen that the subject and the nominal predicate of identity statements proper are both highly referential expressions, which are linked to the same discourse referent. This contrasts with assertoric sentences, where the demonstrative subject pronoun does not name, but rather points to the discourse entity referred to by the nominal predicate. Specificational sentences, on the other hand, have weakly referring expressions as their subjects that behave semantically like variables, i.e. terms that are compatible with several values. The primary function of the nominal predicate is, then, to specify a value for that variable, thereby providing the relevant information necessary for the identification of the subject referent.

Key Terms:

Bi- and tripartite nominal sentences

are distinguished with respect to the number of sentence elements. **Bipartite** nominal sentences are derived by juxtaposing the pronominal subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. $\alpha\eta\gamma\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\tilde{\nu}\alpha$ 'I ($\alpha\eta\gamma$) (am) a ghost ($\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\tau\eta\tilde{\nu}\alpha$)' (Onnophr. 206:19). **Tripartite** nominal sentences, on the other hand, are characterized by the presence of an additional third person pronoun separating the subject from the nominal predicate, e.g. $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \mu\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 'I ($\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$) (am) the son ($\pi\text{-}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$) of God ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$)' (Abbatōn 240:13).

§5.1.1,
§5.2.1

Clitic clusters

are series of two or more prosodically weak elements. The euclitic deictic pronouns $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon$ always come last in such a sequence of clitics, e.g. $\nu\omicron\gamma\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon$ 'for him ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\eta$) it ($\pi\epsilon$) (is) not ($\nu\ \dots\ \alpha\eta$) a fault ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon$)' (Zen. 203:22).

§5.1.2.2,
§5.2.1.4

Topic-comment sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a preclausal noun or pronoun to yield a topic-comment sentence. The topicalised constituent designates the discourse entity that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent, e.g. $\alpha\eta\omicron\eta\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \alpha\eta\ \zeta\epsilon\nu\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon$ 'because ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) (as for) us ($\alpha\eta\omicron\eta$), we ($\alpha\eta$) (are) fleshy ($\nu\text{-}\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon$) men ($\zeta\epsilon\nu\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$)' (Eud. 70:12).

§5.1.2.3

Predicational sentences	derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal has no specific referent in the realm of discourse, but rather predicates something about the subject referent, for instance, a role, characteristic property or class membership.	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Identificational sentences	express identity relations, where the subject and the nominal predicate are linked to the same discourse referent.	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Classificational sentences	indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, with the referent of the subject being defined as a representative member of a particular class, type of species, e.g. ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25).	§5.1.3.1 §5.2.2.1
Ascriptive sentences	have an adjectival meaning in attributing to the subject a characteristic property, e.g. ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ)' (Eud. 64:11).	§5.1.3.2 §5.2.2.2
Situational sentences	set up a temporal frame for the preceding or following set of sentences, e.g. ΝΕ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) it (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ)' (KHML I 80:28).	§5.1.3.3
Presentational sentences	typically appear in those contexts where the identity of some discourse participant is at stake, e.g. [ΑΝ]ΟΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΠΕ '(who misleads the crowd?) (Is) it (ΠΕ) us (ΑΝΟΝ) or (ΧΕ) (is) it (ΠΕ) you (ΝΤΩΤΝ)?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).	§5.1.3.4
Expletive pronouns	have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3

Agreement clitic	Tripartite nominal sentences are characterised by an additional pronominal element, the agreement clitic, which mark the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate.	§5.2.1
Identity statements	are prototypical exemplars of identifying sentences, with the subject and the nominal predicate naming the same discourse entity, e.g. ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧC 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Sh. III 114:5).	§5.1.3 §5.2.2.4
Characterisational sentences	are a subtype of tripartite predicational sentences, where the nominal predicate provides an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject, e.g. ΝΕΤΩΠΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕCΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΜΠΕCΝΟΜΟC ΜΝ ΝΕCΕΝΤΟΛΗ 'the ones who search (Ν-ΕΤ-ΩΠΙΝΕ) for (ΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) every (ΝΙΜ) man (ΡΩΜΕ) who studies (Ε-C-ΜΕΛΗΤΑ) His law (Μ-ΠΕC-ΝΟΜΟC) and (ΜΝ) His prescriptions (ΝΕC-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ)' (Abbatôn 227:9-11).	§5.2.2.3
Assertoric sentences	are characterized by a demonstrative pronoun in subject function. Assertoric sentences are used to pinpoint an individual or object in the vicinity of the speech participants, e.g. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no.241, 73:30).	§5.2.2.5
Specificational sentences	are identificational sentences, where the subject represents a variable, for which the nominal predicate provides a specific value, e.g. ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΥΛΟC 'his name (ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) (was) Paulus' (KHML I 72:8-9).	§5.2.2.6

Exercises

5.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
1. Coptic nominal sentences lack a verbal copula in the context of present tense reference.
 2. The pronominal subject of bipartite nominal sentence may have an anaphoric function, referring to a previous noun phrase, or function as an expletive pronoun, which lacks a referential role.
 3. Bipartite nominal sentences cannot express identity statements.
 4. The agreement clitic agrees in person, number and gender with the subject of tripartite nominal sentences.
 5. The agreement clitic adds emphasis to the pronominal subject.
 6. In assertoric sentences, the demonstrative subject pronoun is used as a deictic point rather than a referring expression.
 7. Ascriptive sentences are commonly modified by quantificational or comparative adverbs.

5.2 Bipartite nominal sentences

- A. Fill in the missing proclitic or enclitic pronoun in the following bipartite nominal sentences.
- (1) $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ___ $\text{ΟΥΠΑΛΑΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΦΟΙΧ}$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) I (am) a creature (ΟΥΠΑΛΑΜΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) his (God's) hands (ΝΕΦΟΙΧ)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14)
 - (2) ΟΥΜΑΝΘΑΜΟΥΛ ___ 'he (Apa Mena) (was) a camel herd (ΟΥΜΑΝ-ΘΑΜΟΥΛ)' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3-4)

- (3) ΟΥΚΩΖΤ ΤΗΡQ ___ 'it (the Prince of Hell) (is) all (ΤΗΡ-Q) fire (ΟΥ-ΚΩΖΤ)' (Test. Is. 235:2)
- (4) $\text{ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΡΗΜΑΟ ΕΜΑΤΕ}$ ___ '(as for) her (ΤΑΙ), she was (ΝΕ) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) rich (ΟΥ-ΡΗ-ΜΑΟ)' (KHML I 45:3)

- B. Classify the following bipartite nominal sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) $\text{ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΝ ΝΗΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΤΕ ΚΗΜΕ ΧΕ ΠΗΧΕ}$ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) people of a city (Ν-ΡΗ-ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) called (ΧΕ) Pemje (ΠΗΧΕ)' (Onnophr. 220:11-12)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ characterisational sentence
- (2) $\text{ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΖΗ ΠQΩΜΑ}$ 'it (the calf) (was) wonderfully (ΚΑΛΟΣ) strong (ΟΥ-ΧΩΡΕ) in (ΖΗ) its body (ΠQ-ΩΜΑ)' (BHom. 262:2)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence
- (3) $\text{ΚΑΝ ΟΥΖΟΥΤ ΠΕ ΚΑΝ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ}$ '(they who are cursed), be it that (ΚΑΝ) it (ΠΕ) (is) a man (ΟΥ-ΖΟΥΤ), be it that (ΚΑΝ) it (ΤΕ) (is) a woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 154:12)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence
- (4) $\text{ΑΩ ΕΝΕ ΠΕQΦΟΜΝΤ ΠΕ ΕΜΠΕQΟΥΩΜ}$ 'and (ΑΩ) it (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ) (already) his (Pachôm's) third (day) (ΠΕQ-ΦΟΜΝΤ) that he had not eaten (Ε-ΜΠΕ-Q-ΟΥΩΜ)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).
☐ situational sentence ☐ characterisational sentence

5.3 Tripartite nominal sentences

- A. Fill in the correct form of the agreement clitic in the following tripartite nominal sentences.
- (1) ΝΤΟΚ ___ $\text{ΠΧΟΙC ΝΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ}$ 'you (ΝΤΟΚ) (are) the lord (Π-ΧΟΙC) of heaven (Ν-Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΝ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Eud. 46:12)

- (2) ΤΑΙ __ ΤΩΡΠΕ ΝΟΥΨΗ ΝΤΑΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΚΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) the first (Τ-ΩΡΠΕ) the night (Ν-ΟΥΨΗ) that I joined (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ) your saints (ΝΕΚ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ)' (KHML II 30:4-5)
- (3) ΠΩΚ __ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΠΩΚ __ ΠΖΑΤ ΤΩΚ __ ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΝΖΗΤΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the gold (Π-ΝΟΥΒ), yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the silver (Π-ΖΑΤ), yours (ΤΩ-Κ) (is) the entire (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) world (Τ-ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ) and (ΜΗ) what (is) in it (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΖΗΤ-Σ)' (Sh. III 90:19-20)
- (4) ΝΙΜ __ ΝΕΛΑΜΠΕ ΛΥΩ ΝΙΜ __ ΝΕΣΟΟΥ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΕΛΑΜΠΕ) and (ΛΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕΣΟΟΥ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14)
- (5) ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΝΤΟQ __ ΠΝΟQ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕQΟ ΝΑΠΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΡΡΟ 'since (ΕΠΕΙΔΗ) he (ΝΤΟQ) (is) the greatest (Π-ΝΟQ) of them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) being (Ε-Q-Ο) head (Ν-ΑΠΕ) over them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) like (ΝΘΕ Ν-) a king (ΟΥ-ΡΡΟ)' (Abbatôn 235:14-16)

B. Classify the following tripartite nominal sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) ΜΕΨΑΚ ΟΥΤΑΦΟC ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝCΩΜΑ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ 'perhaps (ΜΕΨΑΚ) this (ΠΑΙ) (is) a tomb (ΟΥ-ΤΑΦΟC) belonging to (Ν-) the body (CΩΜΑ) of (Μ-) a prophet (ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ)' (Eud. 74:19-20)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ assertoric sentence
- (2) ΟΥ ΠΕ ΗΡΠ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΔΙΝΟΥΩΜ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΜΜΟΤΝΕC ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC ΜΝΑΖΡΗ ΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΜΠΕΧC (...) 'what (ΟΥ) (is) wine (ΗΡΠ), what (ΟΥ) (is) food (ΔΙΝ-ΟΥΩΜ), what (ΟΥ) (is) any (ΛΑΛΥ) comfort (Μ-ΜΟΤΝΕC) of (ΝΤΕ) this world (ΠΕΙ-ΚΟCΜΟC) before (ΜΝΑΖΡΗ) the grace (ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙC) of Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-ΧC)?' (KMHL II 35:16-17) (a rhetorical question!)
☐ ascriptive sentence ☐ characterisational sentences

- (3) ΟΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'the son (Π-ΩΗΡΕ) of Go. (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (is) a (mortal) creature (ΟΥ-ΤΑΜΙΟ)' (Sh. contra Oi 310)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence
- (4) ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΚΨΕΕΡΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) your daughter (ΤΕΚ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) Hilaria' (Hil. 11:28-29).
☐ specificational sentence ☐ identity statement

C. Translate the following bi- and tripartite nominal sentences.

- (1) ΝΤΚ ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ (KHML I 46:22-23)
- (2) ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΕΝΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ (KHML I 81:10-11)
- (3) ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΝΕΖ ΝΤΨΕΛΛΕΕΤ (read ΨΕΛΕΕΤ) ΜΠΑΨΗΡΕ (KHML I 81:17)

D. Translate the following dialogue fragment. (Q stands for question and A for answer):

THE INTERROGATION OF SAINT APA NAHROW

Q: ΝΤΚ ΟΥΕΕΒΟΛ [read ΟΥ-ΕΒΟΛ] ΤΩΝ

A: ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΜΚΗΜΕ

Q: ΖΝ ΑΨ ΝΠΟΛΙC^a Η ΖΝ ΑΨ ΝΉΜΕ

A: ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΤ^b ΖΝ ΠΤΩΨ ΠΙΟΜ^c

Q: ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ

A: ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ

Q: ΝΙΜ ΑQΕΝΤΚ^d ΕΠΕΙΜΑ

A: ΙC ΑQΕΝΤ^e ΕΠΕΙΜΑ (KHML II 3:2)

NOTES: a. ΠΟΛΙC 'city, town' b. ΠΟΥΟΕΙΤ (toponym), c. ΠΙΟΜ (toponym) 'Fayyûm', d. Α-Q-ΕΝΤ-Κ 'he has brought you', e. Α-Q-ΕΝΤ 'he has brought me'

Verbal morphology

Verbs and nouns are the basic building blocks for sentences. Nouns are referring expressions that name individuals, objects or locations, while verbs are typically used as predicates that designate relations between entities: events they participated in or states that were obtained. The present Unit is the first of four units on the Coptic verbal-inflectional system. Its focus is on verbal morphology and the syntactic encoding of nominal arguments that refer to the event's participants. Unit 7 deals with the morpho-syntax of verbal tense and aspect and the contrastive behaviour of the various present, past and future tenses. This leads to Unit 8, which is about relative tenses and moods. Unit 9 completes the survey of the inflectional domain by examining the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods.

The Coptic verbal system is organized around relatively abstract lexical representations (roots) and fully specified surface forms (stems), which are associated with a particular morpho-semantic pattern. Take, for instance, the pair $\kappa\omega\tau$ 'to build' and $\kappa\eta\tau$ 'to be (in a) built (state)', both of which are derived from the biliteral root $\sqrt{k-t/}$, meaning something like "constructing, shaping". Section 6.1 provides an introduction to Coptic root-and-pattern morphology.

Derivationally related stems like $\kappa\omega\tau$ and $\kappa\eta\tau$ contain two layers of meaning that interact in complex ways. On the one hand, there is the basic lexical value of the underlying verbal root. On the other hand, there is the inherent dynamic or static meaning of the stem pattern with which the underlying root is associated. Thus, while the verb stem $\kappa\omega\tau$ 'to build' designates the structure-building event itself, the

corresponding form $\kappa\eta\tau$ 'to be built' refers to the resultant state of that event. Section 6.2 examines the eventive-stative contrast for different lexical classes of transitive and intransitive verbs.

In Coptic, stem patterns not only express core distinctions in the aspectual domain, viz. the contrast between events and states, but also encode information that is relevant for syntax. As will be shown in section 6.3, the so-called absolute and construct state patterns represent different strategies for the grammatical expression of the direct object relation. In the absolute state, the direct object relation is registered by a special preposition, e.g. $\kappa\omega\tau$ $\text{no}\gamma\text{ma}$ 'to build ($\kappa\omega\tau$) a place ($\text{no}\gamma\text{-ma}$)', while no such device is used in the construct state, which is characterised by the strict adjacency between the verb and its direct object, e.g. $\kappa\epsilon\tau$ $\text{o}\gamma\text{ma}$ 'to build ($\kappa\epsilon\tau$) a place ($\text{o}\gamma\text{-ma}$)'.

Section 6.4 deals with the formation of complex predicates. Such complex predicates can be decomposed into a verb and another verbal or nominal element, which together function as a single verbal predicate, e.g. ρ ppo 'to become (ρ) king (ppo)' or ρ zwb 'to work' (lit. to make (ρ) thing (zwb)). Another topic of this section is analytical causative construction, which contains two verbs, namely the causative verb $\tau\text{pe-}$ and the subordinated lexical verb, e.g. $\tau\text{pe-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\text{ine}$ 'to let them ($\tau\text{pe-}\gamma\text{-}$) bring (ϵine)'.

6.1 Root and pattern morphology

Coptic has a verbal system in which morphology, syntax and semantics are intertwined. The key to understanding how this system works lies in the compositional nature of Coptic verb forms. Coptic verbs, unlike their counterparts in languages like English, are internally complex words that can be decomposed into three more basic units, each functioning as a distinct morpheme:

- (i) The root morpheme, which consists of a string of consonants and represents the basic lexical unit (section 6.1.1)
- (ii) The vowel melody, which has a syntactic as well as a semantic role (sections 6.1.2)

- (iii) The stem template, which results from the organization of the root consonants and inflectional vowels into a pattern of syllable structure (section 6.1.3).

Each unit, i.e. the consonantal root, the vowel melody, and the stem template can vary independently. Take, for instance, the pair $\kappa\omega\tau$ / $\text{k}\omega\text{t}$ / 'to build' and $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ / $\text{k}\omega.\text{te}$ / 'to turn', which are both derived from homophonous (though semantically unrelated) biliteral roots / k-t /, but differ morphologically with respect to their vowel pattern (/o/ vs. /o c/) and stem template (monosyllabic CVC vs. bisyllabic CV.CV). The multi-morphemic character of Coptic verbal stems is schematically represented in figure 6.1, where each segmentally discontinuous morpheme is provided with a separate level of representation or tier. Association lines link a consonantal or vocalic segment to a particular slot on the verbal template:

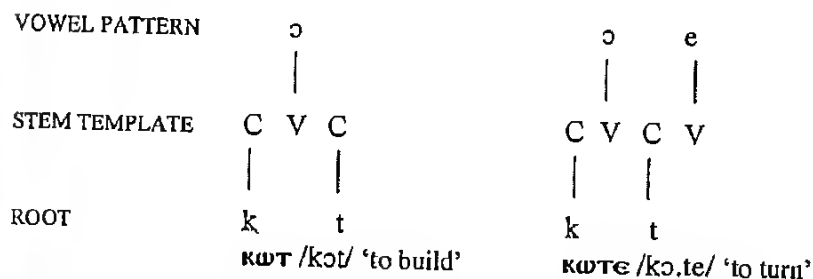


FIGURE 6.1 The three morphological components of verb stems

This rather abstract sketch of Coptic verb stem formation will be filled out in the following sections, starting with the consonantal root.

6.1.1 The consonantal root

At the basis of the Coptic verbal system lies the consonantal root, which is neither a prosodic unit nor a continuous phonological string, but rather consists of a sequence of consonants shared by lexically related stems. Consider the verbs and nouns in table 6.1 below, which all involve the biliteral root / m-s / 'procreating'.

VERB	GLOSS	NOUN	GLOSS
MIČE	to give birth	MIČE	usury
MOČE	to be newly delivered	MEČIΩ	midwife, nurse
(T)MEČIO	to bring to birth	MAČE	calf, young bull
		MAC	young (child, animal)

TABLE 6.1 Derived forms of the biliteral root $\sqrt{m-s/}$ "procreating"

The verbs and nouns listed above are connected in form and meaning. All items contain the consonant sequence /m-s/ and indicate lexical concepts which are related to a particular semantic field, that of procreation and birth. Thus, while the consonantal root is associated with a broad lexical value, the corresponding nouns or verbs have a concrete meaning and refer to entities or designate relations between entities. It is clear, then, that the consonantal root represents a relatively abstract lexical entry that contains only those phonological features that discriminate separate lexical items and adopts different meanings in nominal and verbal templates.

6.1.2 Stem patterns

Coptic verb formation exhibits a one-to-many correspondence between underlying representations (roots) and surface forms (stems). The biliteral root /m-s/, for instance, appears in four different stem patterns (traditionally called "states"), viz. the absolute state MIČE, the nominal and pronominal states MEČ- and MEČT=, respectively, and the stative MOČE[†]. Most Coptic dictionaries employ special diacritics to indicate the stem pattern of a given verb form, which are provided in table 6.2.

STEM PATTERN	VERB FORM	DIACRITIC
absolute state (ABS. ST.)	MIČE	no diacritic
nominal state (NOM. ST.)	MEČ-	with hyphen
pronominal state (PRON. ST.)	MEČT=	with equation mark
stative (STAT.) ("qualitative")	MOČE [†]	with raised dagger

TABLE 6.2 Coptic stem pattern and their diacritics

N.B. The terminology used in this grammar diverges from the traditional one in two respects. First, the nominal and pronominal state together will be referred to as the construct state in this grammar, since both stem patterns require adjacency between the verb and its direct object. Second, in line with current linguistic terminology, the traditional label "qualitative" is replaced by the term "stative", which describes the static-resultative meaning of this stem pattern in a more accurate way.

The different surface forms or stems of a given verbal lexeme are derivationally related through the consonant structure of the root, but formally distinguished through vowel change (*abs. st.* MIČE /mi.se/ vs. *stat.* MOČE /mɔ.se/) and syllabification (bisyllabic *abs. st.* MIČE /mi.se/ vs. monosyllabic *nom. st.* MEČ- /mes/). Such vowel alternations, which correlate with different verbal meanings, are known in the linguistic literature under the term "apophony". In Coptic, apophony is a morphologically fully productive process that encodes various verbal categories.

The basic stem patterns of transitive verbs can be classified along two dimensions, a syntactic and a semantic one. The semantic dimension involves situation aspect, which concerns the internal temporal structure or inherent dynamism of the situation described by the verbal predicate. The absolute state MIČE and the nominal and pronominal states MEČ- and MEČT= 'to deliver' are associated with an eventive reading and describe dynamic situations that change over time. The stative MOČE[†] 'to be bred', on the other hand, has a non-dynamic reading and indicates temporary conditions or states that last for some time, without involving any change.

The syntactic dimension of Coptic stem patterns concerns the structural dependency between the verb and the direct object. In the construct state, both constituents are necessarily adjacent, e.g. e.g. MEČ πΩΡ200ΥΤ 'to deliver (MEČ-) the male child (ΩΡ-200ΥΤ)' (Apoc. 12:13), while the direct object relation is registered by the preposition N- in the corresponding absolute state. To illustrate the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of verb derivation, an example of each stem pattern is given in table 6.3 below.

STEM PATTERN	SEMANTIC DIMENSION	SYNTACTIC DIMENSION	
ABS. ST. MICE	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS	<p>Α ΤΩΔΑΥΛΕ MICE ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ NCZME 'the she-camel (Τ-ΔΑΥΛΕ) delivered (Α ... MICE) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΡΕ Ν-ΣΖΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:33-34)</p>
NOM. ST. MEC-	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	ADJACENCY OF THE VERB AND THE DIRECT OBJECT NOUN	<p>ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΜΕC ΠΩΡΖΟΟΥΤ 'she (ΤΑΙ) who had borne (ΝΤ-Α-С-ΜΕC) the male child (ΩΡ-ΖΟΟΥΤ)' (Apoc. 12:13)</p>
PRON. ST. MECT-	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	CLITICIZATION OF THE DIRECT OBJECT PRONOUN	<p>ΠΩ[ΟΡΠ] ΕΤΕCΝΑΜ[ΕCΤQ] 'the first (child) (Π-ΩΟΡΠ) that she is going to deliver (ΕΤΕ-С-ΝΑ-ΜΕCΤ-Q)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:25-26)</p>
STAT. MOCE [†]	STATE [- CHANGE OF STATE]	INTRANSITIVE (OBJECTLESS)	<p>ΕΡΕ ΝΧΑΧ ΜΟCΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'while the sparrows (Ν-ΧΑΧ) are bred (ΕΡΕ ... ΜΟCΕ) inside them (the cedars) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Psalm 103:17)</p>

TABLE 6.3 Semantic and syntactic aspects of Coptic stem patterns

A more detailed discussion of the eventive-stative alternation will be offered in section 6.2. In section 6.3, the construct state and the absolute state pattern will be identified with two different types of objective case, namely accusative and oblique case.

6.1.3 Root and stem extensions

This section is about lexeme-formational processes that generate derived verbs by adding different types of affixes to the consonantal root. Such root extensions fall into two classes, viz. reduplicative suffixes that contain one or two consonants of the root morpheme and

lexical prefixes that are phonologically unrelated to the root. Another topic of this section are prosodically driven adjustment procedures, which affect the size and the composition of the stem template.

a) Reduplicative verb extensions

The Coptic lexicon comprises a considerable number of reduplicated and geminated verbs, which are morphologically derived by the full or partial copying of the consonantal root, e.g. *ωορωρ* /ʃor.ʃər/ 'to destroy, overturn' (</ʃ-r/), *ζμον* /hmom/ 'to be hot' (</h-m/). In the vast majority of cases, the original intensive or repetitive meaning of such reduplicated verb forms in Pre-Coptic Egyptian has been lost beyond recognition in Coptic Egyptian. For this reason, simplex verbs and their reduplicants are by and large synonymous. Thus, 'compare: *ογωτ* /wət/ 'to be fresh, green' vs. *ογωτογет* /wət.wət/ 'to be green, pallid' (</wt/), *ζωx* /hət^s/ 'to be in straits' vs. *ζωxζx* /hət^s.hət^s/ 'to be distressed, restricted' (</h-t^s/), *κεz-* /keh/ 'to make level, smoothe' vs. *καzκz* /kah.kəh/ 'to hew out, smoothe' (</k-h/).

Full morpheme reduplication interacts in interesting ways with syllable structure and stress placement. The stem template of such reduplicated verbs is composed of two identical syllable positions C₁V₁C₂.C₁V₁C₂. Yet, the characteristic stem vowel is only retained in the stressed syllable, while the nucleus position of the unstressed syllable contains a reduced vowel or schwa /ə/: *abs. st.* *ωορωρ* /ʃor.ʃər/, *nom. st.* *ωρωρ-* /ʃər.ʃər/, *pron. st.* *ωρωρ=* /ʃər.ʃə.rə/, *stat.* *ωρωρ[†]* /ʃər.ʃər/.

Gemination involves the copying of the final root consonant. Very often, geminated verbs are degeminated in the stative. Thus, consider: *abs. st.* *ζμον* /hmom/ 'to be hot' vs. *stat.* *ζηη[†]* /hem/, *abs. st.* *ονον* /k^ynon/ 'to be soft, weak' vs. *stat.* *ονη[†]* /k^yen/, *abs. st.* *κμον* /kmom/ 'to be black' vs. *stat.* *κμη[†]* /kem/, *abs. st.* *τppe* /tər.re/ 'to be afraid' vs. *stat.* *τπειωγ[†]* /trejow/.

b) Lexical causatives

Coptic has lexical and analytic causatives for the expression of causative events, which describe a cause and its effect. The subject of a causative verb designates the CAUSER, i.e. the entity that brings about some event or activity without necessarily participating in it, while the direct object is semantically interpreted as the CAUSEE, i.e. the entity

that performs the event in question, e.g. *NTHE OY2HKE NOEIK* 'and he shall nourish (N-Q-THE) a poor one (OY-2HKE) with bread (N-OEIK)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

Analytic causatives are bi-clausal structures with two verbal predicates, one designating the causing event and the other the caused even (see below, section 6.4.3). Lexical causatives, by contrast, function as single verbs that appear in mono-clausal structures. They are formed with the causative prefixes *τ-* and *ϙ-*, which can be combined with transitive and intransitive verbs. Such lexically derived causatives have one argument more than the base verb from which they are derived, e.g. *THMO* 'to feed, nourish' (< *τ* + *OYWM* 'to eat'), *TAZO* 'to make stand, set up' (< *ωZE* 'to stand'), *TCABO* 'to make wise, teach' (< *CABE* 'to be wise'), *TCa(ε)IO* 'to make beautiful' (< *CaEIE* 'to be beautiful'), *TOYXAI* 'to save' (< *OYXAI* 'to be safe, sound'), *XPO* 'to beget, bring forth' (< *τ* + *ωPTE* 'to become'), *CMINE* 'to establish, set right' (< *MOYN* 'to stay, remain'), *CAANW* 'to make live' (*WNZ* 'to live'), *CMINE* 'to establish, set right' (< *MOYN* 'to stay, remain').

It is possible to derive lexical causatives from reduplicated verbal roots, implying that reduplication precedes affixation in the course of verbal derivation, e.g. *CPOPEP* /s-rof.ref/ 'to let fall, dissipate' (< *s-* + /f.rf/), *CTPTP* /s-tər.tər/ 'to tremble' (< *s-* + /tr.tr/).

e) Epenthesized "weak" verbs

Bi- and triliteral verbs come in two varieties, a strong and a weak one. The weak variety is characterized by a stem-final vowel *ε* /e/ after the last root consonant, e.g. *MICE* /mi.se/ 'to deliver' (< /m-s/), *COBTE* /sob.te/ 'to make ready' (< /s-b-t/). No such prosodic material is added to the template of strong verbs, whose stem-final segment is the second or third root consonant, e.g. *KWT* /kət/ 'to build' (< /k-t/), *CWTM* /so.təm/ 'to hear' (< /s-t-m/).

What we are dealing with is a lexically governed form of vowel epenthesis. Epenthesis is a prosodically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra segmental material to an input form to meet certain wellformedness requirements regarding the size and composition of words. In Sahidic vowel epenthesis, a biconsonantal root like /m-s/ "procreating" would normally surface as a monosyllabic stem /mis/, with no further measures being taken. However, by adding the default vowel *ε* /e/ to the second root consonant, an extra syllable position is

created, the result being a bisyllabic verb stem *MICE* /mi.se/, which represents a prosodically optimal form. It should be kept in mind, however, that vowel epenthesis and prosodic optimisation is quite restricted in Sahidic Coptic and applies only to a subdomain of the verbal lexicon. In other words, vowel epenthesis accommodates only those verbal items that are lexically specified as being "weak".

d) Verbs with underlying glottal stop

Several "strong" and "weak" verbs contain a geminated vowel after the first root consonant. As we have seen in section 1.3.1.4 of Unit 1, Sahidic vowel gemination is an orthographical expression of a 'broken' vowel, i.e. a stressed lengthened vowel that is interrupted by a glottal stop /ʔ/. Since vowel breaking reflects the presence of a glottal stop /ʔ/ in the underlying representation, we are dealing with another class of "weak" verbs that have a glottal stop as the second root consonant, e.g. *QWWT* /ʃoʔot/ 'to cut, slay' (< /ʃ-ʔ-t/), *POWNE* /poʔo.ne/ 'to change, turn' (< /p-ʔ-n/), *MEYE* /meʔe.we/ 'to think' (< /m-ʔ-w/), *XOO* /tʰoʔo-/ 'to say' (< /tʰ-ʔ-/).

e) The so-called second infinitive

A restricted number of verbs may assume a special form, traditionally referred to as the second infinitive (abbreviated 2nd inf.), since it alternates with the absolute state. Second infinitives have an inchoative meaning, describing the emergence of some state or condition, e.g. *abs. st. MOYKZ* 'to afflict, oppress, sadden s.o.' vs. 2nd inf. *MAKZ* 'to become sad, grieved', *abs. st. MOYTN* 'to set at rest' vs. 2nd inf. *HTON* 'to relax, be at ease', *abs. st. NEIPE* vs. 2nd inf. *NPPE* 'to come forth (of light), shine upon'.

f) Remnant participles ("participium conjunctum")

Coptic has no productive participle formation. There are but a handful of remnant participles, which are distinguished morphologically from the base verb by an /a i/ or /a/ vowel pattern. Remnant participles are restricted to nominal compounds (see above, section 3.1.2 of Unit 3). Particularly common participles are *MAI* /maj/ 'loving' (< *ME* 'to love'), e.g. *PMAINOYTE NPPPO ZHNWN* 'the God-loving (τ-MAI-NOYTE) king (N-PPPO) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1), *QAI* /faj/ (< *QI* 'to carry'), e.g. *NEK-QAI-WINE*

'your messengers (lit. message-carriers)' (Camb. 5:17), $\chi\alpha\kappa\iota$ 'raising' (< $\chi\iota\sigma\epsilon$ 'to raise'), e.g. $2\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\sigma\ \mu\eta\mu\tau\chi\alpha\kappa\iota\zeta\eta\tau$ 'with (2 η) great ($\sigma\upsilon\nu\sigma$) arrogance ($\mu\eta\mu\tau\chi\alpha\kappa\iota\zeta\eta\tau$ lit. high-hearted)' (Eud. 36:17), $\mu\alpha\eta$ /man/ 'pasturing' (< $\mu\sigma\sigma\eta$ 'to pasture'), e.g. $\sigma\upsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\eta\text{-}\delta\alpha\mu\sigma\upsilon\lambda$ 'a camel herd' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3). Passive participles were almost entirely lost as inflectional categories of the verb, the main survivor being the stative-adjectival participle $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ (sg:masc), $\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ (pl.) 'beloved' (< $\mu\epsilon$ 'to love'), e.g. $\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\ \mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\ \nu\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ 'Jacob, your beloved ($\mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$) son ($\nu\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$)' (Test. Is. 229:14).

g) Copto-Greek verbs

Greek loan verbs appear in a morphologically lighter form than their Greek models. The template of Copto-Greek verbs usually ends in an open syllable CV or CVV syllable, with the infinitival endings $-\epsilon\iota\nu$ /ein/ or $-\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ /est^hai/ being stripped off or phonologically reduced (see above, section 1.4.1.3 of Unit 1), e.g. $\mu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$ (V. Pach. 294:10) 'to be at war with, quarrel' (< $\mu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ /polemein/), $\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$ 'to encounter, meet' (Test. Is. 237:8) (< $\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\nu$ /apantan/), $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon$ 'to grant' (Hil. 7:10) (< $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ /k^harizest^hai/). The restriction of Greek loan verbs to the absolute state stem pattern generally shows that they are only partially integrated into the Coptic verbal system.

6.1.4 Morphological classes of simple and derived verbs

Table 6.5 provides an overview of the apophonic patterns of major morphological classes of verbs. The various morphological classes of verbs are defined by the stem template of the absolute state form.

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
1 lit. vbs. [C1 V1], [V1 C1]	$\chi\iota$	$\chi\iota-$	$\chi\iota\tau=$	$\chi\iota\eta\tau^{\dagger}$	take
	$\omega\pi$	$\epsilon\pi-$	$\sigma\pi=$	$\iota\pi\tau^{\dagger}$	count
strong 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2], [s C2 V1]	$\kappa\omega\tau$	$\kappa\epsilon\tau-$	$\kappa\sigma\tau=$	$\kappa\eta\tau^{\dagger}$	build
	$\sigma\alpha\iota$	$\sigma\epsilon\tau-$	$\sigma\alpha\tau^{\dagger}=$ $\sigma\alpha\iota\tau=$	$\sigma\eta\tau^{\dagger}$	write
weak 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1. C2 e]	$\mu\iota\sigma\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\sigma-$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau-$	$\mu\alpha\sigma\tau=$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau=$	$\mu\sigma\epsilon\tau^{\dagger}$	deliver
	$\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon$	$\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau-$	$\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau=$	$\rho\sigma\kappa\epsilon^{\dagger}$ $\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon^{\dagger}$	bend, turn

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLO:
	$\mu\omega\sigma\epsilon$		$\mu\sigma\sigma=$ $\mu\sigma\tau=$	$\mu\sigma\sigma\epsilon^{\dagger}$	break
strong 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1.C2 σ C3]	$\zeta\omega\tau\beta$	$\zeta\epsilon\tau\beta-$	$\zeta\sigma\tau\beta=$	$\zeta\sigma\tau\beta^{\dagger}$	kill
	$\rho\omega\tau\tau$	$\rho\epsilon\tau\tau-$	$\rho\alpha\tau\tau=$	$\rho\alpha\tau\tau^{\dagger}$	strike
	$\mu\sigma\gamma\kappa\zeta$	$\mu\epsilon\kappa\kappa\zeta-$	$\mu\sigma\kappa\kappa\zeta=$	$\mu\sigma\kappa\kappa\zeta^{\dagger}$	afflict
	$\zeta\lambda\sigma\sigma$			$\zeta\lambda\sigma\sigma^{\dagger}$	be
weak 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2 C3 e]	$\mu\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon$	$\mu\alpha\tau\tau-$		$\mu\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon^{\dagger}$	sweet
	$\mu\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon-$	$\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega=$	$\mu\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon^{\dagger}$	thrust
	$\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon$	$\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon-$	$\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\tau=$	$\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\tau^{\dagger}$	hate
glottal stop vbs. [C1 V1 ⁷ V1. C2] [C1 V1 ⁷ V1. C2 e]	$\chi\omega$	$\chi\epsilon-$	$\chi\sigma\sigma=$		prepare
	$\mu\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon-$	$\mu\sigma\sigma\eta\epsilon=$	$\mu\sigma\sigma\eta\epsilon^{\dagger}$	say
	$\psi\omega\omega\tau$	$\psi(\epsilon)\tau-$	$\psi\lambda\lambda\tau=$	$\psi\lambda\lambda\tau^{\dagger}$	turn
redupl. vbs. [C1 V1 C2. C1 C2] [C1 C2 V1 C2]	$\psi\sigma\psi\sigma$	$\psi\sigma\psi\sigma-$	$\psi\sigma\psi\sigma\psi=$	$\psi\sigma\psi\sigma\psi^{\dagger}$	slay
	$\zeta\mu\sigma\mu$			$\zeta\mu\mu^{\dagger}$	destroy
				$\zeta\mu\mu^{\dagger}$	be hot
lexical causatives [T-prefix + stem] [C-prefix + stem]	$\tau\alpha\tau\sigma$	$\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon-$	$\tau\alpha\tau\sigma=$	$\tau\alpha\tau\eta\tau^{\dagger}$	set up
	$\tau\mu\mu\sigma$	$\tau\mu(\mu)\epsilon-$	$\tau(\mu)\mu\sigma=$	$\tau\mu\mu\eta\tau^{\dagger}$	nourish
	$\sigma\mu\eta\epsilon$	$\sigma\mu\eta-$	$\sigma\mu\eta\tau=$	$\sigma\mu\eta\tau^{\dagger}$	found
irregular vbs.	\dagger	$\dagger-$	$\tau\alpha\alpha=$	$\tau\omega^{\dagger}$	give
	$\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon$	$(\epsilon)\rho-$	$\lambda\lambda=$	σ^{\dagger}	make
	$\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$	$(\epsilon)\eta-$	$(\epsilon)\eta\tau=$		bring
	$\mu\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon-$	$\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau=$		love
Greek vbs.	$\chi\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon$				grant
	$\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$				meet

TABLE 6.5 Morphological classes of verbs

6.2 The eventive-stative alternation

In Coptic, the semantic contrast between relatively dynamic situations (events, activities, processes) and relatively static situations (states, results, conditions) is expressed by different stem allomorphs of one and the same verbal root. The semantic interpretation of a verbal stem is therefore compositionally derived from the basic lexical value of the underlying root and the event- or state-related viewpoint associated with a particular stem pattern.

6.2.1 Situation aspect

This section provides some background information on the grammatical expression of situation aspect. The term situation aspect (traditionally labelled as *Aktionsart* "mode of action") refers to a typology of verbal predicates.

A verbal predicate may designate a relatively dynamic situation, which involves some kind of change, or, alternatively, a relatively static situation, where some condition is said to last for some time, without any change being involved. Predicates of the former type are referred to as "eventive predicates" or simply "events" and predicates of the latter type as "stative predicates" or "states". The occurrence of an event generally involves some condition when it begins, is terminated and replaced by another condition. This contrasts with stative predications, which lack such an internal temporal structure and simply consist of a stretch in time. Thus, events have an internal temporal structure, whereas states do not.

A salient feature of the Coptic verbal system is the morpho-syntactic encoding of eventive and stative predicates by means of distinct verb stem patterns. That is to say that a given root receives an eventive interpretation when it surfaces in the absolute or construct state pattern, but it assumes a stative or resultative interpretation when it occurs in the corresponding stative.

Consider, for instance, *externally caused change of state verbs* such as *COBTE* 'to prepare, make ready', which describe a change of state that is caused by some external source rather than by an internal development. The absolute state form *COBTE* makes direct reference to some purposeful action or activity that leads to the desired change of state, e.g. *BOK 2N OYBEPH NCOBTE NAC NQTOOY NCTPATHAATHC MN QTTOOY NTBΛ HMATOI* (...) 'go (*BOK*) quickly (*2N OYBEPH*) and make ready (*N-Γ-COBTE*) for her (*NA-C*) four (*N-QTTOOY*) generals (*N-CTPATHAATHC*) and (*MN*) forty thousand (*QTTOOY N-TBA*) soldiers (*M-HATOI*) (...) (Eud. 62:4-5). The stative variant *CBTWT* 'to be ready, prepared', on the other hand, denotes the resultant state of that event, e.g. *ANON NEK2M2AΛ TNCBTWT CBOK NHMAC* 'we (*ANON*), your servants (*NEK-2M2AΛ*), are ready (*TN-CBTWT*) to go (*E-BOK*) with her (*NHMA-C*)' (Eud. 62:1).

6.2.2 Situation aspect in lexical classes of verbs

This section examines the systematic alternations in meaning between the event-oriented absolute and construct state on the one hand, and the result-oriented stative on the other. By selecting one or the other stem pattern, a given situation is presented from different angles as emerging, but not yet accomplished or as having reached a particular result.

a) Verbs of creation

Transitive verbs of creation like *KOT* 'to build' and *C2AI* 'to write' describe complex events consisting of a process and a result. The process component is encoded by the absolute or construct state, which both describe an activity or process through which something comes to exist, e.g. *AIKOT NAI NOYMA NQWITE MAYAAT* 'I built (*A-I-KOT*) for me (*NA-I*) a place (*N-OY-MA*) to live (*N-QWITE*) (all) by myself (*MAYAAT*)' (Onnophr. 207: 11-12), *ICAAC ΔΕ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕQC2AI ΝΤΕCΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ* 'the Patriarch (*Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ*) Isaac writes (*E-Q-C2AI*) his will (*N-TECΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*)' (Test. Is. 228:4). The result component of creational verbs is indicated by the corresponding statives *KHT* 'to be built' and *CH2* 'to be written', which describe the existence of the newly created entity at some place, e.g. *2ENMA EYKHT* 'places (*2EN-MA*) which are (in a) built (state) (*E-Y-KHT*)' (Pist. Soph. 132:11-12), *QCCH2 ΓΑΡ 2N ΗCΑΙAC* 'because (*ΓΑΡ*) it is written (*Q-CH2*) in (*2N*) (the book) Jesaias' (Onnophr. 211:25).

b) Agentive verbs of spatial configuration

When combined with the absolute and construct state pattern, *agentive verbs of spatial configuration* like *KW* 'to place, set down', *OYΩ2* 'to put, set' or *NOYXE* 'to throw, cast' have a dynamic "assume position" sense and describe a change in location of some entity or object through a volitional act of the subject referent, e.g. *MEWE NIM NTAKKA NECKEYH MPWME 2N ΛΩ MMA* '(you) so-and-so (*MEWE NIM*), in (*2N*) which (*ΛΩ*) place (*M-MA*) did you put (*NT-A-K-KA*) the property (*NE-CKEYH*) of that man (*M-Π-PWME*)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), *Α ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΛΥΟΥΕ2 ΠCΩΜΑ ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ [ΕΠΕC]ΗΤ 2Μ ΠΔΑΜΟΥΛ* 'the people (*NE-PWME*) of that (*ΕΤΗΜΑΥ*) place (*M-Π-MA*) let (*A-Y-OYΕ2*) the body (*Π-CΩMA*) of the blessed (*M-Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC*) Apa Mena down (*ΕΠΕCΗΤ*) from (*2M*) the

camel (π-δαμογλ.)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), ΝΤΑΝΟΥΧΩ ΕΘΑΛΑCΣΑ 'and I throw it (the corpse) (ΝΤΑ-ΝΟΥΧ-ω) into the sea (Ε-ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:6-7). Stativised agentive verbs of spatial configuration have non-agentive simple position sense, describing the present location of the subject, e.g. CΕΚΗ 2M ΠΑΗ 2Α ΤΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΜΠΑΔΟC 'they (the properties) lie (CΕ-ΚΗ) in (2M) my house (ΠΑ-Η) under (2Α) the foot (Τ-ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ) of my bed (Μ-ΠΑ-ΔΟC)' (AP Chaine no. 225, 65:28-29), ΜΗΝCΑ ΦΟΜΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕCΟΥΗ2 2M ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'after (ΜΗΝCΑ) she (Hilaria) remained (Ε-C-ΟΥΗ2) in (2M) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ) for three (ΦΟΜΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (...)' (Hil. 6:20-21), ΝΕΦΗΝΧ ΠΕ 2ΙΧΜ ΠΚΑ2 ΕΦΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ 'he (Pachôm) continued (Ε-Φ-ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ) to lie down (ΝΕ-Φ-ΗΝΧ) on (2ΙΧΜ) the ground (Π-ΚΑ2)' (V. Pach. 87:25).

c) Verbs of inherently directed motion

Motion verbs come in two varieties. On the one hand, there are verbs like ΜΟΟΥΕ 'to walk' and ΝΗΜΒΕ 'to swim', which specify a manner of motion but not a direction of motion. On the other hand, there are verbs like ΒΑΚ 'to go' and ΠΩ2 'to reach', which specify a direction but not a manner of motion. More precisely, ΠΩ2 has a progressive meaning and describes motion towards a particular goal, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΟΥΠΩ2 ΔΕ ΕΠΒΗΜΑ (...) 'when they had reached (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΠΩ2) the tribunal (Ε-Π-ΒΗΜΑ) (...)' (KHML I 83:22), while its antonym ΟΥΕ describes motion away from some point of origin, e.g. ΑΥΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤ† ΟΥΒΗ 'they who fought me (Ν-ΕΤ-† ΟΥΒΗ-Ι) have withdrawn (Α-Υ-ΟΥΕ) from (ΕΒΟΛ) me (ΜΜΟ-Ι)' (Pist. Soph. 154:19).

Verbs of inherently directed motion differ systematically from verbs of manner of motion in being compatible with both the absolute state and the stative stem pattern. However, stativised motion verbs lose their inherent dynamic meaning and function as positional verbs, e.g. ΠCΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΩ† ΤΗΗ2 ΕΧΟΟΩ ΕΡΩΤΗ (...) 'since (ΓΑΡ) the full (ΤΗΡ-ω) knowledge (Π-CΟΟΥΝ), I have come (to the point) (†-ΤΗΗ2) to tell it (Ε-ΧΟΟ-ω) to you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) (...)' (Pist. Soph. 220:14-15), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΟΥΗΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ Ν2ΜΕ ΜΗΛΙΟΝ 'we (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ) are forty (2ΜΕ) miles (Μ-ΜΗΛΙΟΝ) away (ΤΝ-ΟΥΗΥ) from Egypt (Ν-ΚΗΜΕ)' (Hil. 5:20-21). In present tense sentences, the selection of the stative is mandatory, e.g. ΕΡΒΗΚ ΕΤΩΝ 'where (Ε-ΤΩΝ) are you (woman) going to (Ε-Ρ-ΒΗΚ)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22).

d) Internally caused verbs of change of state

Internally caused verbs of change of state like 2ΚΟ 'to hunger', ΕΙΒΕ 'to thirst' and ΟΥΧΑΙ 'to be safe' assume an inchoative meaning in the absolute state and describe the emergence of some mental or physical condition, e.g. ΕΥΨΑΝ2ΚΟ ΕΥΝΑ2Ε ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑ2Ε ΕΜΟΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕCΩ 'if they (the hermits) become hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-2ΚΟ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-2Ε) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ), (or) if they become thirsty (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-2Ε) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)?' (Onnophr. 211:12-14), ΕΡΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2Π ΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΦCΝΟΩ 'the generation (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) to come (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) will be saved (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) through (2Π) his body (ΠΕΦ-CΩΜΑ) and (ΜΝ) his blood (ΠΕΦ-CΝΟΩ)' (Test. Is. 231:16-17).

While the absolute state of internally caused verbs of change of state carries the implication that the relevant property changes over time, the corresponding statives 2ΚΑΕΙΤ 'to be hungry', ΟΒΕ 'to be thirsty' and ΟΥΟΧ 'to be cured' describe the present state of the subject without anticipating a clearly defined endpoint, e.g. ΤΕ2ΚΑΕΙΤ ΤΕΟΒΕ ΜΠΟΕΙΚ ΜΝ ΠΜΟΟΥ 'you (woman) hunger (ΤΕ-2ΚΑΕΙΤ) (and) thirst (ΤΕ-ΟΒΕ) for bread (Μ-Π-ΟΕΙΚ) and (ΜΝ) water' (Π-ΜΟΟΥ)' (Sh. III 204:4), †ΟΥΟΧ ΕΨΩΝΕ 'I am cured (†-ΟΥΟΧ) of affliction (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

e) Verbs of occurrence and existence

Verbs of occurrence like ΨΩΠΕ 'to happen, to become' and existence like ΩΝ2 'to live' have an inherently locative meaning, with the term locative including spatial as well as temporal reference. In the absolute state, verbs of occurrence and existence describe the presence of the subject at some place as being temporally bound by a starting or an endpoint, which may be contextually implied, e.g. ΝΓΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΙΑΝΟΜΟC 'and stay (Ν-Γ-ΨΩΠΕ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) in the presence (Μ-Π-ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ) of this criminal (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟC)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4), ΑCΩΝ2 2Ν ΚΕΜΗΤCΝΟΟΥC ΕΝΡΟΜΠΕ (for ΝΡΟΜΠΕ) 'she (Hilaria) lived (Α-C-ΩΝ2) for (2Ν) another twelve (ΚΕ-ΜΗΤCΝΟΟΥC) years (ΕΝ-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Hil. 12:18). Stativised verbs of existence and occurrence, on the other hand, such as ΨΟΟΠ 'to exist, to be' and ΟΝ2 'to be alive' have no such temporal boundary, e.g. ΕΙC

ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΩΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ (...) 'since (ΓΑΡ), behold (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ), I am (ΤΩΟΠ) with you (woman) (ΝΗΜΕ) (...) (Eud. 52:13), ΦΟΝΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ 'as God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ) lives (Φ-ΟΝΖ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

Consider, finally, the verb of disappearance ΜΟΥ 'to die', which makes explicit reference to the process of dying in the absolute state, e.g. ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (read ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. in (ΖΝ) a dying (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1). The resultant "dead" state is designated by the stative counterpart ΜΟΟΥΤ 'to be deceased', e.g. ΕΣΦΑΝΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΕ ΚΟΝΖ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΙΤΕ ΕΚΜΟΟΥΤ 'but if she dies (Ε-ΣΦΑΝ-ΜΟΥ) be it (that) (ΕΙΤΕ) you (ΝΤΟΚ) are alive (Κ-ΟΝΖ) (or) be it (that) (ΕΙΤΕ) you are deceased (Ε-Κ-ΜΟΟΥΤ)' (KRU no. 67:90, 213:9-10).

6.2.3 The present tense restriction of statives

Stative verb forms have a limited syntactic distribution and can only appear in present tense contexts, including the preterit as a present-in-the-past, e.g. ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΨΤ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) is, (as far as) I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am concerned), my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (so) bold (ΝΑΨΤ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7), ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΨΗΝ ΡΗΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΠΥΓΗ 'and (ΑΥΩ) big (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) trees (Ν-ΨΗΝ) were growing (ΝΕ ... ΡΗΤ) near (ΖΙΧΝ) the well (Τ-ΠΥΓΗ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). To make sense of these limitations, we have to briefly consider the semantics of the present tense. Present tense sentences describe events that are in progress while the sentence is being uttered or present a situation as holding for all times. Under either interpretation, present tense reference does not include the endpoint of the event under consideration. The exclusion of such an endpoint is, however, a defining property of the stative that describes situations that do not change over time. Since only present tenses are associated with an unbound event reading, they are the only verbal tenses suitable for stative predicates.

A question remains with respect to the obligatory stativization of verbs of inherently directed motion in the present tense. Locating a motion event at the present moment comes down to pinpointing the current location of the subject. This locative meaning is expressed by the stative rather than the absolute state stem pattern, e.g. ΕΙΒΗΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑΨΛΗ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ) to the

shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mēna to pray (ΝΤΑ-ΨΛΗ)' (Mena, M 27b:23-25). Sometimes, stativized verbs of inherently directed motion come close in meaning to the present perfect, describing the accomplishment of the motion event before the present moment, e.g. ΕΚΝΗΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΟΝ 'where (ΤΩΝ) have you come (Ε-Κ-ΝΗΥ) (from), my brother (ΠΑ-ΟΝ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). We come back to the internal temporal structure of present tense sentences in section 6.3.2.

6.3 Direct object syntax and case marking

This section deals with the syntactic dimension of the Coptic verbal system and examines some basic predicate-argument configurations. In section 6.3.1, the two major transitive verbal patterns, the construct state and the absolute state, will be identified with two different case-marking strategies for the direct object argument, namely accusative and oblique (prepositional) case, respectively. Section 6.3.2 shows that the selection of either case-marking pattern correlates with a particular aspectual viewpoint concerning the termination of the event that is described. Section 6.3.3 deals with the functional equivalents of the English passive construction (e.g. *John was killed in an accident*). Section 6.3.4 completes this survey on verbal constellations by taking a closer look at the syntax of intransitive verbs.

6.3.1 The absolute state/construct state alternation

When the dependency between phrasal constituents is signalled morphologically, the marking may occur either on the head or on the dependent element of that phrase. In the Coptic verbal system, the construct state represents the head-marking and the absolute state the dependent-marking pattern for the morphological expression of the direct object relation: *nom. st.* ΟΥΜ ΝΚΑ 'to eat (ΟΥΜ) something (ΝΚΑ)' (praec. Pach. 114) vs. *abs. st.* ΟΥΩΜ ΗΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΟΕΙΚ '(when they had finished) eating (ΟΥΩΜ) their small (Η-ΠΕΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) (portions) of bread (Ν-ΟΕΙΚ)' (V. Pach. 137:4). In the absolute state pattern, the dependent constituent, the direct object, is syntactically encoded as a prepositional phrase. Since the original locative or directional meaning of the preposition that is used has been lost beyond recognition, it functions as a fully grammaticalised case marking device.

STEM PATTERN	EXPRESSION TYPE	VERBAL HEAD	DIRECT OBJECT
CONSTRUCT STATE	HEAD-MARKING	ΟΥΜ eat	ΝΚΑ something
ABSOLUTE STATE	DEPENDENT-MARKING	ΟΥΩΜ eat	Η-ΠΕΥΚΟΥ Ν-ΟΕΙΚ their small (portions) of bread

FIGURE 6.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking morphology

Coptic uses these relation-marking strategies to distinguish the nominal that bears the direct object role from other verbal arguments and adjuncts. In signalling grammatical relations, the head marking construct state and the dependent-marking absolute state instantiate two different types of objective case, namely accusative and oblique case. Accusative case involves the adjacency between the case-assigning verb and the direct object, while oblique case involves the introduction of a semantically vacuous case-assigning preposition.

6.3.1.1 Morpho-phonological behaviour

The morpho-phonological alternations in the shape of verb in the absolute and in the construct state can be directly related to the head-marking and dependent-marking expression type of the direct object relation they are associated with.

In the nominal state, the stem vowel is replaced by the vowel *e* /e/, e.g. ΟΥΕΜ /wem/ ΑΒ (for ΑΓ) 'to eat (ΟΥΕΜ) meat (ΑΓ)' (AP Chaîne no.14, 3:12) or reduced to *schwa* /ə/, e.g. ΟΥΗ /wəh/ ΝΚΑ 'to eat (ΟΥΗ) something (ΝΚΑ)' (praec. Pach. 114), indicating that the verbal stem bears no stress, while the phonologically intact direct object nominal does attract stress: ΟΥΕΜ ΑΒ /wem.'av/ and ΟΥΗ ΝΚΑ /wəh.ən.kə/. Thus, the nominal state - direct object complex counts as a single domain for stress assignment.

Pronominal state verbs, on the other hand, must bear stress, since the bound pronouns are not susceptible to stress assignment. The cliticisation of the object pronoun may trigger a change in the vowel height of the stem vowel and the resyllabification of the resulting complex, e.g. ΕΟΥΗΜ /e.w'o.məf/ '(a vessel) to eat from (Ε-ΟΥΗΜ-Ϝ)' (Ounophr. 211:8).

Absolute state marked verbs lack special relation-marking morphology, since the syntactic dependency of the direct object argument is registered by a special case preposition. Yet, in transitive

verb constructions vowel epenthesis applies to the absolute, but not the construct state forms of "weak" biliteral verbs, e.g. ΜΙΣΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ ΝΕΖΗΕ 'to deliver (ΜΙΣΕ) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Mena, Mir 10b:33-34) vs. ΜΕΣ ΠΩΡΖΟΥΤ 'to deliver (ΜΕΣ-) the male chick (ΨΡ-ΖΟΥΤ)' (Apoc. 12:13). Vowel epenthesis is not resorted to in the construct state, since the verb and the adjacent direct object form a prosodic constituent that is large enough. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the prepositional object does not supply the verb with extra prosodic weight. To conform to the bisyllabic minimality requirement on the size of the "weak" verbs, an epenthetic vowel *ε*- must be added after the final root consonant.

6.3.1.2 Word order

The different morphophonological behaviour of the construct state and the absolute state has a syntactic correlate in different rules for the placement of prosodically weak function words and particles.

a) Enclitic discourse markers

It is never possible for prosodically weak function words and particles to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the verb and the adjacent direct noun or pronoun in the construct state, e.g. ΝΕΑΥΡ ΟΥΧΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΝΕΥΟΥΩΜ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΩ 'for (ΓΑΡ) they behaved (lit. they had taken (ΝΕ-Α-Υ-Ρ) the appearance (ΟΥ-ΧΟΤ)) as if (ΧΕ) they were eating (ΝΕ-Υ-ΟΥΩΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) drinking (ΝΕ-Υ-Ω)' (KHML 1 80:21-22). Such enclitics may, however, intervene between the verb and the prepositional object in the absolute state, e.g. ΕΥΩΑΝΚΡΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΗΜΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤΖΗΠΗ (...)' 'if the (other) residents (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ-ΠΗ) judge (Ε-Υ-ΩΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ) him (ΗΜΟ-Ϝ) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17).

b) Clause-internal negation ΑΝ

Roughly the same distributional pattern obtains in negated sentences, in which the negation adverb ΑΝ 'not' comes after the direct object in the construct state, e.g. ΟΥΔΕ ΝΑΡ ΖΩΒ ΑΝ 'and (ΟΥΔΕ) he does not work (lit. he does not (ΑΝ) do (Ν-Ϝ-Ρ) work (ΖΩΒ))' (AP Chaîne no.153, 33:25-26), ΕΤΕ ΟΥ ΤΝΑΨΕΠ ΖΙΣΕ ΑΝ ΟΥΕΨ (read ΝΟΥΕΨΝ) ΝΟΥΣ 'why (ΕΤΕ ΟΥ) can I not (ΑΝ) accept (Τ-ΝΑ-ΨΕΠ) suffering (ΖΙΣΕ) without (ΝΟΥΕΨΝ) being angry (ΝΟΥΣ)' (V. Pach. 2:14). In

the corresponding absolute state, the negation marker **AN** is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. **NNEIXW** (for **NEIXW**) **AN** **NNAI** **ZNNOYHNTXACI** (for **ZN OYHNTXACIHT**) **OYAE** **ZNNOYHNTWOYWO** (for **ZN OYHNTWOYWO**) 'I do not (**AN**) say (**N-E-I-XW**) these (words) (**N-NAI**) in (**ZN**) an arrogant (**OY-HNT-XACI-HT**) and (**OYAE**) in (**ZN**) an self-satisfied manner (**OY-HNT-WOYWO**)' (V. Pach. 89:2-3)

c) Verb-particle combinations

A related set of placement rules applies to the absolute state and construct state form of verb-particle combinations like **XWK EBOA** 'to complete' and **EINE EBOA** 'to bring out, remove'. In the absolute state, the particle is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. **WANTEXWK EBOA N2WB NIM ENTAIZWN HMOOY ETOOTE** 'until you (woman) finish (**WANTE-XWK EBOA**) everything (**N-2WB NIM**) that I ordered (**ENT-A-I-2WN**) to you (**ETOOTE**)' (Eud. 52:13-14), but follows the verb-direct object complex in the construct state, e.g. **NNEAAAY N COYPE EBOA NPATQ NPOME** 'no one (**AAAY**) shall remove (**NNE ... EINE EBOA**) a thorn (**COYPE**) from anybody's (**N-POME**) foot (**N-PAT-Q**)' (praec. Pach. 96).

N.B. Verb-particle combinations often convey idiomatic meanings, which are listed in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* under the relevant verbal entry.

The systematic structural differences between the construct state and the absolute state with respect to the placement of prosodically weak function words and particles provide *prima facie* evidence for two types of locality conditions. In the construct state, the verbal stem and the nominal or pronominal object must be adjacent to one another. This is why enclitic elements must always follow the entire verb-direct object complex. No such adjacency requirement seems to be involved in its absolute state counterpart, where enclitic elements may intervene between the verb and the prepositional object, cf. figure 6.3.

CONSTRUCT STATE	DIRECT OBJECT	FUNCTION WORD/PARTICLE
WENT receive	ZICE suffering	AN not
N- bring	COYPE thorn	EBOA out

ABSOLUTE STATE	FUNCTION WORD/PARTICLE	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
COOYN know	AN not	N-POME man
XWK finish	EBOA up	N-2WB NIM everything

FIGURE 6.3 Particle placement

The morphological and syntactic differences between the absolute state and the construct state considered so far are indicative for two distinct strategies of objective case assignment (i.e. the case associated with the direct object argument of a transitive verb). In the construct state, accusative case is assigned purely on the basis of the structural configuration in which the direct object argument appears, namely in the complement position of the verb. For this reason, the assignment of structural accusative case requires adjacency between the case assigning verb and the case-marked direct object argument. The absolute state, on the other hand, represents an oblique case configuration, where the selected locative or directional preposition makes no contribution to the semantic interpretation of the prepositional object, but rather makes it visible as an argument of the preceding verb.

6.3.1.3 Direct object selection

Most transitive verbs are compatible with both the accusative case pattern of the construct state and the oblique case pattern of the absolute state. Yet, there are several transitive verb constructions which appear either in one or the other objective case-marking pattern:

a) Verbs of perception

A particularly clear case for lexically governed selectional restrictions are *verbs of perception* that select prepositional objects with **E-**, **EPO=**. The prepositional object has no directional meaning and simply designates the perceived individual, object, or location. The perception verb itself uniformly appears in the absolute state, e.g. **KNAγ EPOI EIWONE** 'you find (**K-NAγ**) me (**EPO-I**) sick (**E-I-WONE**)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), **AINAγ EMMA NAWOTIE NNEFYXOOTE THPOY** 'I say (**A-I-NAγ**) the dwelling (**N-WOTIE**) places (**E-M-MA**) of all (**THP-OY**) souls

(*π-νε-ψυχοογε*)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), *νιν πε πρωμε εφναδωψτ* *νσα πεφωρε εφενκ νεητω* (...) 'who (*νιν*) (is) the man (*π-ρωμε*) who *will watch* (*ε-φ-να-δωψτ*) *his son* (*νσα πεφ-ωρε*) going (*ε-φ-βηκ*) to drown (*ν-εντω*) (...)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), *αισωτη ευμηνωε ευωψ εβολ ευριμε ζεν* (for *ζν*) *κετοπος* 'I heard (*α-ι-σωτη*) a crowd (*ε-γ-μηνωε*) crying out (*ε-γ-ωψ εβολ*) (and) weeping (*ε-γ-ριμε*) in (*ζεν*) another place (*κε-τοπος*)' (Ac. A&P 204:139).

b) Light verb constructions

Coptic makes productive use of so-called light verb constructions like *ρ ζοτε* 'to fear' (lit. to make (ρ-) fear (*ζοτε*)). Light verbs generally occur in the construct state with a "bare" noun complement, e.g. *νερ ζοτε γαρ πε εβωκ ενεμοναστηριον μπευσαντιον* 'since (*γαρ*) she (*Hilaria*) *was* (*νε-с-ρ*) afraid (*ζοτε*) to go (*ε-βωκ*) to the monasteries (*ε-νε-μοναστηριον*) of Byzantium (*μ-π-ευσαντιον*)' (Hil. 2:12-13), *αϥτ πι ερωου* 'he (*Constantine*) *kissed* (lit. *give* (τ) kiss (*πι*)) them (the Persians) (lit. on their mouth (*ε-ρω-ου*))' (Eud. 48:15). If, on the other hand, the nominal complement is an indefinite noun phrase, the absolute state becomes available as a marked alternative, e.g. *πλην ουεζ σαζνε ναι ταειρε νουσωβε μπεκντο εβολ ζν τμητε μπειμνηψε τηρϥ* 'rather (*πλην*), *bid* (*ουωζ σαζνε* (lit. to place (*ουεζ*) an order (*σαζνε*)) *me* (*ναι*) to make (*τα-ειρε*) a mockery (*ν-ου-σωβε*) before you (*μ-πεκ-ντο*) in (*ζν*) the midst (*τ-μμητε*) of this entire (*τηρ-ϥ*) crowd (*μ-πει-μνηψε*)' (Ac. Isidor. 131:2-3). We return to light verb constructions in section 6.4 below.

c) Negative contexts

In the context of negation, there is a clear statistical preference for combining indefinite pronouns with construct state marked verbs, e.g. *ννε αλλυ χι αλλυ νειδος ντην ρωμε αχμ πεφρμνηει* 'no one (*αλλυ*) *shall take* (*ννε ... χι*) any (*αλλυ*) property (*ν-ειδος*) (away) from (*ντην*) anybody (*ρωμε*) without (*αχμ*) his steward (*πεφ-ρμ-νηει*)' (praec. Pach. 106), *ουτε ον ννε ρωμε ψβ ρωμε ευζμοος* 'and (*ουτε*) also (*ον*) *shall nobody* (*ρωμε*) *shave* (*ννε ... ψβ*) anybody (*ρωμε*) sitting (*ε-γ-ζμοος*)' (praec. Pach. 97). The encoding of indefinite pronouns as prepositional objects and the concomitant

selection of the absolute state is only marginally attested, e.g. *ντσοουν αν ρωμε ζν τειπολις* 'I *do not* (*αν*) *know* (*ν-τ-σοουν*) anybody (*ν-ρωμε*) in (*ζν*) this city (*τει-πολις*)' (Hil. 4:23).

d) Wh-in-situ objects

When the *wh*-interrogative phrase *ου* 'what' remains *in-situ* in the direct object position, the selection of the construct state seems to be mandatory, e.g. *αγω νεψακουμ ου* 'and (*αγω*) what (*ου*) *did you usually eat* (*νε-ψα-κ-ουμ*)?' (Onnophr. 206:34-207:1), *ακρ ου ζν νειτω* 'what (*ου*) *have you been doing* (*α-κ-ρ*) in (*ζν*) these districts (*νει-τω*)?' (KHML II 31:26).

e) Object-drop constructions

The object of transitive verbs may sometimes be left unexpressed, the result being an object-drop construction. Despite its lack of phonetic content, the omitted object pronoun (indicated as '___' in the Coptic examples) is semantically interpreted as a free-choice pronoun. Due to the absence of an overt pronoun, the verb of such object-drop constructions always occurs in the absolute state, e.g. *πενχοεις γαρ νατ ___ κατα πεκζητ* 'Our Lord (*πεν-χοεις*) will (*να*) *give* (τ) (no matter what) according to (*κατα*) your desire (*πεκ-ζητ*)' (V. Pach. 136:11-12), *τναειρε ___ κατα πεκψαχε* 'I shall do (*τ-να-ειρε*) (anything) according to (*κατα*) your word (*πεκ-ψαχε*)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), or as a discourse anaphor, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. *τπιστευε ___ πχοεις* 'I believe (it) (*τ-πιστευε*), (oh) Lord (*π-χοεις*)' (Eud. 52:3-4), *ντερεϥσωτη ___ δε νοι πνοσ νρρο κωσταντινος* (...) 'after the great (*π-νοσ*) king (*ν-ρρο*) Constantine had heard (*ντερε-ϥ-σωτη*) (it) (...) ' (Eud. 44:25).

The distribution of the absolute state and the construct state among different transitive verb constructions is summarized in table 6.6 below

VERBAL CLASS OR PATTERN	ABSOLUTE STATE	CONSTRUCT STATE
PERCEPTION VERBS	yes	no
LIGHT VERBS	marked option	yes
NEGATIVE CONTEXTS	marked option	yes
WH-IN-SITU OBJECTS	no	yes
OBJECT-DROP	yes	no

TABLE 6.6 Direct object selection

Not only do different types of objects fit into different verbal patterns, they also impose different aspectual interpretations on the clause in which they occur, as we will see next.

6.3.2 The aspectual underpinning of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule

In present tense sentences, transitive verbs generally appear in the absolute state, while the corresponding construct state seems to be systematically absent. This selectional restriction is known as the Stern-Jernstedt Rule in Coptic language studies.

THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE

Present tense sentences are incompatible with the construct state pattern.

The unavailability of the construct state in present tense contexts is illustrated in table 6.7. The right-hand column contains examples of the construct state in non-present tense sentences. The left-hand column shows the corresponding absolute state construction that must be selected in present tense contexts.

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
<p>FUTURE TENSE</p> <p>ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΑΧΝΕ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΜΗ ΠΑCΕΒΗC ‘the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙC) will (ΠΑ) examine (ΧΝΕ) the righteous (Π-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) and (ΜΗ) the criminal (Π-ΑCΕΒΗC)’ (Psalm 10:5)</p>	<p>PRESENT TENSE</p> <p>ΝΕQΒΟΥZΕ ΧΝΟ ΝΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ‘his (God’s) eyelids (ΝΕQ-ΒΟΥZΕ) examine (ΧΝΟ) the sons (Ν-ΝΩΗΡΕ) of men (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ)’ (Psalm 10:4)</p>

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
<p>PERFECT TENSE</p> <p>ΑΛΧΙ ΤΕQΦΥΧΗ ‘I took (Α-Ι-ΧΙ) <u>his</u> (Elias’) <u>soul</u> (ΤΕQ-ΦΥΧΗ)’ (Pist. Soph. 12:18)</p>	<p>PRESENT TENSE</p> <p>†ΧΙ ΝΟΥΗΡ ΝΕΥΚΗ (for ΒΕΚΕ) ΝΖΙCΕ ΕΠΕCΜΑ ‘I receive (†-ΧΙ) <u>many</u> (Ν-ΟΥΗΡ) wages (Ν-ΕΥΚΗ) of grievance (Ν-ΖΙCΕ) in return (Ε-ΠΕC-ΜΑ)’ (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:10-11)</p>
<p>PERFECT TENSE</p> <p>ΑCΚΑ ΠΕCΤΟΠΟC ΝCΩC ‘she (the Pistis Sophia) <u>left</u> (Α-C-ΚΑ) <u>her</u> <u>position</u> (ΠΕC-ΤΟΠΟC) behind (ΝCΩ-C)’ (Pist. Soph. 75:10)</p>	<p>PRETERIT (PRESENT-IN-THE-PAST)</p> <p>ΑΥΩ ΝΕQΚΩ ΝΡΩQ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΗΜ ‘and (ΑΥΩ) he (the senior monk) <u>kept</u> (ΝΕ-Q-ΚΩ) <u>his</u> <u>mouth</u> (Ν-ΡΩ-Q) (shut) all (ΝΗΜ) the time (Ν-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ)’ (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:30)</p>

TABLE 6.7 The Stern-Jernstedt Rule

In its present form, the Stern-Jernstedt Rule describes a distributional restriction on transitive verb constructions in present tense contexts. Given that the construct state instantiates an accusative case and the absolute state as an oblique case pattern, this rule can be reformulated in terms of case compatibility:

THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE (revised version)

Present tense sentences are incompatible with accusative case marking on referential direct objects.

In the construct state, the accusative case-marked object designates the entity that is totally affected by the verbal action and undergoes some change of state. It thus provides a potential endpoint for the event or activity denoted by the main verb. The delimitative or bound event reading is, however, incompatible with the imperfective meaning of the present tense, which excludes reference to the event’s termination. In the oblique case-marking pattern of the absolute state, the degree of affectedness of its referent is left unspecified. Since the prepositional object does not provide a temporal bound for the event, the absolute

state can be associated with an unbound event reading and is therefore compatible with the aspectual semantics of present tense sentences.

There are apparent counterexamples to the Stern-Jernstedt Rule, where the nominal state form of a transitive verb is found in a present tense sentence:

a) Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions are tolerated in present tense sentences, since the nominal complement acts as the semantic predicate, designating the event or state under consideration, e.g. *ἐκκι ποοῦψ ζαρον* 'and take (ε-κ-κι) care (ποοῦψ) of us (ζαρο-ν)' (Hil. 9:30-31), *ἐγρ πμεεγε ννδον μπχοεic νταφλαγ μν πρρο κωcτaντινoς* 'and they remember (lit. *they make* (ε-γ-ρ) the thought (π-μεεγε)) the miracles (ν-ν-δoν) of the Lord (μ-π-χοεic), which he had done (ντ-α-γ-α-γ) for (μν) King (π-ρρο) Constantine' (Eud. 44:3-4).

b) Event-related direct object questions

In direct object questions like *ερε τιποic πο ογ* 'what (ογ) is ((ερε ... πο) the city (Alexandria) (τ-ποic) (like))?' (AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6-7), the interrogative pronoun ογ 'what' has an event-related reading. This generally shows that the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule apply only to transitive verb constructions with *referential* (i.e. entity-denoting) direct objects, since only such referential objects measure out some event in time.

6.3.3 Functional equivalents of the passive

Coptic is a language without a morphological passive. Yet, there are several sentence constructions displaying the semantic characteristics of passive voice, in particular, the patienthood of the subject and the implicitness of the agent argument. The most important functional equivalents of the English passive construction are the following:

a) Impersonal active sentences

Impersonal active sentences have as their subject a third person plural pronoun that has no concrete referent in the previous discourse, but rather indicates an indeterminate [+human] agent, e.g. *ceναμοῦτε ερος κε τεc2ιμε* 'she will be called (lit. *they will call*

(ce-να-μοῦτε) her (ερο-с) "woman" (τε-с2ιμε)' (Abbatōn 236:12-13), *μεγoν apike γαρ ελααγ κε μπερεψ oεωρει μπρη τηpq* 'since (γap) nobody would be blamed (lit. *they would not blame* (με-γ-oν apike) anybody (ε-αααγ)), because (κε) he was not able (μπε-γ-εψ) to observe (oεωρει) the entire (τηp-γ) sun (μ-π-ρη)' (Zen. 200:26-27).

The identity of the implicit agent is often recoverable from the previous context or from world knowledge, e.g. *μπωp παψηpe μπoυτοψκ γap ετοικoνoμiα αλλα ντα πxε τοψκ εγcoλca ννεcνηγ ετογaaб εтψooπ 2μ πxαιε* 'no (μπωp), my son (πα-ψηpe)! For (γap) you have not been destined (lit. *they have not destined* you (μπ-ογ-τοψ-κ) for this service (ε-т-οικoνoμiα), but (αλλα) the Lord (π-χοεic) has destined you (ντ-α ... τοψ-κ) as a comfort (ε-γ-coλca) for the holy (εт-ογaaб) brothers (ν-ν-сνηγ) who live (εт-ψooπ) in (2μ) the desert (π-xαιε)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1), *καν ποoγ καν pacte тηναμoγ ayω ceνακοлаze μμον 2н<2ен>κολαcic εγναψт* 'either (кан) today (ποoγ) or (кан) tomorrow (pacte) we may die (тн-на-мoγ) and (ayω) we will be punished (lit. *they will punish* (ce-на-κοлаze) us (μμo-н)) by (2н) hard (ε-γ-наψт) torments (2ен-κοлаcic)' (Onnophr. 208:1-3).

The impersonal active construction can be expanded by an overt agent expression, which takes the form of an instrumental adjunct phrase. In this construction, the third person plural pronoun serves as a purely grammatical filler of the subject position without independent reference, e.g. *кан εψxe νταγaιxμαλωтize μμoc 2иτн ннβαpβαpoc* (read *нβαpβαpoc*) *кан εψxe νταγтapπic 2иτн нeθγpиoн* (for *нeθнpиoн*) 'or (кан) whether (εψxe) she (Hilaria) had been enslaved (lit. *they had enslaved* (ντ-α-γ-αixμαλωтize) her (μμo-с)) by (2иτн) the barbarians (н-βαpβαpoc) or (кан) whether (εψxe) she had been carried away (lit. *they had carried her away* (ντ-α-γ-тapπ-с)) by (2иτн) wild animals (нe-θγpиoн)' (Hil. 7:31-32), *ψayт тоотн 2иτн нeнcннγ* '(if we are weak), we are helped (lit. *they give* (ψa-γ-т) our hands (тоот-н)) by (2иτн) our brothers (нeн-сннγ)' (Onnophr. 211:7), *εγнаxпoγ 2н oγпapθeнoc εcoγaaб εγμoῦte επecpан κε maria* 'he (Jesus) will be born (lit. *they will bear him* (ε-γ-на-xпo-γ)) by (2н) a holy (ε-с-oγaaб) virgin (oγ-пapθeнoc) who is called (lit. *they call* (ε-γ-μoῦte) her (εpo-с) by name (ε-пec-пан) Maria' (Test. Is. 231:8-9).

b) Passively interpreted statives

Transitive-based statives in Coptic come close in meaning to adjectival passives in English (e.g. *the pillow remained stuffed*). The subject of such statives is semantically interpreted as the holder of some state or condition, while there is no implication of an agent, e.g. *ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΧΕ CΕΖΟΒC ΕΡΩΤΗ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΟΟΥ* 'not (ΑΝ) because (ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ) they (i.e. the ascetic achievements of Apa Zenobius) are hidden (CΕ-ΖΟΒC) (away) from you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) until (ΖΑΘΗ) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 199:9-10), *ΑΥΩ QCΜΑΜΑΛΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΤΩCΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ* 'and (ΑΥΩ) the good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) plant (Π-ΤΩCΕ) is blessed (Q-CΜΑΜΑΛΤ)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), *CΕCΖΟΥΟΡΕΤ ΑΥΩ CΕCΖΟΥΟΡΕΤ ΑΝ* 'they are cursed (CΕ-CΖΟΥΟΡΕΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) they are not (ΑΝ) cursed (CΕ-CΖΟΥΟΡΕΤ)' (Sh. III 154:3).

c) The "passive" light verb *χ1*

The light verb *χ1* 'to receive, get' may be used as a passive auxiliary, since the subject designates the affectee or beneficiary of the activity referred to by the nominal complement, e.g. *ΕQΕΧΕΙ* (for *ΕQΕΧΙ*) *ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΥΚΑΝΟΝ* (for *ΝΕΥΚΑΝΩΝ*) 'he (the disobedient monk) shall be reprimanded (lit. he shall receive (Ε-Q-Ε-ΧΕΙ) reprimand (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) in accordance with (ΚΑΤΑ) their rules (ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΝΟΝ)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 17), *ΑΥΩ ΑQΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC* 'and (ΑΥΩ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of our Lord (Ν-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC) was glorified (lit. *χ1* (receive) ΕΟΟΥ (glory))' (Eud. 40:27-28). Comparable to the impersonal active construction, *χ1*-passives may be construed with an instrumental agent phrase, e.g. *ΑΙΧΙ CΒΩ ΝΚΩΤ* (read *ΝΝΚΩΤ*) *ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΤΕΛΙΟC* (for *ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟC*) 'I was taught (lit. I received (Α-Ι-ΧΙ) teaching (CΒΩ)) the precepts (Ν-Ν-ΚΩΤ) of God (Ν-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) by (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) great (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) perfect ones (Ν-ΤΕΛΙΟC)' (Onnophr. 210:27-29).

6.3.4 Classes of intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs seem to constitute a homogenous class of verbal predicates with a single argument. The uneven distribution of intransitive verbs among the four basic stem patterns provides *prima*

facie evidence for a subdivision into three classes of intransitives: so-called unergative, unaccusative, and variable behaviour verbs.

a) Unergative verbs

In the unergative class of intransitive verbs, the sole argument is semantically interpreted as the agent of the verbal action. Typical unergative verbs are *verbs of sound emission* (e.g. *ΚΡΗΡΗ* 'to murmur', *ΠΙΝΕ* 'to cry', *ΚΑCΚC* 'to whisper'), *verbs of bodily activity or expression*, (e.g. *ΡΑΩΕ* 'to rejoice', *(Ε)ΝΚΟΤΚ* 'to sleep'), and *verbs of manner of motion* (e.g. *ΝΗΜΒΕ* 'to swim', *ΜΟΟΩΕ* 'to walk', *CΟCΟ(Ε)C* 'to dance'). Unergative verbs are restricted to the absolute state.

b) Unaccusative verbs

The single argument of unaccusative verbs has a non-agentive interpretation. Moreover, the unaccusative subject displays some morpho-syntactic properties of the direct object, in that it appears in the complement position of a construct state marked verb. Thus, the copular verbs *ΟΥΝ* '(there) is' and *ΜΝ* '(there) is not' that introduce existential-locative sentences with indefinite subjects, e.g. *ΟΥΝ <ΟΥ>CΟΝ ΜΗΜΟΝΟΧΟC* (for *ΜΗΜΟΝΑΧΟC*) *ΜΠΑΖΟΥ* '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (ΟΥ-CΟΝ) monk (Μ-ΜΟΝΟΧΟC) further on (ΜΠΑΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12).

Adjectival verbs with the lexical formative *ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-* mindicate permanent properties, such as size, amount or quality: *ΝΑΛΛ-*, *ΝΑΛΛ=* 'to be great', *ΝΑΝΟΥ-*, *ΝΑΝΟΥ=* 'to be good, fair', *ΝΑΩΕ-*, *ΝΑΩΩ=* 'to be numerous', *ΝΕCΕ-*, *ΝΕCΩ=* 'to be beautiful'. Like statives, adjectival verbs can only appear in present tense sentences, e.g. *ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΧΟΟQ* 'the word (Π-ΩΛΧΕ) that you have spoken (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Q) is good (ΝΑΝΟΥ)' (Hil. 4:35). (A more detailed analysis of head-initial sentences with existential and adjectival verbs will be offered in section 10.2 of Unit 10).

c) Variable behaviour verbs

Coptic has an extensive class of variable behaviour verbs, so called because they are compatible with either the absolute state or the stative. In the absolute state, they behave semantically as unergative verbs with agentive subjects. In the corresponding stative, variable

behaviour verbs behave more like unaccusatives, because the subject receives a non-agentive interpretation as the holder of some state or condition. Typical variable behaviour verbs are *verbs of smell emission* (e.g. κνο(ο)ς, κονς[†] 'to stink, to rot'), *verbs of light emission* (e.g. πειρε, πρειωγ[†], πορε[†] 'to shine'), *verbs of inherently directed motion* (e.g. βωκ, βηκ[†] 'to go', πωζ, πηζ[†] 'to reach'), *internally caused verbs of change of state* (e.g. ογβαψ, ογοβψ[†] 'to become white', ειβε, οβε[†] 'to get thirsty'), and *verbs of existence, occurrence and (dis)appearance* (e.g. ωνζ, ονζ[†] 'to live', ψωπε, ψοοπ[†] 'to happen, occur', μογ, μοογ[†] 'to die'). Table 6.7 presents an overview of the distributional behaviour of different classes of intransitive verbs:

LEXICAL CLASS	ABS. ST.	CONST. ST.	STAT.
UNERGATIVE VERBS			
<i>Verbs of manner of motion,</i> e.g. σοοα(ε)ς 'to dance'	+	—	—
<i>Verbs of sound emission,</i> e.g. κρηρη 'to murmur'	+	—	—
UNACCUSATIVE VERBS			
<i>Adjectival verbs,</i> e.g. νεσε-, νεσω= 'to be beautiful'	—	+	—
<i>Copular verbs,</i> e.g. ογν- '(there) is', ην '(there) is not'	—	+	—
VARIABLE BEHAVIOUR VERBS			
<i>Verbs of inherently directed motion,</i> e.g. βωκ, βηκ [†] 'to go'	+	—	+
<i>Verbs of existence and appearance,</i> e.g. ψωπε, ψοοπ [†] 'to happen, occur'	+	—	+
<i>Verbs of change of state,</i> e.g. ειβε, οβε [†] 'to get thirsty'	+	—	+

TABLE 6.7 Classes of intransitive verbs

6.4 Complex predicates

Complex predicates are composed of more than one lexical or grammatical element (either morphemes or words) that function as a single predicative expression. This section takes a closer look at verb-noun and verb-verb compounds. Coptic has two types of verb-noun compounds, light verbs like ρ ζωβ 'to work' and noun-incorporation constructions like ρ ρπο 'to become king', which differ from each other both syntactically and semantically. Another topic of this section are analytical causatives, which have a clause-like structure, e.g. e.g. ακτρε νβαλε ναγ εβολ '(since you have come to this city) you made (α-κ-τρε) the blind (ν-βαλε) see (ναγ εβολ)' (KHML I 5:3-4) (section 6.3.3).

6.4.1 Light verb constructions

Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its nominal complement represents the semantic predicate. Coptic has several of such light verbs: ρ 'to do', † 'to give', ϣι 'to carry', χι 'to take' (with a passive interpretation), and ον 'to find'. They combine with an event or state describing nominal that is generally left undetermined, e.g. ανοκ δε λρ ψηρε εματε 'I (ανοκ), was (λ-ι-ρ) very (εματε) surprised (lit. make (ρ) wonder (ψηρε))' (Onnophr. 218:4), ψακρ ζοτε ζωκ 'will you be (ψακ-ρ) afraid (lit. make (ρ) fear (ζοτε)), too (ζωκ-κ)?' (AP Chafne no. 35, 7:7:5). This is, however, by no means a rule, since a number of light verb are construed with a definitely or possessively determined noun phrases, e.g. μεγρ πμεεγε ρω χε ογν κοσμοσ ψοοπ 'they (the hermits) do not (με-γ-ρ) even (ρω) remember (lit. make (ρ) the thought (π-μεεγε)) that (χε) (there) is (ογν ... ψοοπ) a world (κοσμοσ)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), ανδρεας δε ακτ πε[q]ογοι 'Andrew went forth (λ-α-†) (lit. give (†)) his course (πεq-ογοι)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153), (with a quantificational expression) νανογ † ζαζ μετανοια 'is it good (νανογ) to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. give (†) much (ζαζ) repentance (μετανοια))?' (AP Chafne no. 131, 30:1).

Since the verb and the event/state noun function as a single predicative expression semantically, the burden of determining the number of arguments in the clause and their case-marking properties is

not borne by the verb alone, but is shared by the noun. In the vast majority of cases, the direct object argument of the event/state nominal is syntactically encoded as a nominal or pronominal possessor, e.g. $\text{†} \text{xpia} \text{ nnekwaha}$ 'I am (†-p) in need (lit. *make* (p) need (xpia)) of your prayers (n-nek-waha)' (Hil. 11:14-15), $\text{eqi} \text{ prooyw} \text{ npacwma}$ 'to take (e-q) care (p-rooyw) of my body (n-pa-cwma)' (Onnophr. 216:6), $\text{xekac} \text{ eqnaep} \text{ penmēye} \text{ nqc[ō]nc} \text{ exwn}$ 'so that (xekac) he (Apa Mena) remembers (e-q-na-ep) us (lit. to *make* (p) our remembrance (pen-mēye)) and prays (n-q-cōnc) for us (exw-n)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:11-14) (with reflexively used pronouns) $\text{arhy} \text{ ere} \text{ pxoeic} \text{ na} \text{ om} \text{ peqwine} \text{ zm} \text{ pezooy} \text{ npcabbatwn}$ 'maybe (arhy) the Lord (p-xoeic) would ($\text{ere} \dots \text{na}$) visit him (lit. *pay* (om-) his visit (peq-wine)) on (zm) the day (pe-ezooy) of Sabbath (n-p- cabbatwn)' (V. Pach. 88:13-14).

Light verb constructions with the ditransitive verb † 'to give' are syntactically realised as double object constructions, e.g. $\text{alla} \text{ newait} \text{ cw} \text{ naq} \text{ ntoq} \text{ znnoymntzarpwznt}$ (for $\text{zn} \text{ oymntzarpwznt}$) 'on the contrary (alla), I used to (ne-wa-i-†) teach (lit. *give* (†) teaching (cw)) him (na-q) with (zn) indulgence (oy-mnt-zarpw-znt)' (V. Pach. 89:25-26), $\text{paxwt} \text{ ait} \text{ zice} \text{ ntekmtptetoγaas}$ 'my father (pa-ewt), I have (a-i-†) troubled (lit. *give* (†) trouble (zice) to) your holincss ($\text{n-tek-mnt-ptetoγaas}$)' (Hil. 5:33).

6.4.2 Noun incorporation

Coptic has yet another type of verb-noun compounding with the light verb p , in the nominal complement is a referring expression, e.g. $\text{mepē} \text{ pai} \text{ nteimine} \text{ ep} \text{ xoeic} \text{ ealla} \text{ npaθoc} \text{ ene2}$ 'he (pai) of such nature (n-tei-mine) will not (mepē) master (lit. *make* (ep) master (xoeic)) any (e-alla) passion (n-paθoc) ever (ene2)' (AP Chaine no.12, 3:9) $\text{aqbwa} \text{ eboi} \text{ aqr} \text{ ka2}$ 'he (the corpse) dissolved (a-q-bwa eboi) (and) turned into (a-q-p) dust (ka2)' (Onnophr. 206:2).

Noun incorporation structures of this kind have an inchoative meaning, describing the endpoint of some transformational process that changes the physical condition or social status of the subject. The light verb p- is semantically interpreted as an existential verb 'to become', e.g. $\text{aqr} \text{ balle} \text{ epēqbaal} \text{ cnaγ}$ 'he (Diocletian) became (a-q-p) blind (balle) on both (cnaγ) his eyes (e-peq-baal)' (Eud. 36:22-23), $\text{aqep} \text{ martyros} \text{ exm} \text{ pran} \text{ mpenxoeic} \text{ ic} \text{ peχc}$ 'he

(Apa Mena) became (a-q-p) a martyr (martyros) for (exm) the name (p-ran) of our Lord (n-pen-xoeic) Jesus (ic) Christ (pe-χc)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a: 12-14).

The incorporation of a time-indicating nominal gives rise to a more complex construction type, where the verb-noun sequence functions as an aspectual auxiliary of duration, while the following adjunct clause describes the event or activity that is temporally measured out, e.g. $\text{ayp} \text{ tairoγ} \text{ nrompe} \text{ eyp} \text{ zaa} \text{ mpeymēye} \text{ mmn} \text{ mmooy}$ 'they (Apa Theodor and Apa Lucianus) spent (a-y-p) fifty (tairoγ) years (n-rompe) misleading ($\text{e-y-p} \text{ zaa}$) their own ($\text{mmn} \text{ mmo-oy}$) thought (n-pey-mēye)' (AP Chaine no. 36, 7:9), $\text{eqep} \text{ womnt} \text{ nzooy}$ $\text{eqmetanoēi} \text{ mmne} \text{ kata} \text{ peγtw}$ 'he (the disobedient monk) shall spend (e-q-e-p) three (womnt) days (n-zooy) repenting (e-q-metanoēi) daily (mmne) in accordance with (kata) their rule (peγ-tw)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 12).

6.4.3 Analytical tpe- causatives

Analytical tpe- causatives are typical exemplars of complex predicates involving two verbal heads, one of which describes the causing event (tpe-) and the other the caused event.

6.4.3.1 The morpho-phonological behaviour of tpe- causatives

The conjugational base tpe- is a lexical causative of the light verb eipē : $\text{t-} + \text{eipē} \rightarrow \text{tpe}$ 'to make, let' (lit. cause to do). With the exception of the first person singular form tpa- , the pronominal paradigm of analytical causatives is entirely regular, cf. table 6.8.

TPE-CAUSATIVES		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	tpa-cwtm	tpe-n-cwtm
2 nd masc.	tpe-k-cwtm	tpe-tn-cwtm
2 nd fem.	tpe-cwtm	
3 rd masc.	tpe-q-cwtm	tpe-y-cwtm
3 rd fem.	tpe-c-cwtm	
Before noun	$\text{tpe-} \text{ prwne} \text{ cwtm}$	

TABLE 6.8 Analytical tpe- causatives

From a morpho-phonological point of view, the base $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - is clearly an affix, since it never occurs in isolation as a separate word and does not attract stress. Akin to various verbal tenses and aspects, it can be phonologically reduced: $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - η - $\sigma\omega\tau\eta$ /trɛf.s'ɔ.təm/ → $\tau\pi$ - η - $\sigma\omega\tau\eta$ /trɛf.s'ɔ.təm/, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\alpha}\chi\omega$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\eta\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ 'to tell (ϵ - $\tau\pi$ - η - $\chi\omega$) me ($\eta\alpha$ - ι) his name (μ - $\pi\epsilon$ - η - $\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}$)' (Onnophr. 210:17). Yet, despite its affixal behaviour, $\tau\pi\epsilon$ exhibits some of the characteristic properties of verbs. Firstly, it is inflected in the construct state pattern and occupies the same syntactic position as regular verbs. Secondly, in contrast to morphological causatives, the base form $\tau\pi\epsilon$ and the lexical verb do not form a verb-verb complex, but remain two separate sentence elements, which occupy different syntactic positions. Thirdly, in much the same way as "normal" transitive verbs, $\tau\pi\epsilon$ is associated with a particular syntactic frame or argument structure: its subject argument designates the CAUSER, i.e. the entity which brings about or initiates some event and its direct object argument specifies the caused event.

6.4.3.2 The biclausal structure of analytical $\tau\pi\epsilon$ -causatives

Analytical causatives are biclausal structures, where the causative predicate $\tau\pi\epsilon$ functions as the main verb and the associated lexical verb as the embedded verb. They differ, however, from other types of clausal embedding in that the main verb and the embedded verb have one argument in common, the CAUSEE, which designates the entity that is forced, persuaded or permitted by the CAUSER to be engaged in a certain event or activity. The shared CAUSEE argument simultaneously fulfils two grammatical functions: it is the direct object of the causative verb $\tau\pi\epsilon$ and the subject of the embedded clause.

Figure 6.4 below gives a schematic representation of the syntax of analytic causatives with the example of $\alpha\kappa\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'you made (α - κ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$) the blind (η - $\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) see ($\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)' (KHML I 5:3-4). (Arrows indicate syntactic functions like subject, direct object; S_1 stands for main clause and S_2 for embedded clause; brackets indicate clause boundaries).

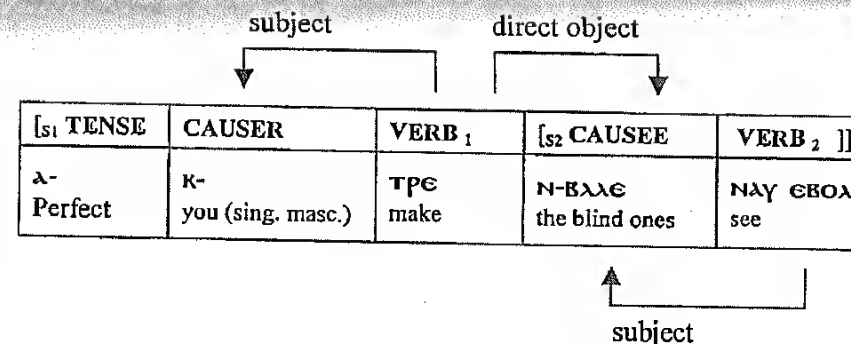


FIGURE 6.4 The biclausal structure of analytical causatives

6.4.3.3 Syntactic distribution

Analytical $\tau\pi\epsilon$ -causatives display a broad syntactic distribution and appear in various finite (tensed) and non-finite (infinitival) verb constructions. A more detailed analysis of infinitival clauses will be offered in Unit 12.

a) Finite clauses

The causative meaning of the form $\tau\pi\epsilon$ is fully present in finite clauses, whose subjects are semantically interpreted as the CAUSERS of the event referred to by the embedded verb, e.g. α $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\omega\mu$ $\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\iota\tilde{\rho}\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\mu\alpha\eta$ $\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$ $\eta\eta\eta\tau\eta\alpha\iota\sigma\omicron\eta$ 'our father ($\pi\epsilon\eta$ - $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) Pachôm let (α ... $\tau\pi\epsilon$) the brothers ($\eta\epsilon$ - $\sigma\eta\eta\gamma$) practise ($\epsilon\iota\tilde{\rho}\epsilon$) great (η - $\omicron\gamma$ - $\eta\omicron\sigma$) compassion (η - $\eta\eta\tau$ - $\eta\alpha\iota$ - $\sigma\omicron\eta$) with him (the foreign monk)' (V. Pach. 136:26-27), $\omega\alpha\eta\tau\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma$ $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota$ $\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\tau\tilde{\rho}\phi\eta$ 'he (God) makes ($\omega\alpha$ - η - $\tau\pi\epsilon$) the angels (η - $\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma$) serve ($\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota$) them (the hermits) their food (η - $\tau\epsilon\gamma$ - $\tau\tilde{\rho}\phi\eta$)' (Onnophr. 211:22-23).

Analytic causatives can also be used in the impersonal active construction, e.g. $\alpha\tau\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$ $\eta\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\varsigma$ 'she (Eudoxia) let their (the Jews) principal (η - $\eta\epsilon\gamma$ - $\eta\omicron\sigma$) priests (η - $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\varsigma$) be brought (α - ς - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - γ - $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\omicron\gamma\eta$) to her ($\eta\alpha$ - ς)' (Eud. 64:7-8), $\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\pi\epsilon\gamma\tau\sigma\kappa$ $\eta\eta\tilde{\rho}\tau\iota$ $\eta\tilde{\rho}\omicron\gamma\tilde{\nu}\epsilon$ (...) 'I do not let them make you drink ($\mu\pi$ - $\epsilon\iota$ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - γ - $\tau\sigma\kappa$ - κ) wine (η - $\eta\tilde{\rho}\tau\iota$) at night (η - $\tilde{\rho}\omicron\gamma\tilde{\nu}\epsilon$) (...)' (KHML II 35:14).

b) Infinitival purpose clauses

In adjunct purpose clauses governed by the directional preposition ε- 'to', non-finite analytical causatives indicate the purpose or goal of the main clause event, e.g. *αὐτοὶ δὲ ντεῦνοῦ νόι νεστράθηαθς ντε τόομ ετρεῖντq* 'the generals (νε-στράθηαθς) of (ντε) the army (τ-όομ) went (α-γ-βωκ) immediately (ντεῦνοῦ) [*to fetch him* (ε-τρε-γ-ντ-q) (Constantine)]' (Eud. 38:5-6), *ἀνοκ δὲ αἰβωκ εβολ επτοογε ετρανηστεγε (...)* 'I (ἀνοκ) went (α-ι-βωκ) out (εβολ) into the desert (ε-π-τοογε) [*to fast* (ε-τρα-νηστεγε)]' (Ac. A&P 200:95-96).

c) Infinitival complements of volitional verbs

Volitional verbs like οὔωω 'to want' can take infinitival clauses as their direct objects. Analytical causatives must be selected whenever the subject of the embedded clause differs from the subject of the matrix clause, e.g. *τοῦωω ετρεκει νμμαι εψιητ* 'I want (τ-οὔωω) [*you to come* (ε-τρε-κ-ει) with me (νμμαι-ι) to Shiēt (ε-ψιητ)]' (Hil. 4:26), *παειωτ ειοῦωω ετρεκβαπτιζε μμοι* 'My father (πα-ειωτ), I want (ε-ι-οὔωω) [*you to baptize* (ε-τρε-κ-βαπτιζε) me (μμοι-ι)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:35-31b:2).

d) Nominalised causatives

Analytical causatives may take the form of definite noun phrases. In combination with locative prepositions, such nominalised causative constructions are used as temporal clauses, e.g. *2m πτραβωκ εμαγ (...)* 'when (2m) I went (π-τρα-βωκ) there (εμαγ) (...)' (KHML I 142:17), *2m πτρεφασπαζε δε μμοι (...)* 'when (2m) he had welcomed (π-τρε-φ-ασπαζε) me (μμοι-ι) (...)' (KHML I 143:5).

Key Terms:

Root	represents an abstract lexical item, which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
Stem pattern	The surface form of the root is called the stem. Coptic verb stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morpho-syntactic and semantic properties. The basic stem patterns are the so-called absolute state, the construct state (i.e. the nominal and the pronominal states together) and the stative.	§6.1.3
Reduplication	is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4
Epenthesis	is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4
Aspect	is a category of verbal semantics, which refers to the internal temporal structure or dynamism of the situation reported on in a sentence.	§6.2.1
Eventive and stative sentences	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
Accusative vs. oblique case	In Coptic, there are two distinct cases-marking patterns for the direct object. In the construct state, the direct object receives accusative case from the adjacent verb. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the direct object is assigned case by a desemanticised locative or a directional preposition.	§6.3.1

describes a selectional restriction of present tense sentences, which cannot be combined with construct state verbs with referential direct objects. Since the construct state verb and an accusative case-marked direct object are associated with a bound event reading, it is incompatible with the aspectual semantics of present tense sentences. §6.3.2

Functional
equivalents of
the passive

Although Coptic lacks a morphological passive, there are several sentence patterns that come close in meaning to the English passive construction, viz. (i) the impersonal active construction, (ii) transitive-based statives, and (iii) the "passive" light-verb $\chi\tau$ 'to get, receive'. §6.3.3

Light verb
constructions

derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate. §6.4.1

Analytical
causatives

are complex predicates consisting of two verbs: the causative verb $\tau\pi\epsilon$ 'to make' and the embedded verb form described the caused event. Both predicates share one argument, which functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb. §6.4.3

Exercises

6.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:

1. Coptic verb stems can be decomposed into three morphemes: the root, the vowel melody and the stem template.
2. Vowel epenthesis is restricted to biconsonantal roots.
3. In Coptic, the contrast between stative and eventive predication is marked by different stem patterns
4. The third person plural impersonal active construction fulfils similar functions as the English passive construction.
5. Analytical causatives are monoclausal structures.

6.2 Root and pattern morphology

Complete the following table by inserting the correct stem allomorph into the blank cells.

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
	$\eta\lambda\eta\sigma\gamma$ -			to be good, fair
$\kappa\omega$				to place, put
		$\chi\sigma\sigma$ =		to say
		$\lambda\lambda$ =		to do, make
$\sigma\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$				to pass
			$\tau\omega^\dagger$	to give
	$(\epsilon)\eta$ -			to bring
$\tau\alpha\eta\epsilon$				to inform
	$\sigma\eta$ -			to find
$\sigma\omega\eta\tau$				to become angry
		$\eta\lambda\psi\omega$ =		to be numerous
			$\lambda\psi\epsilon^\dagger$	to hang
$\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$				to know

6.3 The Eventive-Stativ alternation

A. Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options (diacritics are omitted).

- (1) Ε-Γ-___ ΜΗΟΓ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΣΟΤ 'he (the demon) *changed* himself (ΜΗΟ-Γ) into many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) (different) forms (Ν-ΣΟΤ)' (KHML II 53:7)

□ΨΙΒΕ □ΨΟ(Ο)ΒΕ (< ΨΙΒΕ 'to change')

- (2) ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΑ ___ ΝΑΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ 'Our Lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) will (ΝΑ) *give* to you (ΝΑ-Κ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) your desire (ΠΕΚ-ΖΗΤ)' (Pach. 136:11-12)

□† □ΤΟ (< † 'to give')

- (3) ΕΥΖΚΑΕΙΤ Ε-Υ-___ 'when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΖΚΑΕΙΤ) (and) *thirsty*' (Pist. Soph. 182:3)

□ΕΙΒΕ □ΟΒΕ (< ΕΙΒΕ 'to become thirsty')

- (4) Ε-Ι-___ ΨΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΓΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ 'I *am on my way* to (ΨΑ) the one who has sent me (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ)' (Test. Is. 230:11)

□ΒΩΚ □ΒΗΚ (< ΚΩΚ 'to go')

- (5) ΤΑΨΩΠΕ Ε-Ι-___ ΖΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΑΖΡΗ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ 'and I become (ΤΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) subject (lit. bound) (Ε-Ι-___) to (ΖΙ) judgement (ΖΑΠ) before (ΝΑΖΡΗ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ)' (Pach. 92:14-15)

□ΜΟΥΡ □ΜΗΡ (< ΜΟΥΡ 'to bind, oblige')

B. Explain the meaning difference between the absolute state form ΨΩΠΕ and the corresponding stativ ΨΟΟΠ in the following sentence pair.

- (1) ΝΓΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΗΠΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΠΕΙΑΝΟΜΟΣ 'may you *be* (Ν-Γ-ΨΩΠΕ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) in the presence of (Η-Π-ΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Η-) this criminal (ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4).

- (2) ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ †ΨΟΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ), behold (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ), I *am* (†-ΨΟΟΠ) with you (ΝΗΜΕ)' (Eud. 52:13)

6.4 Direct object syntax and case marking

A. Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) Α ΠΑ[ΙΔ]ΟΛΟΣ ___ ΠΕΦΖ[ΗΤ] 'the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) *filled* his heart (ΠΕΦ-ΖΗΤ)' (Mena, Mir. 13b:27-29)

□ΜΕΖ □ΜΗΖ (< ΜΟΥΖ 'to fill')

- (2) ΑΠΖ Ν-___-Σ 'I managed (Α-Ι-ΠΖ) to (Ν-) *do* it' (Ac. A&P 198:71)

□Ρ □ΛΑ (< ΕΙΡΕ 'to do')

- (3) ΝΑΝΟΥ ___ ΛΒ [for ΛΓ] ΕΣΕ ΗΡΠ 'it is good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) to *eat* meat (ΛΒ) and drink (Ε-ΣΕ) wine (ΗΡΠ)' (AP, Chafne no.14, 3:12)

□ΟΥΕΗ □ΟΥΩΗ (< ΟΥΩΗ 'to eat')

- (4) ΝΨΩΡΠ ΜΕΝ Α-Γ-___-ΟΥ ΝΣΖΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΞΙΩΜΑ ΝΤΗΝΤΗΝΟΒ 'in the first place (Ν-ΨΩΡΠ), he (Zeno) *taught* them (his daughters) to write (Ν-ΣΖΑΙ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) their high (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΗΝΟΒ) rank (Π-ΑΞΙΩΜΑ)' (Hil.2:6-7)

□ΤΣΑΒΕ □ΤΣΑΒΟ (< ΤΣΑΒΟ 'to teach')

- (5) Α-Ι-___ ΝΤΙΠΥΓΗ (for ΝΤΙΠΗΓΗ) ΜΗΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΕΙΒΝΝΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΙΣΠΥΛΛΙΟΝ (for ΣΠΗΛΛΙΟΝ) 'I *found* this well (Ν-ΤΙ-ΠΥΓΗ) of water (Η-ΜΟΟΥ), this date-tree (ΤΕΙ-ΒΝΝΕ) and (ΜΗ) this cavern (ΠΕΙ-ΣΠΥΛΛΙΟΝ)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11)

□ΘΙΝΕ □ΘΗ (< ΘΙΝΕ 'to find')

- (6) ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-___ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΘΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 'when (ΝΤΕΡΕ-) the angel (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) had *said* these (ΝΑΙ) (words) ...' (Test. Is. 230:12)

□ΧΩ □ΧΕ (< ΧΩ 'to say')

B. Complete the following Coptic sentences by selecting one of the two options for the syntactic encoding of the direct object relation given in brackets. Keep in mind that the construct state stem pattern is incompatible with present tense sentences (the Stern-Jernstedt Rule).

- (1) αϥϥ μαϥ (ν-οϥρι/οϥρι) ριτοϥωϥ μπρhc ντεκκacια 'he (Apa Pambo) gave (α-ϥ-ϥ) her (Hilaria) (μα-ϥ) a cell next to him (ριτοϥω-ϥ), south (ν-π-ρhc) of the church (ν-τ-εκκacια)' (Hil 6:15)
- (2) α τμααϥ δε μπνεεϥ μαϥ (ε-πεϥωρηε/ν-πεϥωρηε) εϥ[ν]ηϥ εβολ επεκρο 'the mother (τ-μααϥ) of (ν-) the sailor (π-νεεϥ) saw (μαϥ) her son coming (ε-ϥ-νηϥ) from (εβολ ε-) the river bank (πε-κρο)' (Ac. A&P 194:4-7)
- (3) τοτε αυεν (ν-πμακαριoc/πμακαριoc) απα ναρροοϥ επεθεαδρον 'then (τοτε) they brought (α-ϥ-εν) the holy Apa Nahrow to the theatre (ε-π-θεαδρον)' (KHML I 4:6-7)
- (4) ιϥ να θεραπεϥε (κ/νμοκ) νν (ν-πεκωρηε/πεκωρηε) 'Jesus will (να) heal (θεραπεϥε) you and (νν) your son' (Ac. A&P 196:29-30)
- (5) αλλα σεϥινε (νca ρενωαχε/ρενωαχε) νερρε 'but (αλλα) they (the worldly philosophers) are looking (σε-ϥινε) for new (ν-ερρε) words' (Hil. 1:18-19)
- (6) εινabit (for εινacit) (-κ/νμοκ) επραϥε νν ποϥνοϥ 'I will carry (ε-ι-να-βιτ) you to jubilation (ε-π-ραϥε) and (νν) delight (π-οϥνοϥ)' (Test. Is. 229:22-23)
- C. Translate the following Coptic sentences, which have a passive meaning.
- (1) αυτωρh δε ρωωϥ μπραγιoc απα νννα [ε]ρoϥν επαγ[ων] ντηντ[αρτυ]ροϥ ριτη τε[χα]ριϥ νπενχοεic ιϥ (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:22-29)
- (2) ϥσηρ γαρ ρν νcaiac (Onnophr. 211:25)
- (3) σεναβι (for εινacit) νοϥνοϥ νθεϥia (for νευϥia) ρν πεκνι ρν περoοϥ νπω (Pach. 91:6-7) (N.B. the auxiliary verb να "GO" indicates future time reference)

(4) τνcβτωτ εβωκ ννμαϥ (Eud. 62:1)

(5) [αϥ]κωτ ερο[ϥ] νοϥμαρτυριον ε-ϥ-ταινϥ (Mena, Martyrd. 10a:30-32)

6.5 Complex predicate formation

A. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a light verb or a noun incorporation construction:

(1) αϥρ ϥντ αϥμοϥ (Eud. 38:27-28)

(2) αϥρ ρ[αλ] [ν]μοϥ (Mena, Mir. 11a:14-15)

(3) αυω αϥχι εoοϥ νoi πpαν νπενχοεic ιϥ πεχϥ (Eud. 40:27-28) (N.B. The focus marker νoi marks a postverbal nominal subject in the inversion construction; it can best be left untranslated)

B. Consider the following two examples of analytical causative constructions. Determine which noun or pronoun represents the shared causee argument of the causative verb τρε and the embedded verb.

(1) αυω νρoεim νθαλαcca αϥτρεϥνωοτ ερpai εχν πχοι 'and (αυω) he (the devil) let the waves (ν-ρoεim) of the sea (ν-θαλαcca) become heavy (α-ϥ-τρε-ϥ-νωοτ) against (ερpai εχν) the ship (π-χοι)' (BMisc. 160:18-19)

(2) αϥτρε coοϥ νκεστωνapioϥ ρωωκε νμοϥ 'he (the pagan king) let (α-ϥ-τρε) six (coοϥ) torturers (ν-κεστωνapioϥ) whip (ρωωκε) him (Apa Nahrow) (νμο-ϥ)' (KHML I 5:25-26)

Absolute tenses

The previous unit was largely concerned with the aspectual underpinning of Coptic verb derivation. The various formal classes of verbs or stem patterns were shown to express basic aspectual oppositions, such as the contrast between events and states. We now turn to the grammatical expression of another basic category of verbal semantics, which is tense. Tense is a deictic category, which grammaticalises the location of a situation on the time axis. The concern here is with absolute tenses, which are tense categories that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. The linear ordering of events with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses, the present, the past and the future, which locate the time of the event at, prior to or after this temporal reference point.

In Coptic, present, past and future time reference is accomplished via morphemes in the inflectional system. Such time-indicating morphemes often come in pairs, whose members share the same temporal value, but differ from one another with respect to other categories of verbal meaning, such as aspect and mood. Thus, both the Perfect marker **ⲁ** and the Preterit auxiliary **ⲛⲉ** refer to past events. But while the Perfect indicates the past location of accomplished events, the temporal auxiliary **ⲛⲉ** is specifically used to describe past states. Compare: **ⲁ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲙⲙⲁ [ⲉⲡⲉⲥ]ⲛⲧ ⲛⲙ ⲡⲃⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ** 'the people (**ⲛⲉ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ**) of that (**ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ**) place (**ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁ**) let (**ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲟⲩⲉⲛ**) the body (**ⲡ-ⲥⲱⲙⲁ**) of the blessed (**ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ**) Apa Mena down (**ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ**) from (**ⲛⲙ**) the camel (**ⲡ-ⲃⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ**)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20) vs. **ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲏⲗ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲏⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** 'he (Pachôm)

continued (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) to lie down (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲓⲗ) on (ⲉⲓⲛⲓ) the ground (ⲡⲓ-ⲕⲁⲓ) (V. Pach. 87:25). The following description of Coptic absolute tenses addresses questions concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of various tense inflections as well as their semantic contribution to the clause in which they occur. It consists of three parts. Section 7.1 starts out with a general introduction to the syntax of tense-aspect-mood markers. The focus of section 7.2 is on the paradigmatic split of the absolute tense system in two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. Section 7.3 reviews the temporal, aspectual and modal meaning components of present, past and future tenses.

7.1 The morpho-syntax of ^{TAM}tense-aspect-mood marking

Coptic has a large variety of conjugation patterns (i.e. patterns in which verbal stems can appear) for the grammatical expression of tense (i.e. the location of events in time), aspect (i.e. the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (i.e. the commitment of the speaker towards the truth of the reported events). Each conjugation pattern is characterised by a distinctive tense, aspect or mood marker (from now on TAM marker). This section outlines the main syntactic characteristics of the Coptic conjugation system. Section 7.1.1 deals with the proclitic behaviour of Coptic TAM markers, which form a prosodic unit with the following sentence constituent (the subject or the verbal predicate). Section 7.1.2 reviews the internal composition of various conjugation patterns, with particular attention for the relative order of the TAM marker with respect to the subject and the main verb.

7.1.1 The proclitic behaviour of TAM markers

Coptic TAM markers are inflection words, which are morphologically independent of the verb. They appear in two syntactic positions, one preceding the subject and another following the subject and preceding the main verb. Both groups differ morphologically from one another in that preverbal TAM markers have invariant forms, while pre-subject TAM markers may have different forms or allomorphs, depending on whether a nominal or pronominal subject follows. The Habitual Present, for instance, has a long form ⲱⲁⲣⲉ and a short form ⲱⲁ-, which are selected

in the context of nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲃⲛⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲛⲧⲉ 'this date-palm (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) yields (ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲁⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲛⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲛⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13) vs. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲱⲁⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲓⲧⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲛⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Apa Pambô) would go (ⲱⲁ-ⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to her (Hilaria) (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) twice (ⲛ-ⲥⲉⲓⲧ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) a day (ⲙ-ⲙⲛⲉ)' (Hil. 6:16).

Even TAM markers that lack the allomorphic opposition between long and short forms show a consistent syntactic behaviour in that they do not allow prosodically weak function words to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the clause-initial TAM marker and the adjacent subject. For this reason, enclitic particles and function words like ⲁⲉ and ⲟⲛ 'also, too' appear in clause-third position, following both the TAM expression and the subject nominal, e.g. ⲁ ⲧⲉⲓⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲕⲉⲉⲥ 'his sister (ⲧⲉⲓⲧⲱⲛⲉ) gathered (ⲁ ... ⲱⲁ) his bones (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲉⲉⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd., 4a:1-2), ⲁ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲓ 'somebody else (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) brought (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) his son (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ) to him (Pachôm) (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ⲓ)' (V. Pach. 141:21). A somewhat different situation obtains with pronominal subjects, which form a prosodic unit with the verbal stem. Enclitic function words are therefore placed in postverbal position, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲧ 'they made (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) a silver (ⲛ-ⲉⲁⲧ) coffin (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:27-28).

7.1.2 Templates for TAM markers

TAM formatives are subject to strict word order rules that align them to a particular syntactic position. The fixed linear order of certain positional classes of TAM markers gives rise to three basic word order patterns or templates that may be expanded to the left to derive compound tense forms.

7.1.2.1 Head-initial order (the so-called prefix conjugation)

The dominant word order is head-initial, meaning that the TAM marker is placed in front of the subject and the verbal predicate. Typical exemplars of the head-initial pattern are the Perfect ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard' and the Jussive conjugation ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ 'may he hear'. The head-initial template in figure 7.1 below is referred to as the prefix conjugation in

Coptic grammars, because of the proclitic behaviour of the pre-subject TAM formative.

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
A PERFECT	π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	The man heard
	-Ϛ- he		He heard
ΜΑΡΕ JUSSIVE	π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	May the man hear
	-Ϛ- he		May he hear

FIGURE 7.1 The head-initial template (the so-called prefix conjugation)

7.1.2.2 The null morpheme of the present tense

In Coptic, as in many other languages, present tense reference has no morphological correlate. Yet, despite the absence of overt tense marking, present tense sentences are associated with a specific time value and indicate the coincidence of the time of some event or state with the present moment, that is, the time at which the sentence is uttered. This means that present tense reference is grammaticalised as a null morpheme, i.e. a tense marker that lacks phonetic content (indicated by ∅). In a sense, then, the First Present Ϛ-CΩΤΗ 'he hears; he is hearing' instantiates a "hidden" head-initial pattern, as shown in figure 7.2:

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
∅ PRESENT TENSE	π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	The man is hearing
	Ϛ- he		He is hearing

FIGURE 7.2 The null morpheme of the First Present

7.1.2.3 The clause-internal placement of the motional auxiliary NA

The First Future Ϛ-NA-CΩΤΗ 'he is going to hear' is characterized by a fully grammaticalised form of the motional auxiliary (AUX) verb NA 'to go'. As shown in figure 7.3 below, the TAM marker NA is sandwiched between the nominal or pronominal subject and the main verb:

SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	NA "GO"	CΩΤΗ hear	The man is going to hear
Ϛ- he	AUX		He is going to hear

FIGURE 7.3 The clause-internal template of the First Future

The auxiliary verb NA and the lexical verb form a verbal complex that cannot be broken up by an enclitic particle, e.g. TENAZE Γ. Ε<Υ>ΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΑΦΥΛΗ 'you will find (TE-NA-ZE) someone (Ε-Υ-ΡΩΜΕ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) my clan (ΤΑ-ΦΥΛΗ)' (Eud. 54:7), but may be expanded by another auxiliary verb, for instance, the modal auxiliary (Ε)Ω- 'can, to be able to', e.g. ΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΝΖΕ ΡΩ ΕΓΝΑΨΝΟΥΖΗ ΝΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΟΙΧ 'in what (Ν-ΑΨ) manner (Ν-ΗΕ), then (ΡΩ), will he be able to save (Ε-Ϛ-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΝΟΥΖΗ) them (the Christians) (Ν-ΝΑΙ) : (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) my hands (ΝΑ-ΟΙΧ)?' (Eud. 36:16).

7.1.2.4 Compound tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are morphologically marked by single TAM expression, which appears either in front of the subject or front of the main verb. Both the preverbal as well as the pre-subj position are filled with grammatical formatives in so-called compound tenses, such as the Conditional conjugation Ε-Ϛ-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ 'if he hears' and the Third Future Ε-Ϛ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he shall hear'. The Ε- prefix actually a relativising morpheme, which recurs in certain Second Tens (see below, section 7.2). The base morpheme of the Conditional is the modal auxiliary ΨΑΝ, whose meaning is difficult to render into English. The Third Future is a locative construction built around the direction preposition Ε- 'to, towards': Ε-Ϛ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he (is) towards hearing'. The templates for the Conditional and the Third Future with pronominal subjects are presented in figure 7.4 below. (REL stands for 'relative marker' and PREP for 'preposition').

	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	ϵ-	-ϥ- he	-ϣAN- MODAL AUX	CΩTH hear	If/when he hears
	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREP	VERB	GLOSS
THIRD FUTURE	ϵ-	-ϥ- he	-Ϸ- TO	CΩTH hear	He shall hear

FIGURE 7.4 The Conditional and the Third Future with subject pronouns

In the context of nominal subjects, both conjugation patterns have a different word order pattern. In the Conditional, the modal auxiliary ϣAN is incorporated into the long form ϵPE of the initial relative marker: ϵPE NP_{subject} ϣAN VERB → ϵPE-ϣAN NP_{subject} VERB. No such incorporational process takes place in the Third Future, where the directional preposition Ϸ- 'to' disappears entirely from the surface structure of the clause: ϵ- → ∅ / ____ NP_{subject}. See figure 7.5 for further illustration.

	REL + TAM	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	ϵPE-ϣAN	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH hear	If the man hears
	REL	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	
THIRD FUTURE	ϵPE	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH hear	The man shall hear

FIGURE 7.5 The Conditional and Third Future with nominal subjects

The three absolute tenses (i.e the First Present, the First Perfect and the First Future) share the ability of being used as embedded forms under the Preterit auxiliary NE. The internal structure of the resulting Preterit Present NE-ϥ-CΩTH 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past (Pluperfect) NE-λ-ϥ-CΩTH 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future NE-ϥ-NA-CΩTH 'he was going to hear' is shown in figure 7.6 below (PRET AUX stands for 'Preterit auxiliary verb').

	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PRESENT	NEP ϵ	∅ PRESENT	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH	The man heard
	NE-		-ϥ- he		He heard
	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PAST (PLUPERFECT)	NE-	λ PERFECT	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH	The man had heard
			-ϥ- he		He had heard
	PRET AUX	SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT FUTURE	NEP ϵ	π-PΩME the man	NA "GO" AUX	CΩTH	The man was, going to hear
	NE-	-ϥ- he			He was going to hear

FIGURE 7.6 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary NE is to establish a new temporal reference point besides the present moment, from which temporal interpretations can be made. A more detailed analysis of Preterit tenses will be offered in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.4.

7.1.3 TAM-markers as auxiliary verbs

A question remains with respect to the categorial status of Coptic tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers: are they free functional morphemes or rather auxiliary verbs? The clause-initial or medial position of TAM markers, their morphological independence from the verb, as well as their agreement behaviour (variant forms for nominal and pronominal subjects, for instance, ϣAPE and ϣA- in the Habitual Present) provide prima facie evidence for their syntactic status as auxiliary verbs.

Additional support for an auxiliary verb analysis of Coptic TAM expressions comes from their compatibility with more than one syntactic position. In the following example, there are two instances of the Habitual Present, one in front of the left-dislocated topic constituent and the other in front of the resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. λϣΩ ϣAPE ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΗΟΟΥ ϣΑϣΑΙCΩANE KATA TEQΦYCIC 'and (λϣΩ) each one (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) of them (ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ) perceives (ϣAPE ... ϣA-ϥ-ΑΙCΩANE)

according to (κατα) his nature (τε-q-φycic)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17). It generally appears, then, that Coptic TAM markers behave syntactically like auxiliary verbs. Yet, due to their semantic erosion, these markers have a fully grammaticalised meaning and function and are used to indicate various aspectual, temporal and modal categories. In this respect, they behave like inflectional elements distinct from the lexical category "verb".

7.2 First and Second Tenses

With more than twenty different verb conjugations, the tense-aspect-mood system constitutes one of the most complex areas of Coptic grammar. At the foundation of this richness of morpho-semantic distinctions is a subdivision of the absolute tenses into two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. The morphological derivation of Second Tenses will be dealt with in section 7.2.1. Section 7.2.2 surveys the main sentence constructions in which Second Tenses are grammatically allowed or required.

7.2.1 A paradigmatic split in the absolute tense system

Coptic has four absolute tenses that describe present, past and future situations: the Present, the Habitual, Perfect, and the Future. These absolute tenses come in pairs of so-called First and Second Tenses.

	FIRST TENSES	SECOND TENSES	GLOSS
PRESENT	q-CΩTM	ε-q-CΩTM	He hears, he is hearing
FUTURE	q-NA-CΩTM	ε-q-NA-CΩTM	He is going to hear
PERFECT	α-q-CΩTM	NT-α-q-CΩTM	He heard, has heard
HABITUAL	ψα-q-CΩTM	ε-ψα-q-CΩTM	He usually hears

TABLE 7.1 First and Second Tenses in Sahidic Coptic

There is a clear morphological relationship between the two sets of tenses in table 7.1: Second Tenses are derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding a relative marker in front of the verbal cluster. This system of concatenative operations is organized around a marked value, represented

by the Second Perfect marker NT-, and a default value, instantiated by the relative marker ε-, which is spelled out in all other contexts.

7.2.2 Syntactic distribution

First and Second Tenses have exactly the same temporal interpretation, but differ systematically from each other with respect to their syntactic distribution. Second Tenses replace pragmatically unmarked First Tenses in a range of interrogative and declarative focus sentences.

a) Yes/no questions

Coptic yes/no questions come in two varieties, viz. with or without a dedicated question particle (see above, section 4.2.2 of Unit 4). In the latter group, Second Tense morphology provides a cue for the interrogative interpretation of the clause within its scope, e.g. ΕΤΕΤΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ 'do you think (ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) that (χε) he (πε) (is) stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΡΕ) than us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΓΚΑΑΤ ΖΝ ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΣΙC 'will you go (ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and leave me (Ν-Γ-ΚΑΑ-Τ) in (ΖΝ) these punishments (ΝΕΙ-ΚΟΛΑΣΙC)?' (Ac. A&P 202:118). Second Tenses can, however, not be analyzed as lexicalised question cues for two reasons. Firstly, Second Tenses appear in clause types other than interrogative sentences, for instance, in relative clauses and declarative focus constructions. Secondly, it is possible to have Second Tenses and dedicated question particles like ΜΗ within the same interrogative sentence, e.g. ΜΗ ΕΙΤΑΙΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'am I more (εΖΟΥ(ε)) honourable (ε-Ι-ΤΑΙΗΥ) than (ε-) my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), ΜΗ ΕΚΝΑΚΑΑΤ ΝCΩΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΜΗΑΤΕ 'will you abandon (ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΚΑΑ-Τ) me (ΝCΩ-Κ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) one thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) only (ΜΗΑΤΕ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

b) Wh-in-situ questions

Coptic has several interrogative patterns for constituent or *wh*-questions. In so-called *wh*-in-situ questions, the questioned constituent is placed in exactly the same syntactic position as in its declarative counterpart. As we can see from the following set of data, Coptic *wh*-in-situ questions demonstrate a straightforward correlation between the clause-internal position of the question word and the presence of this special kind of

inflectional morphology. In other words, *wh*-in-situ does not come for free, but requires the presence of Second Tense marking to be grammatical. Furthermore, there are no asymmetries between questioned arguments and adjuncts in *wh*-in-situ questions.

Examples: (*wh*-in-situ subject questions) ΝΤΑ ΝΙΜ ΧΠΟ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΕΙΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ (...) 'who (ΝΙΜ) *has achieved* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΠΟ) for himself (ΝΑ-Ϊ) such endurance (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ) (...)?' (Hil. 12:29), ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΡΡΟ 'what (ΟΥ) *has happened* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to you (ΜΜΟ-Κ), our lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) (and) king (Π-ΠΡΟ)?' (Eud. 36:24), (*wh*-in-situ object questions) ΕΙΝΑΡ ΟΥ ΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ Χ̄C 'what (ΟΥ) *shall I* therefore (ΘΕ) *do* (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-Ρ) for the goodness (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΑΓΑΘΟΣ) of my Lord (Μ-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄C)' (Eud. 64:12), ΕΙΝΑΧΕ ΟΥ ΝΑΚ 'what (ΟΥ) *shall I* say (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΧΕ) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25), ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΙΜ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), with (ΜΗ) whom (ΝΙΜ) *are you talking* (Ε-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ)?' (Test. Is. 230:19), (*wh*-in-situ adverb questions) ΕΝΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΘΕΩ 'through (ΖΗ) what (ΟΥ) *shall we be saved* (Ε-Ν-ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) in this time (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΘΕΩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 271, 83:21), Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΨΑΚΥΝΑΓΕ ΤΩΝ ΜΠC̄ΒΒΑΤ.Ν ΜΗ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 'oh (Ω) my holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), where (ΤΩΝ) *do you usually celebrate* (the Eucharist) (Ε-ΨΑ-Κ-ΥΝΑΓΕ) on Saturday (Μ-Π-C̄ΒΒΑΤ.Ν) and (ΜΗ) Sunday (Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ)?' (Onnophr. 214:19-20), ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ 'how (lit. in which (Ν-ΑΨ) manner (Ν-ΖΕ)) *did you come* (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (Onnophr. 206:29), (embedded *wh*-in-situ questions) ΑΥΩ ΝΤC̄ΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟC 'and (ΑΥΩ) I do not know (Ν-ΤC̄-ΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ) [what (ΟΥ) *has happened* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to her (ΜΜΟ-C)]' (Hil. 7:30-31), ΜΠΕΨΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΝΤΑΨΚΑΛΪ ΤΩΝ 'he (the deceased) did not say (ΜΠΕ-Ψ-ΧΟΟ-C) [where (ΤΩΝ) *he had put it* (the deposit) (ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΚΑΛ-Ϊ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 65:18).

That the in-situeness of the question word is, indeed, the relevant factor motivating Second Tense selection is evident from the diametrically opposite interrogative pattern of *wh*-fronting, in which the question word is moved to the left periphery of the clause. In such *wh*-fronting structures, the tense marker appears in its neutral form, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΑΨΕΝΤΚ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'who (ΝΙΜ) *has brought you* (Α-Ψ-ΕΝΤ-Κ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (KHML I 3:7-8), ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'whence (ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ) *did you come* (Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΕΙ) here (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

c) Replacive focus

Second Tenses are not restricted to interrogative sentences, but may also appear in a range of declarative focus contexts. Question-answer pairs have been widely used as diagnostic tools for focushood: the focus identified with the sentence element that answers the question. The focus in the answer replaces, so to speak, the interrogative pronoun of the preceding question and is therefore called replacive focus. In Coptic, replacive focus is manifested by the presence of Second Tenses in both the *wh*-in-situ question and the corresponding answer, e.g. ΕΚΨΩΝΕ ΕC (...) ΠΧ̄C ΕΙΨΩΝΕ ΕΠΑΖΗΠΑΡ 'from what (Ε-ΟΥ) *do you suffer* (Ε-Κ-ΨΩΝΕ)? – Lord (Π-Χ̄C), *I am suffering* (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ) from my living (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΗΠΑΡ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30), ΕΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩΝ (.. ΕΝΧΙ ΜΜΟΪ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ 'wheretoe (Ε-ΤΩΝ) *do you bring* (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΙ) this man (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)? – *We bring* (Ε-Ν-ΧΙ) him (ΜΜΟ-C) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6).

d) Contrastive focus constructions

Contrastive focus represents a different semantic focus type, where the speaker rejects a previous utterance and offers an alternative option as its appropriate rectification. The "NOT x ΑΛΛΑ (but) y construction provides the prototypical syntactic frame for contrastive focus in Coptic. Contrastive focus falls on the rectifying affirmative clause, as witnessed by the presence of Second Tenses, e.g. ΜΠΩΡ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΤΩΚ ΓΑΪ ΕΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑ ΠΧ̄C ΤΩΚ ΕΥCΟΛCΑ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ 'no (ΜΠΩΡ), my son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ)! For (ΓΑΡ) you have not been destined (lit. they have not destined you (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΤΩ-Κ) for this service (Ε-Τ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) the Lord (Π-Χ̄C) *has appointed you* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΩ-Κ) as a comfort (Ε-Υ-CΟΛCΑ) for the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) who live (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

e) Presentational focus

Second Tenses may also signal presentational (new information) focus, which corresponds to information that is not shared by the speaker and the addressee. Presentational focus introduces new referents into the discourse, e.g. ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΨCΟΡΗ ΖΗ ΤΕΡΗΜΟC ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΪ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΪ ΧΕ (...) 'a (certain) old (ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΟ) hermit

(*Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ*) got lost (*Ε-Q-CΟΡΗ*) in (*2N*) the desert (*Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ*) and (*ΑΥΩ*) said (*ΠΕΧΑ-Q*) to himself (*2PAI Ν2ΗΤ-Q*) that (*ΧΕ*) (...)’ (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29). In quantificational statements, the Second Present is widely used to mark quantified noun phrases as presentational foci, e.g. *ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΕΡΕ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΗΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΕΠΕΚΤΟΠΟΣ [Ω ΠΗ]ΗΝΑ [ΠΗΑΡ]ΤΥΡΟΣ 2N [ΟΥΜΕ] ΗΠΕΧ̄Σ* ‘truly (*ΑΛΗΘΩΣ*), all (*ΝΙΜ*) good (things) (*ΑΓΑΘΟΝ*) happen (*ΕΡΕ ... ΨΟΟΠ*) to those who will come (*Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙ*) to your shrine (*Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΤΟΠΟΣ*), oh (*Ω*) Mēna, the true (*2N ΟΥΜΕ*) martyr (*Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ*) of Christ (*Η-ΠΕ-Χ̄Σ*)’ (Mena, Mir.16b:1219), *ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΦΤΩΒΣ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΗΕ ΗΜΟQ 2Η ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ* ‘the Lord (*Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ*) also (*ΟΝ*) urges (*Ε-Q-ΤΩΒΣ*) everybody (*ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ*) who loves (*ΕΤ-ΗΕ*) him (*ΗΜΟ-Q*) through (*2Η*) the Gospel (*Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ*)’ (V. Pach. 3:6-7).

f) The narrative use of Second Tenses

Second Tenses are occasionally used out-of-the-blue, without any indication of replative, contrastive or new information focus. On closer inspection, it appears, however, that such examples are associated with anticipatory focus, which signals a new development in the story line. The narrative use of Second Tenses is particularly common in portions of a text that introduce a *leitmotiv* for what is to be communicated next, e.g. (why do (woman) you weep all the time?) *ΝΤΑ ΠΑΖΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΛQΧΙ ΝΟΥΒΟΙΛΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑ ΑΥΩ ΗΠΕQΧΟΟΣ ΕΦΝΑΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΑQΚΑΑQ ΤΩΝ* ‘my husband (*ΠΑ-2ΑΙ*) has passed away (*ΝΤ-Α ... ΜΟΥ*), having taken (*Ε-Α-Q-ΧΙ*) a deposit (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΒΟΙΛΕ*) from (*ΝΤΕ*) someone (*ΟΥΑ*) and (*ΑΥΩ*) he did not say (*ΗΠΕ-Q-ΧΟΟ-C*) when he was going to die (*Ε-Q-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ*) where (*ΤΩΝ*) he had placed it (*ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΚΑΑ-Q*)’ (AP Chaîne no.235, 65:22-24). In the following example, the reason adverbial *ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ* ‘because of my sins’ designates the topic that is elaborated on in the subsequent narrative episode dealing with the amoral past of the first-person singular narrator: *ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ 2Ω ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΗΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΚ2Ε* (for *ΝΤΕΚ2Ε*) *ΕΙΨΟΟΠ 2Η ΠΕΙΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ* ‘I (*ΑΝΟΚ*) myself (*2Ω*) (am) a hermit (*ΟΥ-ΡΗΝ-ΤΟΟΥ*) like you (*Ν-ΤΚ-2Ε*). *I live* (*Ε-Ι-ΨΟΟΠ*) in (*2Η*) this desert (*ΠΕΙ-ΧΑΙΕ*) because of (*ΕΤΒΕ*) my sins (*ΝΑ-ΝΟΒΕ*)’ (Onnophr. 210:13-14).

7.3 Temporal, aspectual and modal uses of absolute tenses

As a technical term of grammar, “absolute tense” is used to refer to tenses that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. Present tense means that the time of the event coincides with the present moment, i.e. the time at which a sentence is being uttered. Past tense means that the time of the event occurs prior to the present moment and future tense means that the time of the event is located after the present moment. A blueprint of the absolute tense system is presented in section 7.3.1. Sections 7.3.2 to 7.3.6 explore the semantic and pragmatic distinctions between the individual present, past and future tenses. These verbal tenses will be shown to be portmanteau morphemes that convey various modal and aspectual meaning connotations besides their basic temporal value.

7.3.1 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Although the ternary distinction between present, past and future tense lies at the centre of the absolute tense system, it does not exhaust the entire repertoire of tense categories. Coptic makes more fine-grained semantic distinctions in the temporal domain than those captured by a simple tripartite system. With respect to future time reference, two future tenses are employed side by side. On the one hand, there are the First and Second Future *Q-NA-CΩTM* and *Ε-Q-NA-CΩTM* ‘he is going to hear’, which indicate progression from the present to the future; on the other hand, there is the Third Future *Ε-Q-Ε-CΩTM* ‘he shall hear’, with no such link with the present moment. Both future tense patterns differ from one another not only with respect to their temporal but also with respect to their modal features, assigning different degrees of likelihood, desirability or necessity to a forthcoming situation (see below, section 7.3.3).

Absolute time reference is not always determined with respect to the present moment, but may also be established with respect to another reference point, which provides a secondary deictic centre on which temporal interpretations can be based. In Coptic, this secondary deictic centre is located prior to the present moment and grammaticalised by means of the Preterit auxiliary *NE* (for its syntax, see above, section 7.1.2.5).

Figure 7.7 presents a blueprint of the Coptic absolute tense system. The dotted line indicates the shift of the deictic centre that is the result of the demarcation of a second temporal reference point. (TRP stands for 'temporal reference point').

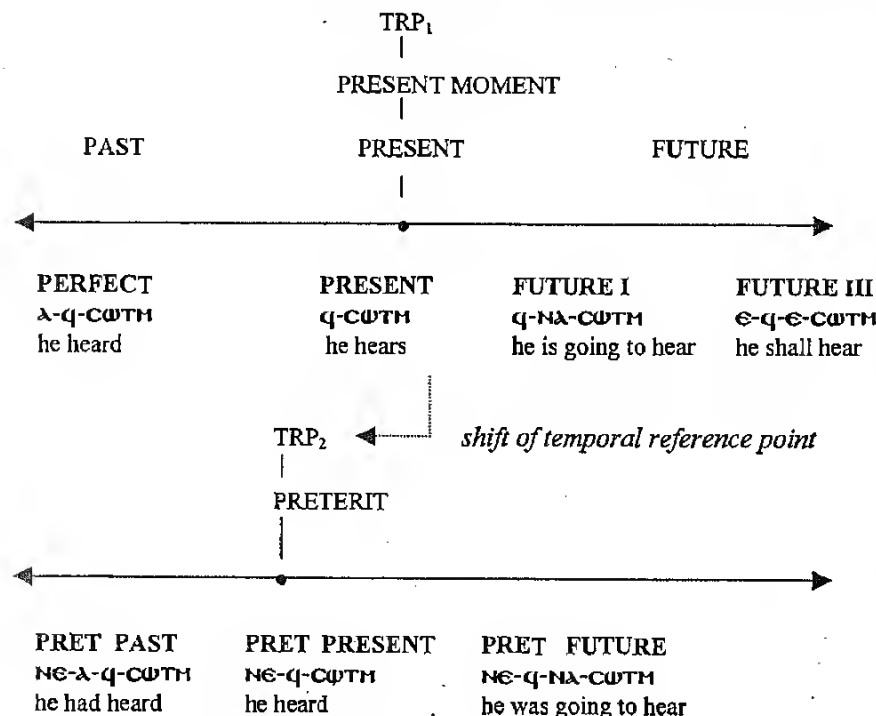


FIGURE 7.7 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Absolute tenses interact in complex ways with verbal aspect, which concerns the point of view or perspective from which a given situation is described: it may indicate the temporal boundaries of events or the frequency of their occurrence.

7.3.2 Present Tense

The present tense indicates the coincidence of the time of the event with the present moment, but at the same time the ongoing state of that event. In Coptic, present tense reference is accomplished via a null morpheme, cf. table 7.2. The prefix forms of bound pronouns are selected in the First

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Present, while the corresponding suffix pronouns appear in the Second Present, where the subject pronoun is attached to the relative marker.

	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT
1 st sing.	†-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-ⲓ-ϣⲓⲙ
2 nd sing. masc.	κ-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-κ-ϣⲓⲙ
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ(ⲡ)-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-ⲡⲉ-ϣⲓⲙ
3 rd sing. masc.	ϣ-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-ϣ-ϣⲓⲙ
3 rd sing. fem.	ϣ-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-ϣ-ϣⲓⲙ
1 st plural	ⲧⲏ-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-ⲏ-ϣⲓⲙ
2 nd plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲏ-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-ⲧⲉⲧⲏ-ϣⲓⲙ
3 rd plural	ϣⲉ-ϣⲓⲙ	ϣ-ϣ-ϣⲓⲙ
Before noun	ⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ ϣⲓⲙ	ϣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ ϣⲓⲙ

TABLE 7.2 The First and Second Present

7.3.2.1 Copula Support

Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences in context of indefinite subjects including "bare" nouns. This rule triggers the insertion of the copular verbs *ⲟⲩⲛ* '(there) is' in the affirmative *ⲙⲏ* '(there) is no' in the negative, e.g. *ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ* '(there) is (ⲟⲩⲛ) a nobleman (lit. a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ) 1 (ⲏ-ⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ)) in (ⲟⲩⲛ) the palace (ⲡⲡⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ) *being sick* (ⲟⲩⲛⲉ)' (10:27-28), *ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲱⲙⲉⲓ ⲛⲙⲁⲕ* 'are (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) thoughts (ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) *troubling* (ⲡⲟⲗⲱⲙⲉⲓ) you (ⲛⲙⲁ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne 181, 44:16-17), *ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲏ ⲁⲗⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ* (...) 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there) *not* (ⲙⲏ) anyone (ⲁⲗⲁⲩ) (who) knows (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) the place (ⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ) (. (V. Pach. 96:5-6). Copula support does not apply to Second Tense constructions, e.g. *ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ* 'as if (ⲟⲩⲥ variegated tunic (ⲟⲩ-ⲥⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ) were placed (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲟ) on 1 (ⲟⲩⲱⲱ-ⲩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

7.3.2.2 Semantic restrictions

Stative verb forms are restricted to present tense contexts. As argued in section 6.2.4 of the preceding unit, this temporal restriction has an aspectual source: the Stative is used specifically to describe states :

conditions, which lack a clearly defined endpoint. The exclusion of an endpoint, however, is part of the grammatical meaning of present tenses, e.g. $\varphi\omicron\eta\varsigma\ \eta\delta\iota\ \pi\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ '(as) God ($\pi\text{-}\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) Almighty ($\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$) *lives* ($\varphi\text{-}\omicron\eta\varsigma$)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

The Stern-Jernstedt Rule has an aspectual underpinning as well, given that the construct state instantiates an accusative case pattern, where accusative case is associated with a bound event reading. Bound events are, however, semantically incompatible with the temporal meaning of the present tense, which describes situations that have not yet reached their culmination point. The oblique case-marking pattern of the absolute state is available as an alternative, e.g. $\uparrow\chi\iota\ \eta\upsilon\eta\rho\ \eta\upsilon\gamma\kappa\eta$ (for $\beta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$) $\eta\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha$ 'I *receive* ($\uparrow\text{-}\chi\iota$) many ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\rho$) payments ($\eta\text{-}\beta\gamma\kappa\eta$) of grievance ($\eta\text{-}\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$) in return ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\mu\alpha$)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:10-11), $\uparrow\tau\eta\eta\eta\ \eta\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \eta\tau\alpha\varrho\tau\alpha\lambda\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\iota\ \uparrow\uparrow\ \eta\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\eta\tau\eta$ 'the peace ($\uparrow\tau\eta\eta\eta$ < $\tau\text{-}\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\eta$) of my Lord ($\eta\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) that he has given ($\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\varrho\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\text{-}\varsigma$) to me ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\iota$) I *give* ($\uparrow\text{-}\uparrow$) to you ($\eta\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$)' (Test. Is. 230:10-11).

7.3.2.3 Types of present tense sentences

The present tense has been defined as a tense category that locates a situation at the present moment, at which the sentence is being uttered. However, situations that coincide with the present time are relatively rare. As we will see next, there are two sentence types that fall under this rubric, which are perception sentences and performative sentences. A much more common use of present tense sentences is to describe situations that occupy a much longer period of time, but nonetheless include the present moment within them.

a) Perception sentences

When formulated in the present tense, sentences containing perception verbs, such as $\eta\alpha\gamma$ 'to see' and $\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ 'to hear', describe instantaneous events without internal dynamism, e.g. $\uparrow[\eta\alpha]\gamma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \pi\alpha[\chi\omicron]\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma[\eta\omicron\varsigma]$ $\eta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\ \eta\tau\epsilon\ \pi\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \gamma\eta\ \pi\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron$ 'for ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) I *see* ($\uparrow\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma$), my Lord ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) a great ($\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\eta\omicron\varsigma$) grace ($\eta\text{-}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$) of ($\eta\tau\epsilon$) God ($\pi\text{-}\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) in ($\gamma\eta$) your face ($\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\tau\omicron$)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:6-9), $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \lambda\eta\omicron\eta\eta\ \eta\epsilon\kappa\gamma\eta\mu\alpha\lambda\ \tau\eta\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ 'look ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$), we ($\lambda\eta\omicron\eta\eta$), your servants ($\eta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\gamma\eta\mu\alpha\lambda$), *are listening* ($\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$)!' (Eud. 60:23). Reports on mental achievements are similar to perception events, e.g. $\uparrow\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 'I *believe* (it) ($\uparrow\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$), (oh) Lord ($\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$)' (Eud. 52:3-4).

b) Performative sentences

Performative sentences are used to express performative speech where the action described by a sentence is performed by its utterance. Performative speech-acts are situated in ritualistic contexts, e.g. $\gamma\eta\ \pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\eta\ \uparrow\pi\omega\gamma\tau\ \eta\mu\epsilon[\iota]\ \alpha\pi\omicron\tau\ \eta\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ 'in your name ($\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta$) I (hereby) *pour* ($\uparrow\text{-}\pi\omega\gamma\tau$) this cup ($\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\iota\text{-}\alpha$) of sweet ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron$) water ($\eta\text{-}\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) into the see ($\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$)' (Ac. 198:55-56). Issuing commands and making confessions may qualify performative speech-acts as well, e.g. $\uparrow\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\ \varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\mu\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \eta\tau\eta\epsilon\ \eta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\varrho\chi\epsilon\ \eta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\pi\eta\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ 'I (hereby) (lit. place ($\uparrow\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\gamma$) an order ($\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon$)) them to worship ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omega$) the God ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) of heaven ($\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\pi\epsilon$), together with ($\eta\eta$) his C ($\pi\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\chi\epsilon$) and ($\eta\eta$) the Holy ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) Spirit ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\eta\alpha$)' (Eud. 40: $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa\ \gamma\omega\ \pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \uparrow\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \eta\mu\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \eta\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron$ ($\eta\mu\epsilon\kappa\iota$) $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'I ($\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$) myself ($\gamma\omega$) *admit* ($\uparrow\text{-}\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$) my sin ($\eta\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\eta$) in your presence ($\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:9-13).

c) Epistemic sentences

Epistemic sentences ascribe to the subject referent certain beliefs, opinions, experiences, and expertise. Since epistemic sentences are semantically stative in describing psychological or mental states, they are always interpreted as holding for a longer time interval, including the present moment, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\chi\omega\omega\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\eta$ 'you *think* ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) he ($\pi\epsilon$) (is) stronger ($\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\chi\omega\omega$) than us ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\text{-}\eta$)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\ \pi\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \rho\omega\ \chi\epsilon\ \kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \psi\omicron\omicron\tau\tau$ 'they (the hermits) usually do not even ($\rho\omega$) *remember* (lit. make ($\eta\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\rho$) thought ($\pi\text{-}\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)) that ($\chi\epsilon$) a world ($\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$) exists ($\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\ \dots\ \psi\omicron\omicron\tau\tau$)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\omicron\ \eta\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\tau\omicron\phi\eta\ \tau\eta\rho\varsigma$ 'because ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho$) you *know* ($\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$), entire ($\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\varsigma$) mode of life ($\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\lambda\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\tau\omicron\phi\eta$)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), $\eta\eta\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon\ \varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\ \epsilon\pi\eta\alpha\ \epsilon\eta\varrho\eta\gamma\eta\tau\eta\varrho$ (for $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varrho\eta\gamma\eta\tau\eta\varrho$) $\psi\alpha\ \gamma\eta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\ \eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ 'and ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$) (there) *is not* ($\eta\eta$) anyone ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$) (who) *knows* ($\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$) the place ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha$) where he (Pachōm) was ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon$) $\varrho\text{-}\eta\gamma\eta$ until ($\psi\alpha\ \gamma\eta\alpha\iota$) the present ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) day ($\eta\text{-}\gamma\omicron\omicron\upsilon$)' (V. Pach. 96:5-7).

ἡμοῦ πε 'he (Pachôm's brother) *was not* (ἀν) *far away* (νε-φ-οὐήγ) from him (Pachôn) (ἡμο-φ)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb ἀν

The negation adverb ἀν 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb ἀν to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. εἶπε οὐ ἴναθεν ἔχει ἀν οὐέω (read: νοῦέω) νοῦός 'why (εἶπε οὐ) *can I not* (ἀν) *suffer* (lit. receive (ἴ-να-θεν) *suffering* (ἔχει)) without (οὐέω) getting angry (νοῦός)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), ἡμεῖς ἐπιτρέψομεν ἀν εἰς πόλιν σου εἶπε πειραν καὶ ἰδὲ 'we *will not* (ἀν) *allow you* (ἡ-με-ε-π-τρέψομεν) to come (εἰ) into (ἐπιτρέψομεν) our city (ε-π-τρέψομεν) because of (εἶπε) this (disgraceful) name (πει-ραν) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, ἀν occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. οὐκ οἶσιν ἀν ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῇ πόλει 'I *do not* (ἀν) *know* (οὐκ-οἶσιν) *anybody* (ἄνθρωπος) in (ἐν) this city (τῇ-πόλει)' (Hil. 4:23), ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἀν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς 'why) do you (woman) *not* (ἀν) *look* (οὐκ-ὁρῶμεν) *for* (ἡμεῖς) *my tomb* (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν)?' (Eud. 58:5).

b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb ἀν comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. οὐκ ἔσται ἀν ἐν τῇ πόλει 'I *will not* (ἀν) *burden* (lit. give (οὐκ-ἔσται) *you* (ἐν-τῇ-πόλει) (with) a difficult (ε-φ-ἔσται) job (ἐν-τῇ-πόλει)' (KHML II 33:14-15), ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἀν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἀν 'if not (ἡμεῖς), the God (π-νοῦτε) of the Christians (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) *will not* (ἀν) *tolerate* (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) *you* (ἡμο-κ) in this manner (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) forever (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν)' (Eud. 38:13-14), ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἀν πε 'but (ἀλλὰ) I *could not* (ἀν) *see* (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) *them* (ἐπο-οῦ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν (read ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν)

ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἀν πε 'he (Apa Poimên) *would not* (ἀν) *have sent* (a message) (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) to me (ἡπο-κ)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial ἀν is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἀν καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν τὸ 'he *did not* (ἀν) *know* (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) that (καὶ) she (τὸ) (was) a woman (οὐκ-ὁρῶμεν)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἀν τὸν οὐρανόν γὰρ ἀν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὁρῶμεν (...) 'since (γὰρ) *they did not* (ἀν) *reach* (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) the heavenly (ἡ-με-ὁρῶμεν) kingdom (τ-μ-μ-ε-πο) by virtue of (ἐν) talk (lit. the word (π-ὁρῶμεν)) or (ἡ) a (good) reputation (π-ὁρῶμεν)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal *h-* or *h-*. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous *h-* ... *h-* pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb *tm* 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωtm he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωtm he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT α-q-cωtm he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT μηε-q-cωtm he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT ντ-α-q-cωtm he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ετε-μηε-q-cωtm he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωtm he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωtm he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE α-q-ογω ε-q-cωtm he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE μηατε-q-cωtm he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ε-q-ε-cωtm he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE ννε-q-cωtm he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE cωtm listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE μηπ-cωtm do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultaneously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual με-q-cωtm 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ψα-q-cωtm 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ογρωμε νκοφοc μεqνεx [ψαξε] νιη εβολ zιnai αλλα ψαqt zτηq ε[νετcω]tm εροoy 'a wise (ν-κοφοc) man (ογ-ρωμε) does not throw (με-q-νεx) away (εβολ) every (νιη) word.

(ψαξε) like that (zιnai) but (αλλα) focuses (ψα-q-†) his attention (zτη-q) towards those who listen (ε-ν-ετ-cωtm) to them (επο-ογ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional paradigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1 st sing.	με-ι-cωtm	ε-με-ι-cωtm	νε-με-ι-cωtm
2 nd sing. masc.	με-κ-cωtm	ε-με-κ-cωtm	νε-με-κ-cωtm
2 nd sing. fem.	μερε-cωtm	ε-μερε-cωtm	νε-μερε-cωtm
3 rd sing. masc.	με-q-cωtm	ε-με-q-cωtm	νε-με-q-cωtm
3 rd sing. fem.	με-c-cωtm	ε-με-c-cωtm	νε-με-c-cωtm
1 st plural	με-ν-cωtm	ε-με-ν-cωtm	νε-με-ν-cωtm
2 nd plural	με-τεtn-cωtm	ε-με-τεtn-cωtm	νε-με-τεtn-cωtm
3 rd plural	με-γ-cωtm	ε-με-γ-cωtm	νε-με-γ-cωtm
before noun	μερε πρωμε cωtm	ε-μερε πρωμε cωtm	νε-μερε πρωμε cωtm

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ερωαν ογα ναγ εροq μεqzναq επ ογω ογδε εχιτq εzοyn ετεqpi 'whenever someone (ογα) saw (ερωαν ... ναγ) him (the brother) (επο-q) he did not want (με-q-zνα-q) to reply (lit. to make (ε-p) reply (ογω)) and (ογδε) to take him (ε-χιτ-q) into (εzοyn) his cell (ε-τεq-pi)' (AP Chafne no. 45, 9:21-22), ντοq δε zωωq νεμεqτωβε ναγ λαγ αλλα νεψαqzρωz νzητ εzpai εxωoy zη

ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΗΝΤΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ 'he (Pachôm (ΠΤΟQ), however (ΖΩΩ-Q), *did not take revenge* (ΝΕ-ΜΕ-Q-ΤΩΩΒΕ) against them (the brothers) (ΝΑ-Υ) in any way (ΛΑΛΥ), but (instead) he was patient (ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Q-ΖΡΩΨ) with them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΖΝ) grcat (ΟΥ-ΝΟΩ) indulgence (Μ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΑΡΩ-ΖΗΤ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΙΨΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΤΟΥΟΧ ΕΨΩΝΕ ΜΕΙΧΙΤQ 'when (Ε-Ε-ΨΩΠΕ) I observe (Ε-Ι-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) I am cured (Τ-ΟΥΟΧ) from illness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ), I *will not accept it* (the donkey) (ΜΕ-Ι-ΧΙΤ-Q)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΛΟ ΕQΔΟΡΩ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΑ ΠΕQΖΔΕ ΝΝΙQΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) *does not cease* (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΛΟ) waylaying (Ε-Q-ΔΟΡΩ) man (Ε-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) until (ΨΑ) his last (ΠΕQ-ΖΔΕ) breath (Ν-ΝΙQΕ)' (KHML II 48:7-9), ΜΕΓΑΝΙΧΕ (for ΜΕΓΑΝΕΧΕ) ΡΨΑΧΕ (read ΕΨΑΧΕ) ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡQ 'they (the monks) *usually do not bear* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΑΝΙΧΕ) to speak (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) with them (women) (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ)' (Hil. 10:18).

b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ΜΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤΩΩ ΜΕQΖΑΡΖ ΕΥΨΑΧΕ Μ[ΜΥC]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the imprudent (Ν-ΑΤ-ΩΩ) person (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ): he *does not keep* (ΜΕ-Q-ΖΑΡΕΖ) a secret (lit. a secret (Μ-ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ) word (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΛΛΑΥ ΜΠΑΘΩC ΕΝΕΖ 'he (ΠΑΙ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ) *will not manage* to ever (ΕΝΕΖ) master (ΜΕΡΕ ... (ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC) any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (ΠΑΘΩC)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9), ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥΠΕΖΤ ΟΩΝ ΕΧΝ ΤΕCΑΠΕ ΕCΖΜ ΠΕCΝΟQ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) they *do not pour* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΠΕΖΤ) ointment (ΟΩΝ) on (ΕΧΝ) her (the girl's) head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (Ε-Ε-ΖΗ) the blood (ΠΕ-ΕΝΟQ))' (Sh. Zoega 589:20-21).

c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual Ε-ΜΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ΝΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΝ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ ΕΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΟΟC ΕΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) as one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) heart (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΜΝ) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) all (ΝΙΜ) things (ΝΚΑ) were (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΨΟΟΠ) in common (ΖΙ-ΟΥ-CΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) and *no one* (ΛΑΛΥ) *said* (Ε-ΜΕΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-Ε) about what belonged (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) »they (ΝΕ) (are) mine (ΝΟΥΙ)!«' (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ ΝCΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΜΕQΧΩΖ ΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑQΡΩΚΖ ΝΝΡΕQΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) an intelligent (Ν-CΑΒΕ) blaze (ΟΥ-ΚΩΖΤ) (is) that one (Π-ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. the burning river) *in not touching* (Ε-ΜΕ-Q-ΧΩΖ) the righteous ones (Ε-Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC), but (ΑΛΛΑ) burning (ΨΑ-Q-ΡΩΚΖ) the sinners (Ν-Ν-ΡΕQ-ΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ΜΠΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect Α-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he heard', e.g. ΑQΑΑΝ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΧΝ ΟΩΜ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΑQ 'he (Christ) made us (Α-Q-ΑΑ-Ν) masters (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) over (ΕΧΝ) all (ΝΙΜ) powers (ΟΩΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) (yet) *no one* (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) *has dared* (ΜΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have done (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΑ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ΜΠΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect Ε-ΜΠ(Ε)-Q-ΩΤΗ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to

the reduction of the relative marker ϵ -, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as $\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$, which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing.	$\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
1 st plural	$\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd plural	$\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd plural	$\text{ἦν}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
Before noun	$\text{ἦν}\epsilon\text{ }\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\text{ }\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἦν}(\epsilon)\text{ }\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\text{ }\omega\tau\eta$

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{ }\omicron\gamma\text{ }\Delta\epsilon\text{ }\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\text{ }\epsilon\chi\eta\text{ }\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\text{ }\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\text{ }\nu\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\text{ }\zeta\iota\text{ }\zeta\alpha\tau\text{ }(\dots)\text{ }\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\psi\iota\mu\epsilon\text{ }\nu\varsigma\alpha\text{ }\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\text{ }\nu\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ 'why ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{ }\omicron\gamma$) do you (woman) sleep ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$) on ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) a couch (lit. a sleeping ($\nu\text{-}\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$) place ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha$)) of gold ($\nu\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon$) and ($\zeta\iota$) silver ($\zeta\alpha\tau$) and did not look ($\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\psi\iota\mu\epsilon$) for ($\nu\varsigma\alpha$) the place ($\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of my resurrection ($\nu\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$)?' (Eud. 50:23-25).

a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterexpectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g. $\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\omega\zeta\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\text{ }\epsilon\chi\eta\text{ }\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\text{ }\nu\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\text{ }\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\text{ }\nu\kappa\omega\varsigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\eta\iota\eta\omicron\varsigma\text{ }\pi\tau\tau\omicron$ 'they (the Persians) did not again (lit. they did not place ($\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omicron\omega\zeta$) their hands ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma$)) raise up ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$) against ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the country ($\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$) in all ($\tau\eta\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) the days ($\nu\text{-}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) of King ($\pi\text{-}\tau\tau\omicron$) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19), $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\text{ }\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma\text{ }\nu\chi\tau\omicron\pi\text{ }\nu\eta\tau\eta\text{ }\epsilon\zeta\tau\alpha\iota\text{ }\mu\pi\eta\mu\tau\omicron\text{ }\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\text{ }\mu\pi\eta\mu\gamma\tau\epsilon\text{ }\mu\eta\text{ }\nu\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'I did not place ($\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\kappa\alpha$) any ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$) obstacle ($\nu\text{-}\chi\tau\omicron\pi$) for you ($\nu\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$) in front ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\tau\omicron$) of God ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) nor ($\mu\eta$) mankind ($\nu\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).

b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by $\lambda\alpha\lambda\lambda$ 'but', e.g. $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\mu\alpha\text{ }\nu\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha\text{ }(\text{for } \nu\omicron\gamma\alpha)\text{ }\nu\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta\text{ }\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\zeta\text{ }(\dots)\text{ }\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\text{ }\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{ }\rho\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\text{ }\nu\tau\epsilon\varphi\psi\chi\eta$ 'I never ($\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\zeta$) reprimanded ($\mu\pi\text{-}\epsilon\iota\text{-}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\mu\alpha$) anyone ($\nu\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$) of you ($\nu\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$) (...) except ($\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the salvation ($\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$) of his soul ($\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varphi\text{-}\psi\chi\eta$)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19), $\mu\pi\omega\rho\text{ }\pi\alpha\psi\eta\rho\epsilon\text{ }\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\psi\kappa\text{ }\gamma\alpha\rho\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\text{ }\lambda\alpha\lambda\lambda\text{ }\nu\tau\alpha\text{ }\pi\bar{\chi}\varsigma\text{ }\tau\omega\psi\kappa\text{ }\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha\text{ }\nu\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\text{ }\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\text{ }\zeta\eta\text{ }\pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ 'No ($\mu\pi\omega\rho$), my son ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$)! For ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) you have not been destined (lit. they have not destined you ($\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\tau\omega\psi\text{-}\kappa$) for this career ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\omicron\iota\omicron\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$), but ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\lambda$) the Lord ($\pi\text{-}\bar{\chi}\varsigma$) has appointed you ($\nu\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{ } \dots\text{ }\tau\omega\psi\text{-}\kappa$) as a comfort ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha$) for the holy ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) brothers ($\nu\text{-}\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$) who live ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$) in ($\zeta\eta$) the desert ($\pi\text{-}\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g. $\text{ναψ νζε αφογοτεν εβολ νοι πχοεις μητηρ q εμπειμε}$ 'how (ν-αψ ν-ζε) did the Lord (π-χοεις) of the universe (μ-π-τηρ-q) pass by us (α-q-ογοτε-ν) without us noticing (ε-μη-ν-ειμε)?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6), $\text{αγκοτκ αqωνε νογροογ μηεqοωμ ογδε μηεqω}$ 'one day (ν-ογ-ροογ) he (the sick child) lay down (α-q-γκοτκ) sick (α-q-ωνε) (and) did not eat (μηε-q-οωμ) nor drink (μηε-q-ω)' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a) ετ(ε)-μη(ε)-q-ωτη 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The ετ(ε)-μη(ε)-q-ωτη pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g. $\text{ταναγ χε ετῆπεqει επεcнт ετβῆнтκ εωπε μμον εἰε ετβῆнт}$ 'and I see (τα-ναγ) whether (χε) he (the eagle) did not come (ετ-μηε-q-ει) down (επεcнт) because of you (ετβῆнтκ), if (εωπε) not (μμον), then (εἰε) because of me (ετβῆнт)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1), $\text{ογκογн ετῆπεqει επεcнт ετβῆнтκ ετβε χε πcon ψocн epок}$ 'thus (ογκογн), he (the eagle) did not come (ετ-μηε-q-ει) down (επεcнт) because of you (ετβῆнтκ), because (ετβε χε) the brother (π-con) is angry (ψocн) with you (epo-к)' (AP Chaîne, no. 192, 50:5-6), $\text{ετεμπεxωzн зн αψ нма}$ 'in (зн) what (αψ) place (н-ма) have you (woman) not been defiled (ετε-μηε-xωzн)?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b) нт-α-q-ωτη an 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The нт-α-q-ωτη an pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g. $\text{нта пai ψωπε an εтβῆнт anок γap anγ ογλααγ αλλα εтβε τεχηpa μн νειорφανoc α πноyте εἰpe μηεἰzωб}$ 'this (пai) did not (an) happen (нт-α ... ψωπε) for my sake (εтβῆнт), since (γap) (as for) me (anок), I (anγ) (am) a nobody (ογ-αααγ), but (αλλα) for the sake of (εтβε) the widow (τε-χηpa) and (μн) these orphans (νει-ορφanoc) had God

(π-ноyте) done (α ... εἰpe) this thing (μ-πει-zωб)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33), $\text{νταιнтq наk an εтβε ογλααγ αλλα εтβε παογχαἰ}$ 'I have not (an) brought it (the wheat) (нт-α-ι-нт-q) because of (εтβε) anything (ογ-αααγ) but (αλλα) my salvation (πα-ογχαἰ)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect μπατ(ε)-q-ωτη 'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g. $\text{μπατεκp αζῖoc нψαxe нмаq}$ 'you have not yet become (μπατε-к-p) worthy (αζῖoc) to talk (н-ψαxe) to him (Jesus Christ) (нма-q)' (KHML II 30:21-22).

9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the μπατ(ε)-q-ωτη 'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1 st sing.	μπατ'-ωτη	ε-μπατ'-ωτη
2 nd sing. masc.	μπατ(ε)-к-ωτη	ε-μπατ(ε)-к-ωτη
2 nd sing. fem.	μπατε-ωτη	ε-μπατε-ωτη
3 rd sing. masc.	μπατ(ε)-q-ωτη	ε-μπατ(ε)-q-ωτη
3 rd sing. fem.	μπατ(ε)-c-ωτη	ε-μπατ(ε)-c-ωτη
1 st plural	μπατ(ε)-н-ωτη	ε-μπατ(ε)-н-ωτη
2 nd plural	μπατ(ε)-тн-ωτη	ε-μπατ(ε)-тн-ωτη
3 rd plural	μπατ-ογ-ωτη	ε-μπατ-ογ-ωτη
Before noun	μπατε πpωme ωτη	ε-μπατε πpωme ωτη

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. *μπατήρω ενειψι ντειδοτ ετραχι ςζιμε εζοϋν επαμανωπε* 'I have not yet reached (*μπατήρω*) such (*ν-τειδοτ*) heights (*ε-νειψι*) to take (*ε-τρα-χι*) a woman (*ςζιμε*) into (*εζοϋν*) my residence (*ε-πα-τια-ν-ωπε*)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. *αϋ εις ζηιτε μπατ'οϋων ημοσ παχοεις* 'and (*αϋ*) look (*εις ζηιτε*), I have not yet opened (*μπατ'οϋων*) it (the sack with gold), my lord (*πα-χοεις*)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), *εμεμπατοϋωπε γαρ ζν κιμε νοι ημοναστηριον ετωϋ* 'since (*γαρ*) (there) were not yet (*ε-με-μπατ-οϋ-ωπε*) many (*ετ-οϋ*) monasteries (*η-μοναστηριον*) in (*ζν*) Egypt (*κιμε*)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *ντοϋ δε πρρο νεμπατϋχι βαπτισμα* 'but he (*ντοϋ*), the king (*π-ρρο*), had not yet received (*νε-μπατ-ϋ-χι*) baptism (*βαπτισμα*)' (Eud. 42:1), *εβολ ξε μπατεκειωρζ μπητον ετνζελπιζε εροϋ* 'because (*εβολ ξε*) you have not yet perceived (*μπατε-κ-ειωρζ*) the peace (*η-π-ητον*) that we are hoping (*ετ-η-ζελπιζε*) for (*ερο-ϋ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the *μπατ(ε)-ϋ-ωτμ* no longer holds, e.g. *ειοϋωϋ εναϋ εταϋνε μπατ'μοϋ* 'I want

(*ε-ι-οϋωϋ*) to see (*ε-ναϋ*) my sister (*ε-τα-ϋνε*) before I die (*μπατ'μοϋ*)' (KHML I 75:20-21), *οϋτε ννεϋκωτε εζοϋν εβολ ζμ πτμε εμπατοϋκωλζ* 'and (*οϋτε*) they (the brothers) shall not go (*ννε-ϋ-κωτε*) in (*εζοϋν*) (and) out (*εβολ*) from (*ζμ*) the village (*π-τμε*) before they ring (the bell) (*ε-μπατ-οϋ-κωλζ*)' (praec. Pach. 90), *τεκζμζαλ εγδοζια τετοϋωϋ εει εζοϋν επεκαϋασμοϋ ηπατε ππαλιον ϋωλμ* 'your servant (*τεκ-ζμζαλ*) Eudoxia wants (*ετ-οϋωϋ*) to come (*ε-ει*) inside (*εζοϋν*) to your welcome (*ε-πεκ-αϋασμοϋ*) before the palace (*π-παλιον*) gets busy (*ηπατε ... ϋωλμ*)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future *ννε-ϋ-ωτμ* 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future *ε-ϋ-ε-ωτμ* 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. *αϋ πετεκναεπιϋμει εροϋ ννεκοϋωμϋ εκεοϋωμ δε ννετα πνοϋτε τηνοοϋϋοϋ νακ* 'and (*αϋ*) (the food) that you might desire (*π-ετ-κ-να-επιϋμει*) for (*ερο-ϋ*), you shall not eat (*ννε-κ-οϋομ-ϋ*), you should (rather) eat (*ε-κε-οϋωμ*) what God has sent (*η-νε-ντ-α ... τηνοοϋ-ϋοϋ*) you (*να-κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future *ννε-ϋ-ωτμ* 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, *ννα-* represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant *ννε-ι-* represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	NNA-CΩTH (rarely NNE-I-CΩTH)	NNE-N-CΩTH
2 nd masc.	NNE-K-CΩTH	NNE-TN-CΩTH
2 nd fem.	NNE-CΩTH	
3 rd masc.	NNE-Q-CΩTH	NNE-Y-CΩTH
3 rd fem.	NNE-C-CΩTH	
Before noun	NNE ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTH	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. ΝΝΕΚΡΙΚΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΝΑΜΑΤΕ ΜΦΩΒ ΝΤΑΚΖΙ ΤΟΟΤΚ ΕΡΟQ 'you will not go astray (NNE-K-PIKE) or (ΟΥΔΕ) fall (NNE-K-ΖΕ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) you will succeed (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΜΑΤΕ) in the work (ΜΦΩΒ < Μ-Π-ΖΩΒ) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΖΙ) your hand (ΤΟΟΤ-Κ) on (ΕΡΟ-Q))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΟΥΜ ΝΚΑ ΝΤΕQPI 'no man (ΑΛΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ) shall eat (NNE ... ΟΥΩΜ) anything (ΝΚΑ) in his cell (Ν-ΤΕQ-PI)' (praec. Pach. 114), ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΕQΕΡΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΚΕ 'no one (ΑΛΛΥ) shall talk (NNE ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕQ-ΕΡΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the dark (Π-ΚΑΚΕ)' (praec. Pach. 94), ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ ΝΤCΙΒΕ (for ΝΤCΗQΕ) ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΠΛΑC 'you shall not kill (NNE-K-ΖΩΤΒ) neither with the sword (Ν-Τ-CΗΒΕ) nor (ΟΝ) with (ΖΗ) the tongue (Π-ΛΑC)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), ΝΝΕΥΚΕΤ ΤΕΙΚΥΠΗ ΖΗ ΠΛΟΥΘΕΙΩ

(...) 'this vault (ΤΕΙ-ΚΥΠΗ) should not be rebuilt (lit. they should not build (NNE-Y-ΚΕΤ)) in (ΖΗ) my time (ΠΑ-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ) (...) (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27).

b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. ΝΝΕΙΧΙΟΥΕ ΝΝΕΙΡ ΜΗΤΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΧ ΝΝΕΙΧΙ ΔΟΛ 'I shall not steal (NNE-I-ΧΙΟΥΕ), I shall not make (NNE-I-P) false (Ν-ΝΟΥΧ) witness (ΜΗΤΡΕ), I shall not tell (NNE-I-ΧΙ) lies (ΔΟΛ)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΝΝΕΝΟΥΩΖ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ ΕΡ ΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ 'and we (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ), in our turn (ΖΩΩ-Ν), we will not again (lit. set (NNE-N-ΟΥΩΖ) hand (ΕΤΟΟΤ-Ν) to) make (Ε-Ρ) war (ΠΟΛΕΜΟC) with the God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of heaven (Ν-Τ-ΠΕ)' (Eud. 48:13).

c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (read ΤΠΥΛΗ) ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑC ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΨΕΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΥ) very strongly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ) so that (ΧΕΚΑC) the apostles (Ν-ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC) could not go (NNE ... ΕΨ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ΑΝΙ ΤΕΦΥΧΗ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΧΕΚΑC ΝΝΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΔΝ ΛΟΙΔΕ ΕΧΩ (read ΕΧΩΙ) 'bring (ΑΝΙ) the soul (ΤΕ-ΦΥΧΗ) of Judas up here (ΕΖΡΑΙ) so that (ΧΕΚΑC) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) won't find (NNE ... ΔΝ) a pretext (ΛΟΙΔΕ) against me (ΕΧΩ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), ΝCΕΝΟΧΟ[Υ] [Ε]ΧΗ ΠΕQΤΑΦΟC ΝCΕΖΟΒCQ ΧΕΚΑC ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ Ρ ΠΕQΜΕΕΥΕ 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (Ν-CΕ-ΝΟΧ-Ο[Υ]) on (ΕΧΗ) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠΕQ-ΤΑΦΟC) and cover it (Ν-CΕ-ΖΟΒC-Q) so that (ΧΕΚΑC) no man (ΑΛΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) might remember it (lit. make (NNE ... Ρ) its remembrance (ΠΕQ-ΜΕΕΥΕ))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperative clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary **μηρ-** 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. **μηρκοτκ ερνοβε** 'do not return (**μηρ-κοτ-κ**) to sin (lit. to do (**ε-ρ**) sin (**νοβε**))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), **μηρρ ζοτε τπαρενος ετογαλβ** 'don't be (**μηρ-ρ**) afraid (**ζοτε**), holy (**ετ-ογαλβ**) virgin (**τ-παρενος**)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), **μηρκαλτ νσωκ** 'don't abandon me (lit. leave me (**μηρ-καλτ**) behind you (**νσω-κ**))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), **μηερτρε λααυ ειμε κε ντε ουζιμε** 'don't let (**μηερ-τρε**) anybody (**λααυ**) know (**ειμε**) that (**κε**) you (**ντε**) (are) a woman (**ου-ζιμε**)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative **μηρ-** has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like '(oh) no, don't', e.g. **εκναδωψτ νσωι ειναβωκ επτακο μηωρ παχοις** 'will you watch me going to perdition? Oh no (**μηωρ**), my Lord (**πα-χοις**)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

9.4.6 The negative auxiliary **τι**

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary **τι** 'to do not'. The auxiliary **τι** is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. **αλλα κε αρωταμ ννεφβαλ ετιδωψτ εροϋ επτηρϋ** 'but (**αλλα**) because (**κε**) he closed (**αρω-ταμ**) his eyes (**ν-νεφ-βαλ**) not to see (**ε-τι-δωψτ**) it (the sun) (**ερο-ϋ**) at all (**επτηρϋ**)' (Zen. 200:27-28), **α ταδωμ ει εροι ζωστε ετητραλσεανε επτηρϋ κε τζκοειτ η τοβε** 'my strength (**τα-δωμ**) came (back) (**α ... ει**) to me (**εροι**) so that (**ζωστε**) I did not notice (**ε-τι-τρα-λσεανε**) at all (**επτηρϋ**) that (**κε**) I was hungry (**τ-τζκοειτ**) or (u) thirsty (**τ-οβε**)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of **τι** are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. **παζο μημοναχος πε τηχπε λααυ νζγαν ναϋ** 'the treasure (**π-αζο**) of the monk (**μ-π-μοναχος**) (is) not to acquire (**τη-χπε**) any (**λααυ**) property (**ν-ζγαν**) for himself (**να-ϋ**)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), **[ζωστε] ντ[ετ]η [λααυ] ε[ψωμ]δωμ ε[ναζ]η[ε]ϋ εβολ [ζν να]δix** 'so that (**ζωστε**) nobody (**λααυ**) will be able (**ντε-τη ... εψ-δωμ**) to save himself (**ε-ναζηε-ϋ**) from (**εβολ ζν**) my hands (**να-δix**)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

9.4.1.1 Two different clausal positions

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary **τι** occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker **ψαν** and before the epistemic modal verb (**ε**)ψ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. **ενψαντηζαρεζ δε πτοπιος ναψωϋ** 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (**ε-ν-ψαν-τι-ζαρεζ**), the place (**π-τοπιος**) will be deserted (**να-ψωϋ**)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker **ψαν** and the negative auxiliary **τι** to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker **ερε** and preceding the subject nominal: **ερε NP_{subject} ψαν-τι → ερ-ψαν-τι NP_{subject}**, e.g. **ερψαντη πρωμε αποτασε νενκα νιμ ετζη πκοσμοϋ νqναψωψπε αν ημοναχος** 'if a man (**π-ρωμε**) does not give up (**ερ-ψαν-τι ... αποτασε**) everything (**ν-ενκα νιμ**) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (**ετ-ζη**)) the world (**π-κοσμοϋ**), he will not (**αν**) be able to become (**ν-ϋ-να-ψ-ωψπε**) a monk (**μ-μοναχος**)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

9.4.1.2 Negative conjugation patterns with **τι**

The negative auxiliary verb **τι** has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal **ντερε-ϋ-τι-σωτη**

e.g. **επζαε δε ντερεϋτμεψωδωμ νοι πεδρακων εταγο επεσχη νναντωνιος** (for **ναντωνιος**) **αρωψντ εροϋ ημιν ημοϋ (...)** 'finally

(ε-π-2αε), *when* the dragon (πε-δρακων) *had not been able* (ντερε-q-τμ-εψ-δμδον) to cast (ε-ταγο) down (επεσχη) Antony (μν-αντωνιος) he became angry (α-q-δωντ) about himself (ερο-q-μμιν μιο-q)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψαντε-q-τμ-σωτμ

e.g. αγω αγζιογε νσωου ψαντογτηκα αααυ επαζου ετρεφουχαι 'and (αγω) they smote (α-γ-ζιογε) them (νσω-ου) until they did not leave (ψαντ-ου-τμ-κα) anyone (αααυ) behind (επαζου) to survive (ε-τρε-q-ουχαι)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ε-q-ψαν-τμ-σωτμ and the Negative Relative Present ε-q-τμ-σωτμ 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ενψαντημαρεζ δε πτοπος ναψωq 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ε-ν-ψαν-τμ-μαρεζ), the place (π-τοπος) will be deserted (να-ψωq)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. εψωπε ετετνημδερη ειρε ηπαι ζν ουμου τετνημου (read τετν-να-μου) 'if you do not hasten (ε-τετν-τμ-δερη) to do (ε-ειρε) this (η-παι), you will surely die (lit. in (ζν) a dying (ου-μου) you will die (τετν-να-μου))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive ν-q-τμ-σωτμ

e.g. ντετμ πζηκε ζωωq κωτε ζμ πεqηι η ζν νετζιτογωq ψαντqζε εουνοδ νταιο 'and would the poor (man) (π-ζηκε), in his turn (ζωω-q), not seek (ντε-τμ ... κωτε), in (ζμ) his (own) house (πεq-ηι) or (η) in (ζν) (that) of his neighbours (ν-ετ-ζιτογω-q) until he finds (ψαντ-q-ζε) a great (ε-ου-νοδ) gift (ν-ταιο)' (Eud. 72:13-14), νιμ πε πρωμε εφναδωτ νσα πεqψηρε εφβηκ νεμτω νqτμβονθει εροq 'who (νιμ) (is) the man (π-ρωμε) who will watch (ε-q-να-δωτ) his son (πεq-ψηρε) drowning (lit. go (ε-q-βηκ) to the depths (ν-εμτω)) and would not help (ν-q-τμ-βονθει) him (ερο-q)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary τμ is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. α πενειωτ παζωμ ζων ετοοτν ετηρ παι 'our father (πεν-ειωτ) Pachôm ordered us (ετοοτ-ν) not to do (ε-τμ-ρ) this (παι)' (V. Pach. 139:31), μωνων (for μονον) ζαρεζ εροκ ετηρ νοβε επνουτε νταqταμιοκ 'but (μωνων) be careful (ζαρεζ) not to sin (lit. commit (ε-τμ-ρ) sin (νοβε)) against the God (ε-π-νουτε) who has created you (ντ-α-q-ταμιο-κ)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied. §9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer ν- and the negation adverb αν 'not'. §9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The μπαι(ε)-q-σωτμ pattern carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out. §9.4.3

Exercises

9.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle *n-*.
 - The negation adverb *an* 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
 - Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
 - The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying *alla* ('BUT')-clause.
 - The Negative Third Future *nne-q-cwtm* 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
 - tm*-negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

9.2 Double negation

- A. The placement of the negation adverb *an* 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker *an* in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.
- (1) *ncenaw* __ *smom* __ *ebel neichoy exn iakwb* 'they will not (*an*) be able (*n-cg-na-ew-smom*) to nullify (*e-bel*) these blessings (*nei-choy*) upon (*exn*) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

- (2) *ntna2ep* __ *allay epwtm* __ 'I will not (*an*) hide (*n-t-na-2ep*) anything (*allay*) from you (*epw-tm*)' (Abbaton 231:19)
- (3) *alla nc2ape2* __ *eptebo* __ *ntmntmonaxh* 'but (*alla*) she (the possessed girl) does not (*an*) watch (*n-c-2ape2*) the purity (*e-p-tebo*) of the monastic life-style (*n-t-mnt-monaxh*)' (V. Pach. 141:13-14)
- (4) *anok de ntallo* __ *eimowse* __ *nmmtm wa e2rai etcunteia* (for *etcunteia*) *mpaiwn* 'I (*anok*) will not (*an*) cease (*n-t-na-lo*) walking (*e-i-mowse*) with you (*nmmtm-tm*) until (*wa e2rai*) the completion (*e-t-cunteia*) of this era (*n-pai-aiwn*)' (Abbaton 230:13-15)
- B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.
- (1) *nqnaew twoun an za neacanoc* (KHML II 34:6-7)
- (3) *ntcooun an xe nta oy wope mmoc* (Hil. 7:30-31)
- (4) *ntnanaq an epooyein pantoywine ncwi* (Test. Is. 230:15)
- (5) *tnnacwth ncwk an* (V. Pach. 5:17)

9.3 Negative tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
<i>nnacwth</i>		
<i>mpcwth</i>		
<i>nempatoycwth</i>		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
ΜΠΕΦΘΕΝ ΟΕΙΚ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
ΝΝΕΚΟΥΟΜΙ	(AP Chaine no. 20, 4:16)
ΝΕΜΕΦΤΩΒΕ ΝΑΥ	(V. Pach. 5:18)
ΝΦΤΜΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
ΗΠΡΡ ΖΟΤΕ	(Eud. 50:21)
ΕΤΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- (1) ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΤΟΜ ΕΤΕ[ΤΝ]Ρ ΣΝΑΥ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) ___ on a mat (ε-τομ) with the two of you (ε-τετν-ρ σναυ)' (praec. Pach. 95)
- (2) ΝΝΕΤΝΧΙ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΣΑ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΙΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΙϚ '___ (it) (the garbage) to any (ε-λλαυ) place (ν-τοπος) (else) than (νσα) to the place (π-τοπος) of that Nazarene (μ-πι-ναζωραιος) Jesus (ιϚ)' (Eud. 52:27-28)
- (3) ΕΦΦΩΡΕΙ ΝΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ (for ΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ) ΕΒΟΟΥΝΕ (read ΝΒΟΟΥΝΕ) ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΤΗΡΦ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΜΟΥ ΜΑΤΕ 'he was wearing (ε-φωρει) a garment (νν-ου-ψτην) of sackcloth (ν-βουυνε) all (τηρ-φ) his time (μ-πεφ-ουοειψ) ___ anything (λλαυ) but (νσα) bread (οεικ) and (ζι) salt (ζμου) alone (ματε)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

- (4) ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΦΤΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑΦ ΜΗ ΤΕΦΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΖΩΒ 'as for the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antoni) donated (α-φ-χαριζε) them (μμο-ου) to the people (ν-ν-ρωμε) of his village (μ-πεφ-τμε) so that (χεκας) ___ him (να-φ) and (μη) his sister (τεφωνε) in (ζν) any respect (λλαυ ν-ζωβ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΑΥΣΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΦΑ ΑΠΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ (read ΑΠΑ ΛΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ) ΝΟΙ^a ΦΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΑΛΟ. ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΟΥΝΤΑ^b ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΦΧΗΨ.^c ΠΕΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ^d ΤΑΡΙΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΚΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΩΝΗ.^e ΝΤΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ (for ΝΤΣΡΟΦΤ) ΑΝ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΝΑΦ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤ^f ΠΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΟΥ^g ΧΕ ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΤΑΡΙΚΑ ΟΥΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΚΟΙΧ. ΑΦΟΥΨΒ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΑΥΧΝΟΥΦ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ^h ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΣΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΣΠΩΠΚ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΜΠΕΚΟΥΨ ΕΛΑΣ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΥΠΕΙⁱ ΖΩΣ^j ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ ΑΝ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΤΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΕΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΥΨ ΠΗ^k ΝΑΣΩΛΠ ΜΠΝΟΥΖ^l ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΛΑΛΑ ΛΙΤΟΥΝΕΣ ΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΩΚΗ^m ΜΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΛΥΠΕΙ (for ΟΥΛΥΠΗ) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. ΝΟΙ subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ΟΥΝΤΑ-φ 'he had' c. ε-φ-χηψ 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. ΑΒΩ 'drag-net' e. ΜΩΝΗ 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. π-ετε-ουντ-φ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. ΕΘΟΟΥ (< ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ 'apart, in private' i. ΑΥΠΕΙ 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ΖΩΣ 'since' k. ΠΗ 'that one' (see above, section

4.1.1 of Unit 4) I. $\sigma\omega\lambda\pi$ $\mu\pi\iota\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$ 'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off ($\sigma\omega\lambda\pi$) the rope ($\mu\pi\iota\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$))' m. $\omega\kappa\mu$ 'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

(1) $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ (for $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$) $\omicron\mu$ $\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\psi\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$ 'and ($\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) also ($\omicron\mu$) *no one* ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) *shall shave* ($\eta\eta\epsilon$... $\psi\epsilon$) *anyone* ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) sitting ($\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$)' (praec. Pach. 97).

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

(2) $\mu\epsilon\gamma\rho$ $\mu\eta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\rho\omega$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$ $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ '*they* (the hermits) *usually do not even* ($\rho\omega$) *remember* (lit. make ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho$) thought ($\mu\eta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)) that ($\chi\epsilon$) a world ($\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$) exists ($\omicron\gamma\eta$... $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V-S and V-S-O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO_{SU} 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S-V-O)	<p>ΜΝΗΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΥ Α ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ Τ ΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΕΩ 'after (ΜΝΗΝΑ) five (ΤΟΥ) days (ΝΖΟΥΥ) <u>the deacon</u> (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ) went (lit. gave (Α-Τ-Τ) his way (ΠΕΚ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΕ) priest (Ε-ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Απα Παμβδ' (Hil. 5:31-32)</p>
LEFT-DISLOCATION (TOPIC _{SU} -PRO _{SU} -V-O)	<p>ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ ΑΤΤ ΠΕ[Υ]ΟΥΟΙ '(as for) <u>Andrew</u>, <u>he</u> went forth (lit. gave (Α-Τ-Τ) his way (ΠΕΚ-ΟΥΟΙ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153)</p>
SUBJECT INVERSION (V-PRO _{SU} -O-S)	<p>ΕΤΕΙ ΕΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΑΤΤ ΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΛΛΟ (...) 'when (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟΣ), <u>a</u> <u>venerable</u> (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) <u>priest</u> (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) came (lit. gave (Α-Τ-Τ) his way (ΠΕΚ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) (...) (Abbatôn 228:13-14)</p>

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic,

representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

10.1.1 S-V-O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S-V-O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

a) Precedence relations

S-V-O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. Α ΟΥΚΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'a brother (ΟΥ-ΚΟΝ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion (...) (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
Α PERFECT	ΟΥ-ΚΟΝ a brother	ΧΝΕ ask	ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ Apa Sarapion

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S-V-O surface order

b) *Markedness*

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S-V-O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker *νοι*. Compare, then: (S-V-O) *α νηλλο χοος χε (...)* 'the senior (monks) (N-2λλο) said (α ... χοο-с) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC_{SU}-PRO_{SU}-V-O) *ντοϛ ον λϛχοος χε (...)* '(as for) him (Apa Isaac) (ντοϛ), he also (ον) said (α-ϛ-χοο-с) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V-PRO_{SU}-O-S) *αϛχοος νοι νενειοτε ετβε ογα χε (...)* 'Our fathers (NEN-ειοτε) said (α-ϛ-χοο-с) about (ετβε) someone (ογα) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) *Pragmatically neutral contexts*

S-V-O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. *α τεϛϛωνε δε ωλ ννεϛκεεε 'his* (Apa Mcna's) *sister* (τεϛ-ϛωνε) gathered (α ... ωλ) his bones (N-νεϛ-κεεε)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1-2), *πχοεic να βει* (for *ϛι*) *μνοϛνοο* (for *νοϛνοο*) *νεϛcia* *2η πεκhi* *2η πε2οοϛ* *μπωα* 'the Lord (π-χοεic) will require (να-βει) a big (NN-οϛ-νοο) sacrifice (N-εϛcia) from (2η) your house (πεκ-hi) on (2η) the day (πε-2οοϛ) of the feast (μ-π-ωα)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), *2η τεϛνοϛ δε α πεϛλλαс* *με2 ρωϛ λϛϛϛντ λϛμοϛ* 'suddenly (2η τεϛνοϛ), his (Diocletian's) tongue (πεϛ-λλαс) filled (α ... με2) his mouth (ρω-ϛ), he was eaten by (lit. he became (α-ϛ-ρ)) worms (ϛντ) (and) died (α-ϛ-μοϛ)' (Eud. 38:27).

S-V-O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or

truisms, e.g. *ωαρε τειβνε ταϛε μντсnoοϛс* *ηλοοϛ* *νβννε* *κατα* *ρομπε* 'this date-palm (τειβ-ννε) yields (ωαρε ... ταϛε) twelve (μντ-сnoοϛс) bunches (η-λοοϛ) of dates (ν-βννε) per (κατα) year (ρομπε)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), *νερε διοκhi* † *ναϛ η2εηδωρον* *τερομπε* *ετβε* *πεοοϛ* *ννεϛνοϛτε* 'Diocletian (διοκhi) gave (νερε ... †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (N-2εη-δωρον) annually (τε-ρομπε) for (ετβε) the glorification (π-εοοϛ) of their gods (N-νεϛ-νοϛτε)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S-V-O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. *ερωαν ογα ετι* (read *αιτει*) *μμοκ* *νοϛ2ωβ* (...) 'if anyone (ογα) asks (ερωαν ... ετι) you (μμο-κ) something (N-οϛ-2ωβ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 161, 36:14), *α οϛον 2η νετοϛααε ρ 2ηε* *η2οοϛ* *νατοϛωμ* *νατсω* 'one (οϛον) of (2η) the holy ones (N-ετοϛααε) spent (α ... ρ) forty (2ηε) days (N-2οοϛ) without eating (N-ατ-οϛωμ) (and) drinking (N-ατ-сω)' (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 *Constituent order in the postverbal domain*

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist "scrambling", i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 *The canonical V > DO > IO > Adv order*

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. *сοϛν* *ππετηανοϛϛ* *μн* *ππεθooϛ* 'to know (сοϛν) what is good (π-π-ετ-ηανοϛ-ϛ) and (μн) what is bad (ππεθooϛ < π-π-ετ-2οοϛ)' (Abbatōn 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. *και γαρ* *τετηсooϛν* *ηтаαηαстроφhi* *τηρс* 'since (και γαρ) you know (τετη-сooϛν) my entire (τηρ-с) mode of life (N-η-αηαстроφhi)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), *τετηсooϛν* *γαρ* *χε* *μειωειηε* (for *μειωηε*) *ηса* *παηтон* 'since (γαρ) you know (τετη-сooϛν) [that] (χε) I did not

look (ΜΕ-Ι-ΨΕΙΝΕ) for (ΝΑ) my own peace (ΠΑ-ΜΤΟΝ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like † 'to give' and χαριζε 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the transferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ψαρε πνουτε † ουζμοτ ννετναπιστευε 'God (π-νουτε) will grant (ψαρε ... †) a favour (ουζ-μοτ) to those who will believe (ν-ν-ετ-να-πιστευε)' (Test. Is. 228:11), qnaχαριζε mπταλδο νταψερε ζιτν νετνψαλα ναcνη 'he (the Lord) will grant (q-να-χαριζε) healing (m-π-ταλδο) to my daughter (ν-τα-ψερε) through (ζιτν) your prayers (νετν-ψαλα), my brothers (να-cνη)' (Hil. 8:12-13), μαρεq† ννουq ναν 'he should give (μαρε-q-†) us (να-ν) what is his (ννου-q)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. αψ αqπωψ εβολ ννεqοιx εζραι επινουτε ζν ουριμε ντεγψη τηpc xιν ρουζε ψα ζτοογε 'and (αψ) he (Pachôm) lifted (α-q-πωψ) his hands (ν-νεq-οιx) up (εζραι) to God (ε-π-νουτε) weeping (ζν ουριμε) the entire (τηp-c) night (ν-τε-γψη) from (xιν) evening (ρουζε) till (ψα) dawn (ζτοογε)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP_{DO}) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scrambled" order of dative shift constructions is V_{AS} > DAT-CL > PP_{DO} order, e.g. αq† ναc νουρι ζιτογωq mπpnc ντεκκαχια 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (α-q-†) her (Hilaria) (να-c) a cell (ν-ου-ρι) next to him (ζιτογω-q), south (m-π-ρnc) of the church (ν-τ-εκκαχια)' (Hil 6:15), επιζε δε αq† ναq ζωωq νζντνζ (for νζντνζ) 'finally (ε-π-ζε), they gave (α-γ-†) him (να-q) wings (ν-ζεν-τνζ), too (ζωω-q)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), νγψαλα εχωc ψαντε πχοεic χαριζε ναc mπταλδο

'and you shall pray (ν-γ-ψαλα) on her behalf (εχω-c) until the Lord (π-χοεic) will grant (ψαντε ... χαριζε) her (να-c) healing (m-π-ταλδο)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. αqκατεχε ννεcνηζ ζατηq ψομητ νεβοτ ετβε τεqψερε 'he (the king) kept (α-q-κατεχε) the brothers (ν-νε-cνηζ) with him (ζατη-q) (for) three (ψομητ) months (ν-εβοτ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεq-ψερε)' (Hil. 12:8-9), α κεογα δε ον εινε mπεqψηρε ψαροq 'somebody else (κε-ογα) brought (α ... εινε) his son (m-πεq-ψηρε) to him (ψαρο-q)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. ανδρεαc δε αq† πε[q]ογοι '[TOPIC Andrew (ανδρεαc δε), [COMMENT he went forth (lit. he gave (α-q-†) his way (πεq-ογοι)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclausal topic and the intraclausal resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ (As for <i>Andrew</i>)	Α- PERFECT	-Γ- <i>he</i>	† give	ΠΕΡ-ΟΥΟΙ his way



FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker ΔΕ is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

a) Embedded left-dislocation

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. ΑΥΘ ΝΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝCΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝCΕCΙ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΙ20ΟΥ ΠΑΙ 'and (ΑΥΘ) (concerning) *the churches* (Ν-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ) they shall rebuild *them* (Ν-CΕ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) and celebrate (Ν-CΕ-CΙ) in *them* (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) on (ΖΗ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙ-20ΟΥ)' (Eud. 40:9-10), ΑΥΘ ΠΟΜΠΩΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΟΜΠΩΙΝΕ) ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΑCΨΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΝCΟΟΥΖC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC 'and (ΑΥΘ) *that* (ΕΤ-ΜΗΑΥ) *affliction* (Π-ΘΗ-Π-ΨΕΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-Γ-ΨΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-CΟΟΥΖC) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) through (ΖΗ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕΖ-CΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Η-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12), ΑΛΛΑ ΠΚΕΑΡΙΟC ΗΠΑΤΕCΨΕΚ ΟΥΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΓΜΟΥ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *also Arios* (Π-ΚΕ-ΑΡΙΟC) died (Α-Γ-ΜΟΥ) before finishing (ΗΠΑΤΕ-Γ-ΨΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) one year (ΟΥ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (as a bishop)' (KHML II 50:6-7), ΞΕΚΑC ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ) ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΙΝΟC ΝΖΙΝΗC 'so *that* (ΞΕΚΑC), (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned) you would awake (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΕΖCΕ) *us* (ΗΜΟ-Ν) from (ΖΗ) the deep (Π-ΝΟC) sleep (Ν-ΖΙΝΗC)' (Zen. 199:17-18).

b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΙΤΥΗ ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) blocked (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΗ) solidly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΜΗΝCΩC ΕΙC ΖΗΒΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΨΕΤ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'after that (ΜΗΝCΩ-C) *blind people* (ΖΗ-ΒΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking for (Ε-Υ-ΨΕΤ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML I 6:11), ΤΨΕΡΕ ΔΕ ΨΗΗ ΝΕCΖΕΝ (for ΝΕCΖΗ) ΑΜΗΤΨΗΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'the *little* (ΨΗΗ) *girl* (Τ-ΨΕΡΕ) was (ΝΕ-C-ΖΕΝ) about eighteen (Α-ΜΗΤ-ΨΗΗΝΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25), ΠΑΤΕΛΟC ΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΓΟΥ[Ο]ΝΖC ΕΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC 'the *angel* (Π-ΑΤΕΛΟC) of the Lord (Η-Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-Γ-ΟΥΟΝΖ-C) to the archbishop (Ε-Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕCΤΨΕC ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ ΕΤΗΕ ΜΜΟC ΖΗ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ 'the *Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) also (ΟΝ) encourages (Ε-Γ-ΨΕC) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ) who loves (ΕΤ-ΜΕ) him (ΜΜΟ-C) through (ΖΗ) the Gospel (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ΠΕΝΤΑΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟC ΑΙΑΑC 'what I had *thought* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of (ΕΡΟ-C) I have done (*it*) (Α-Ι-ΑΑ-C)' (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΝΖΑΚ ΨΑΥ† ΚΛΟΗ ΕΧΩC ΖΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'the *prudent* (Ν-ΖΑΚ) *monk* (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) is given (lit. they give (ΨΑ-Υ-†)) a crown (ΚΛΟΗ) on *him* (ΕΧΩ-C) on (ΖΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΩ[ΝΕ] ΖΗ ΤΕCΑΠΕ 'as for *this* (woman) (ΤΑΙ), (there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a severe (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) illness (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ) in (ΖΗ) *her* head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

c) Unbounded dependencies

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ΠΑΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΔΕ ΑΓΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΨ ΑΓΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤC ΜΠΝΟΜΙCΜΑ ΑΥΟΥΨΗ ΗΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΠΕ20ΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the *deacon* (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) [s1 fulfilled (Α-Γ-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria's) wish (Μ-ΠΕC-ΟΥΨΗ)], '[s2 took (Α-Γ-ΧΙ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (Η-Π-ΝΟΜΙCΜΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-C)], '[s3 (and) they atc (Α-Υ-ΟΥΨΗ)

together (HN NEY-EPHY) on that (ETMHAY) day (H-Π-200Y) (Hil. 5:1-4), ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΦΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΦΜΟΩΨΕ HN ΠΕQ2M2AA ΨΑΝΤΕQΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠ2ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(as for) *Eutropius*, [s1 he was very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) happy (Α-Q-ΡΑΨΕ)] [s2 (and) travelled (Α-Q-ΜΟΩΨΕ) with (HN) his servant (ΠΕQ-2M2AA)] [s3 until *he* reached (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Q-ΒΩΚ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (H-Π-2ΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΗΝΑΚΑΤΗΥΤΝ ΑΝ ΕΟΨΩΝ (read ΕΟΨΩΝ) ΜΜΟΣ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as far as) *this city* (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (is) concerned', [s1 we will not (ΑΝ) allow you (Ν-ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ-ΤΗΥΤΝ)] [s2 to open (Ε-ΟΨΩΝ) *it* (ΗΜΟ-С)]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕQΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΥ '[Topic1 (as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (rules) (ΝΑΙ)], [Topic2 *he who will neglect* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (Ε-Q-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) punishment (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΥΑΑΝ '[Topic1 (as for) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ)] [Topic2 *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *our sins* (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΟΠΤ-Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕQСОРН 2N ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑQ 2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤQ ΧΕ (...) 'a (certain) *old* (ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΟ) *hermit* (Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) got lost (Ε-Q-СОРН) in (2N) the desert (Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Q) to himself (2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤ-Q) that (ΧΕ) (...) (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝCΟΦΟΣ ΜΕQΝΕΧ [ΨΑΧΕ] ΝΙМ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑQ† 2ΤΗQ Ε[ΝΕΤCΩ]ΤΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'a *wise* (Ν-СΟΦΟΣ) *man* (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) does not throw (ΜΕ-Q-ΝΕΧ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) every (ΝΙМ) word (ΨΑΧΕ) like that (2ΙΝΑΙ) but (ΑΛΛΑ) focuses (ΨΑ-Q-†) his attention (2ΤΗ-Q) towards those who listen (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-СΩΤΗ) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), CОН CΝΑΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΥ2ΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'two (CΝΑΥ) *brothers* (CОН ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ) went (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) to a monastery (Ε-Υ-2ΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙМ ΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕQΤΟΠΟΣ ΨΑΥΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΤΑΛΔΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *every* (ΝΙМ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ) who will go (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to his (Απα Μena's) shrine (Ε-ΠΕQ-ΤΟΠΟΣ) will obtain (ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΑΤΕ) recovery (H-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative ΕΙC 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC [ΑQO]ΥΩΝ2 ΝΑQ ΕΒΟΛ 'behold (ΕΙC), *an angel* (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-Q-ΟΥΩΝ2) to him (ΝΑ-Q)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑQΕΙ ΜΗ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΥΟΥΨ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (ΕΙC), *a knight* (ΟΥ-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Q-ΕΙ) together with (ΜΗ) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨΩ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extracausal topic does not correspond to any placeholding expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ΤΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΗΝΗCΤΕΙΑ ΕQΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ 2Η ΠΕQΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ 2Η ΠΗΙ ΜΠΕQΨΒΗΡ '(as for) *the instruction* (Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ) of fast (Ν-Τ-ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Q-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (2Η) his house (ΠΕQ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (2Η) his colleagues' (H-ΠΕQ-ΨΒΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition *εἰς* 'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic, e.g. *εἰς* π[α] νοῦ[ω]μ Δε ννε ρωμε ψαχε εὑοῦωμ 21 ροῦζε 'as for (*εἰς*) the kneading (N-ΟΥΩμ) place (π-μα), no one (ρωμε) shall speak (ννε ... ψαχε) when they are kneading (ε-γ-ΟΥΩμ) at (21) night (ροῦζε)' (praec. Pach. 116), *εἰς* νεχη Δε ννε λαλ ννεεϛ κα χοι εβολ 21 τεμρω λxm πρωμε ντσοοϛ (...)' 'as for (*εἰς*) the ships (N-εχη), no (λαλ) sailor (N-νεεϛ) shall set loose (ννε ... κα εβολ) a ship (χοι) at (21) the landing stage (τεμρω) without the man (i.e. the prior) (π-ρωμε) of the congregation (N-τ-σοοϛ)' (praec. Pach. 118).

c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. α νερωμε Δε μπμα ετμμλ αγοεζ πωμα μπμακαριος απα μμνα [επες]ητ 2μ πδαμοϛ 'the people (Nε-ρωμε) of that (ετμμλ) place (μ-π-μα) let (α ... α-γ-ογεζ) the body (π-ωμα) of the blessed (μ-π-μακαριος) Apa Mena down (επεςητ) from (2μ) the camel (π-δαμοϛ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), αῶ ψαρε ποϛα ποϛα μμοοϛ ψαϛαιεθανε κατa τεϛφϛις 'and (αῶ) each one (π-οϛα π-οϛα) of them (μμο-οϛ) perceives (ψαρε ... ψα-ϛ-αιεθανε) according to (κατa) his nature (τεϛφϛις)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), αῶ νερε ποϛοειν νεϛο μμνε μινε πε 'and (αῶ) the light (π-οϛοειν) was (νερε ... νε-ϛ-ο) of diverse sorts (μ-μινε μινε)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. αῶ εἰθεωρει μμοοϛ μν νεϛκαρπος εἰς ϛτοοϛ νωηρε ψμ λγει μπογε 'and (αῶ) while I was looking (ε-ι-θεωρει) at them (the trees) (μμο-οϛ) and (μν) their fruits (νεϛ-καρπος), look (εἰς), four (ϛτοοϛ) young (ψμ) fellows (N-ωηρε) came (α-γ-ει) from a distance (μ-π-ογε)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), αϛωπε Δε μπεζοοϛ ντκϛριακη α πρπο βωκ ετϛναϛις μν τρρω μν τεϛψερε ϛεντε τμακαρια Δε 2λλαρια αϛϛι ννεϛβαλ ε2ραι ετπε εϛχω μμοϛ χε (...) 'it happened (α-ϛ-ωπε Δε) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (μ-πε-ζοοϛ) of Sunday (N-τ-κϛριακη)) (that) the king (π-ρπο) went (α ... βωκ) to the Eucharist (ε-τ-ϛναϛις) together with (μν) the queen (τ-ρρω) and (μν) his two (ϛεντε) daughters (τεϛψερε). The blessed (τ-μακαρια) Hilaria (2λλαρια) looked (lit. carried (α-ϛ-ϛι) her eyes (N-νεϛ-βαλ)) up (ε2ραι) to heaven (ε-τ-πε) and said (ε-ϛ-χω μμοϛ) that (χε(...))' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. α 2οινε εἰ νοϛοειϛ 2ν θεβαις ψα οϛ2λλο εϛνταϛ μμλ νοϛα εϛο νλαμωνιον χεκαϛ εϛεταλδοϛ π2λλο Δε ντεροϛκωρϛ εροϛ μματε πεχαϛ μπλαμων χε (...) 'some people (2οινε) came (α ... εἰ) once (N-οϛοειϛ) from (2ν) the Thebais (θεβαις) to (ψα) an old monk (οϛ-2λλο) and they had (ε-ντα-γ) someone (N-οϛα) (with them) who was possessed (ε-ϛ-ο) by a demon (N-λαμωνιον) in order that (χεκα-ϛ) he would heal him (ε-ϛ-ε-ταλδο-ϛ). The old monk (π-2λλο), when they beseeched (ντερ-οϛ-κωρϛ) him (ερο-ϛ) very much (μματε) said (πεχα-ϛ) to the demon (μ-π-λαμων) that (χε (...))' (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12).

b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙΣΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΛΦΟΥΩΣ
 ΗΝΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΗΑ ΜΗΝΤΑΕΒΗΣ 'but when this one (ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ) (Zênô)
 had occupied (lit. had sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΖΜΟΟΣ) on (ΖΙΣΗ)) the
 throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ), he
 annulled (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΣΦ) the sinful (Η-ΜΗΝΤ-ΑΕΒΗΣ) ordinances
 (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΗΑ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΝΗΥ ΦΑΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ
 ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΤΗΕ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ '(as for) him (Pachôm)
 (ΝΤΟΦ), occasionally people (ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ) came (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΗΥ) to him
 (ΦΑΡΟ-Φ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the villages (Ν-ΤΗΕ) in the neighbourhood
 (ΕΤ-Η-ΠΕΦ-ΚΩΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes.
 The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two
 active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g.
 ΠΧΑΧΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΖΕΝΗΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΧΑΖΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΦΑΦΒΟΟΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΨΛΗ 'the enemy (Π-ΧΑΧΕ)
 (i.e. the devil) insinuated (Ε-Φ-ΝΟΥΧΕ) filthy (Ε-Υ-ΧΑΖΗ) thoughts
 (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΗΕΕΥΕ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ). Anthony, on his part (ΖΩΩ-Φ),
 (managed to) repel them (ΦΑ-Φ-ΒΟΟΡ-ΟΥ) through (ΖΙΤΗ) prayers
 (ΝΕ-ΨΛΗ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ΖΗ [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΒΩ ΔΕ [ΕΙC] ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ
 ΜΗΝΑ ΛΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΦ [ΕΧ]Ω[Φ] ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟ[Ρ]ΗΑ 'when (ΖΗ) he dozed off
 (Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΒΩ) look (ΕΙC), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna stood
 (Α-Φ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Φ) before him (ΕΧΩ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)
 (Mēna, Mir. 12a:2-7), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the former
 (ΝΑΙ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom
 (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ) from the latter (Numerian) (Η-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Mēna,
 Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to
 avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument
 position, e.g. ΠΡΩΗΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ † [ΝΑ]Φ ΝΝΕΦ[ΒΑ]ΜΟΥΛ
 [ΝΕΟ]ΥΝΤΑΦ [ΗΜΑΥ] ΝΟΥΔΑΜΑΥΕ [ΝΑC]ΡΗΝ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΗΕ) to
 whom (ΝΑ-Φ) Apa Mēna had given (ΝΤ-Α ... †) his camels
 (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΔΑΜΟΥΛ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a batten (Ν-ΑCΡΗΝ) she-camel
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΔΑΜΑΥΕ)' (Mēna, Mir. 10b:10-14), ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ

ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΝΤΗΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he who will come (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) to believe
 (Ε-Φ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΜΗ)
 his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ), he will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) heir
 (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ) to God's (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)
 (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-
 taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g.
 ΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΑCΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΠΕΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ
 ΕCΧΩ ΜΗΟΣ ΧΕ †ΟΥΨ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΚΑΛΤ ΜΗΟΝΑΧΟΣ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ
 ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑC ΧΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΨΟΜ ΜΗΟΚ ΕΩ
 ΖΑΘΗΝ (...) ΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΑCΟΥΨΦ (for ΑCΟΥΨΦ)
 ΠΕΧΑC ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΠΗΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ
 ΔΕ ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΕΕΡΕ 'the blessed
 (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) Hilaria (ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ) spoke (Α-C-ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the
 priest (ΠΕ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Apa Pambô, saying (Ε-C-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-C) »My
 Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (†-ΟΥΨ) you to make me (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-Α-Λ-Τ) a
 monk (Η-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΔΕ) said
 (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to her (ΝΑ-C) »My son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is
 no (ΜΗ) possibility (ΨΟΜ) for you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)) to stay (Ε-Ω) with us
 (ΖΑΘΗ-Ν) (...)». The blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) virgin (Η-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)
 answered (Α-C-ΟΥΨΦ) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-C) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I
 have come (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΗ-ΜΑ) with (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) my
 heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΔΕ) was impressed
 (Α-Φ-Ρ ΨΠΗΡΕ) by the speech (Ν-Τ-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ) of the little (Ν-Τ-ΚΟΥΙ)
 girl (Ν-ΨΕΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for
 instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the
 main storyline, e.g. ΑΦCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ Ζ[ΡΑΙ]
 ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ †[ΟΥΨ] ΖΩ ΕΒΩΚ [ΕΠ]ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ [ΜΗ]ΝΑ ΝΤ[Α]ΨΛΗ
 (...) ΑΡΗΥ ΦΝΑΕΡ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΦΙ ΗΜΑΒ ΝΨΕ
 ΝΝΟΜΙCΗΑ ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΜΟΨΕ ΜΑΥΛΑΦ (...) 'he (the rich
 Alexandrian) heard (Α-Φ-CΩΤΗ) of the wonders (Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) of Apa
Mēna (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) »I, too (ΖΩ), want

(τ-οὔωψ) to go (ε-εωκ) to the shrine (ε-π-τοπος) of Apa Mēna and pray (ντα-ψαηα) (...). Maybe (αρηγ) he will remember me (lit. will make (q-να-ερ) my remembrance (πα-μεεγε))«. He (ντοq) stood up (α-q-τωοῦν), took (α-q-qi) three thousand (η-μααβ ν-ψε) *solidi* (ν-νομισμα) and went (α-q-ει) out (εβολ), travelling (α-q-μοοψε) (all) by himself (μαγαα-q)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), ANON ΔΕ ΖΩΩΝ [μαρενσπο]γδαζε ερ αναq μηνοῦτε ΖΙΤΝ ΖΗΠΡΑΞΙC (for ΖΕΝΠΡΑΞΙC) ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ 'let us (ANON ΔΕ), in our turn (ζωω-ν), be zealous (μαρε-ν-σπογδαζε) to please (ε-ρ ανα-q) God (η-π-νοῦτε) through (ΖΙΤΝ) good (ε-νανου-ου) deeds (ΖΗΠΡΑΞΙC)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. παειωτ ετβε ου ανοκ παζητ ναωτ 'My father (πα-ειωτ), why (ετβε ου) is, (as far as) I (ανοκ) (am concerned), my heart (πα-ζητ) (so) bold (ναωτ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. ANON ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΓΑΑΝ '(as for) us (ANON ΔΕ)] because of (ετβε) our sins (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ), let us lock up ourselves (μαρ-ν-οιπ-ν ΕΖΟΥΝ) alone (μαγαα-ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: νογοειω νιμ νεφογωψ αν εχι εοογ εβολ ΖΙΤΝ ηρωμε 'at no (αν) time (νιμ ν-ογοειω) did he (Pachôm) want (νε-q-ογωψ) to be praised (lit. to get (ε-χι) praise (εοογ)) by (ΖΙΤΝ) people (ν-ρωμε)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. ετβε ου τεριμε νναγ νιμ 'why (ετβε ου) do you (woman) wcep (τε-ριμε) all (νιμ) the time (ν-ναγ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225,

65:22), ΖΑΖ ΔΕ ΝCΟΠ ψακκιν εγορη '(on) many (ΖΑΖ) occasions (ν-κοπ) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (ψα-κ-κιν) towards anger (ε-γ-ορη)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. ΖΩCΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΤΜΕ ΤΜΩΔΜΟΜ ΕΤΩΜΝΤ ΕΡΟQ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ 'such that (ΖΩCΤΕ) many (ΖΑΖ) who were in (ν-ετ-ζη) the village (π-τμε) could not (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΜ-Ω-ΔΜ-ΟΜ) meet (ε-ΤΩΜΝΤ) him (ερο-q) on many (ν-ΖΑΖ) occasions (ν-κοπ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. οΥΖΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΟΥ Α ΤΔΑΜΑΥΛΕ ΜΙCΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ ΝCΖΙΜΕ 'one day (ΟΥ-ΖΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΖΟΥ), the she-camel (τ-δαμαυλε) delivered (α ... ΜΙCΕ) a daughter (ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΡΕ Ν-CΖΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), ΖΝ ΟΥCΨΝΕ ΔΕ ΕC (for ΕΙC) ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟC ΑCΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'all of a sudden (ΖΝ ΟΥ-CΨΝΕ), the holy (π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Mercurius came (α-q-ει) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. ΜΠΕQΡΑCΤΕ ΑQΖΜΟΟC ΕΠΕΗΜΑ ΝΟΙ ΖΑΡΜΕΝΙΟC ΖΗ ΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'on the (lit. his) next day (ν-ΠΕQ-ΡΑCΤΕ) Armenius sat down (α-q-ΖΗΜΟΟC) on the tribune (ε-Π-ΕΗΜΑ) in (ΖΗ) the theatre (ΠΕ-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Α ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝCΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC [νε]2[ce] ννε2[io]με ΕΤΝΗΜΑC ΠΕΧΑC ΝΑΥ ΧΕ (...) '(at) dawn (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) before (ΖΑΘΗ) (sun)light (ν-Π-ΟΥΟΕΙΝ), the Samaritan (ν-CΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC) woman (τε-CΖΙΜΕ) woke up (α ... ΝΕ2CΕ) the women (ν-ΝΕ-ΖΙΟΜΕ) in her company (ΕΤ-ΝΗΜΑ-C) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-C) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) that (ΧΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

c) Topicalised adverbs

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as “as for”, they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. *κοι μεν ψαυονω εχμ πεω εψανοντι κοι δε ψαυονω εχμ ποεικ* ‘some time (κοι μεν) they (flies) will sit (ψα-υ-ονω) on (εχμ) honey (π-εω), if they can find it (ε-ψ-αν-οντι-κ), some other time (κοι δε) they will sit (ψα-υ-ονω) on (εχμ) bread (π-οεικ)’ (Sh. III 48:6-8), *αω εις σε νρομπε τωοπ ζν τιερνια* ‘and (αω), look (εις), for sixty (σε) years (ν-ρομπε) I have been living (τ-ωοπ) in (ζν) this desert (τι-ερνια)’ (Onnophr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like *μηνωω* ‘after that’ and *ετβε παι* ‘because of that’ have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. *μηνωω αρωωνη νακ [εωλ] νοι πζαγιος απα μηνα [ζν ογζορομα]* ‘after this (μηνωω-ς) the holy (π-ζαγιος) Apa Mēna revealed (himself) (α-κ-οωνη εωλ) to him (να-κ) in (ζν) a vision (ογ-ζορομα)’ (Mena, Mir. 32a:11-14), *ετβε παι εκεωπηε ζν νταρταρος ψα πεζοου μπζαπ* ‘because of (ετβε) this (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-ωπηε) in (ζν) the Tartaros (ν-ταρταρος) until (ψα) the day (πε-ζοου) of the Judgement (ν-π-ζαπ)’ (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O–S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle *νοι*. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like *ντερεκχε ναι δε νοι παγγελοσ (...)* ‘when the angel (π-αγγελοσ) had said (ντερεκ-χε) these (ναι) (words) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ντερε- TEMPORAL	-κ- <i>he</i>	χε say	ναι these	νοι FOCUS MARKER	π-αγγελοσ <i>the angel</i>

FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) *ακβωκ νοι ογcon ψα απα χιχωι επιτοογ ναπα αντωνιος* ‘a brother (ογ-con) came (α-κ-βωκ) to (ψα) Apa Čiĉdi in the monastery (ε-π-τοογ) of Apa Antony’ (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), *αγει εωιητ νοι ζνμοναχοσ* (for *zenmonaxoc*) *εωλ ζν κημε* ‘(there) came (α-γ-ει) to Shiēt (ε-ωιητ) monks (ζν-monaxoc) from (εωλ ζν) Egypt (κημε)’ (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) *μηνκα ζενκερογι νζοογ ακνηφε νοι πcon ετμμλ* ‘after (μηνκα) a few days (ν-ζοογ) more (ζεν-κε-ρογι) that (ετμμλ) (disobedient) brother (π-con) cooled down (α-κ-νηφε)’ (V. Pach. 140:30), *εψανειμε γαρ νοι νενταγναγ εροκ τιρογ σεναπιστευε εροκ* (Eud. 52:21-22) ‘because (γαρ) if all (τηρ-ογ) those (people) who saw (νε-ντ-α-γ-ναγ) him (Jesus Christ) (ερο-κ) come to know (ε-ψ-αν-ειμε) (about it), they will believe (σε-να-πιστευε) in him (ερο-κ)’ (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) *μπεκραπε ακζμοος επβηνα νοι ζαρμενιος ζν πεθεαδρον* ‘on the (lit. his) next day (μ-πεκ-ραπε) Armenius (ζαρμενιος) sat down (α-κ-ζμοος) on the tribune (ε-π-βηνα) in (ζν) the theatre (πε-θεαδρον)’ (KHML 1 76:8-9), (demonstratives) *ντεγνογ ακζροκ νοι παι εωλ ζν πεκδωντ* ‘suddenly (ντεγνογ) this one (the ill-tempered brother) (παι) calmed down (α-κ-ζροκ) from (εωλ ζν) his rage (πεκ-δωντ)’ (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) *αω νσει εζραι εχωογ νοι νεσμογ τιρογ ετχη* ‘and (αω) all (τηρ-ογ) the blessings (νε-σμογ) written down (ετ-χη) (in the Scriptures) will come (ν-σε-ει) upon them (εχω-ογ)’ (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) *ενεμπατογωπηε γαρ ζν κημε νοι μμοναστηριον ετω* ‘as (γαρ) (there) were not yet (ε-νε-μπατ-ογ-ωπηε)

many (ετ-οψ) *monasteries* (μ-μοναστηριον) in (2N) Egypt (κημε)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *αγω νεφιμεζ νηκαζ νοι πειοορ ετμηαυ* 'and (αγω) *that* (ετ-μηαυ) *canal* (π-ειοορ) was full (νε-φ-μεζ) of crocodiles (ν-ηκαζ)' (V. Ant. 21:8).

10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle νοι

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker νοι to the right of the locative question word των 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. εφτων πταφος μιπαχοεις 'where (των) (is) *the tomb* (π-ταφος) of my lord (μ-πα-χοεις)?' (Eud. 58:25), εφτων πρωμε ετταληυ επιχοι νμ[η]ακ 'where (is) (των) *the man* (π-ρωμε) who was on board (ετ-ταληυ) of the ship (ε-π-χοι) with you (νμ[η]ακ)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle νοι, e.g. μη ειταιηυ ανοκ εζογε παχοεις 'am I (ανοκ) then more (εζογ(ε)) honoured (ε-ι-ταειηυ) than my Lord (ε-πα-χοεις)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), *τερζοτε ντο ζητq* *μπνουτε* 'you (woman) (ντο) fear (τε-ρ-ζοτε ζητ-q) God (μ-π-νουτε)' (Eud. 64:23), *qaw gar mmoq ntoq pxoeis xe* (...) 'for (gar) *he* (ντοq), *the Lord* (π-χοεις), says (q-aw) that (xe) (...) (Sh. III 60:4-5).

10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. *ναι τηρου εφειρε μμοου ετβηητν νοι πετεουνδον μμοq 2N 2ωβ νιμ* '(as for) *all* (τηρ-ου) *these* (things) (ναι), *he who has* (π-ετ-ε-ουν) *power* (δον) over (2N) everything (2ωβ νιμ) is doing (ε-φ-ειρε) them (μμοου) because of us (ετβηητ-ν)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), *παι δε αqaw νουψαχε ναζραq νοι βασιμος πετψοοπ 2N νετογααβ* '(as for) *the latter* (παι δε), *Basimos* (βασιμος), who is (π-ετ-ψοοπ) amongst (2N) the saints (ν-ετ-ογααβ) said (α-φ-αω) a word (ν-ου-ψαχε) to him (ναζρα-φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), *2τοογε δε ηπμαζσαψq* (for *ηπμεζσαψq*) *αουεζαζνε νοι*

τρω εδωπε *ναc* *ννιογδαι ετψοοπ 2N θιλημ* *μη ciων* '(on the) *morning* (2τοογε) of *the seventh* (day) (μ-π-μαζ-σαψq), *the queen* (τ-ρω) ordered (lit. placed (α-φ-ογεζ) an order (αζνε)) to arrest (ε-δωπε) for her (να-φ) the Jews (ν-ν-ιογδαι) who were living (ετ-ψοοπ) in (2N) Jerusalem (θιλημ) and (μη) Zion (ciων)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V-O-S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. *ντερεφχε ναι δε νοι παγγελος* (...) 'when *the angel* (π-αγγελος) had said (ντερε-χε) these (ναι) (words) (...) (Test. Is. 230:12), *сenaтcabo epoc noi nebol 2N тафγн* (...) '*the people* (ν-εβολ) of (2N) my tribe (τα-φγн) will inform you (woman) (се-на-тcabo) about it (epo-φ) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), *εψακpине δε μμοq νοι netzmpni* (...) 'if *the residents* (ν-ετ-2μ-π-нι) judge (ε-ψ-ακ-рине) him (μμο-φ) (...) (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), *αγω αqωτε epoc noi n2apma nmpcpoc επρευμογoyт μμοq* 'and (αγω) *the chariots* (ν-2apma) of the Persians (ν-μ-πεpcoc) surrounded (α-γ-κωτε) him (Constantine) (epo-φ) to kill (ε-τpe-γ-μoyoyт) him (μμο-φ)' (Eud. 42:25). V-O-S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. *αγω αqxi epoc noi ppan mpenxoeic ic пexc* 'and (αγω) *the name* (π-pan) of our Lord (μ-πeн-xoeic) Jesus (ic) Christ (πe-xc) received (α-φ-χι) glory (epoc)' (Eud. 40:27-28), *ντερεφ[p] 2naφ δε νοι πноуτε* (...) 'when it pleased (ντερε-φ-р 2на-φ) *God* (π-ноуτε)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

b) Verbs of saying and reporting

Subject inversion is also possible with *verbs of saying and reporting* that introduce reported speech, e.g. $\lambda\chi\sigma\omicron\sigma\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\kappa\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\alpha\ \chi\epsilon$ (...) 'Our fathers ($\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$) *said* ($\lambda\chi\sigma\omicron\sigma$ -c) about ($\epsilon\tau\kappa\epsilon$) someone ($\omicron\upsilon\alpha$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3), $\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi\ \nu\alpha\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon$ (...) 'the deacon ($\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$) *answered* ($\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi$) her ($\nu\alpha$ -c) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (...)' (Hil. 4:28-29), $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\phi\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \pi\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\ \mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon$ (...) 'the blessed ($\mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$) *old man* ($\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron$) *said* ($\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha$ -c) to me ($\nu\alpha$ -i) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (...)' (Onnophr. 213:27-28).

c) Motion verbs

When combined with verbs of inherently directed motion, subject-inverted clauses assume a presentative meaning and function, signalling the appearance of a referent in the realm of discourse, e.g. $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu\ \nu\tau\tau\iota\gamma\alpha\eta\ \nu\phi\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'open ($\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu$) the gate (ν - τ - $\pi\gamma\alpha\eta$) (that) Matthew ($\mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$) can come (ν - $\phi\epsilon\iota$) in ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu$)' (KHML II 21:6-7), $\lambda\gamma\beta\omega\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \nu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\tau\alpha\theta\lambda\alpha\theta\iota\varsigma\ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\omicron\mu\ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\omicron\mu$ 'the generals ($\nu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\tau\alpha\theta\lambda\alpha\theta\iota\varsigma$) of ($\nu\tau\epsilon$) the army (τ - $\omicron\omicron\mu$) *went* ($\lambda\gamma\beta\omega\kappa$) immediately ($\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$) to fetch him (Constantine) (ϵ - $\tau\tau\epsilon$ - γ - $\nu\tau$ - ϕ)' (Eud. 38:5-6), $\phi\eta\eta\gamma\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \omicron\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\phi\varsigma\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota\ \mu\pi\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\eta\ \mu\eta\ \tau\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$ 'an angel ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) of ($\nu\tau\epsilon$) God (π - $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) *comes* (ϕ - $\eta\eta\gamma$) and administers (the Eucharist) (ϵ - ϕ - $\varsigma\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$) to me ($\mu\mu\omicron$ -i) on Saturday (μ - π - $\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\eta$) and ($\mu\eta$) Sunday (τ - $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$)' (Onnophr. 214:22-23).

d) Statives

Subject-inverted Stative sentences are not so much presentational constructions, but rather emphatic assertions: they emphasise the truth or correctness of the statement being made, e.g. $\phi\omicron\nu\tau\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omega\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ '(as) God (π - $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) *Almighty* (π - $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omega\kappa\tau\omega\rho$) *lives* (ϕ - $\omicron\nu\tau$)' (Onnophr. 215:27), $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \phi\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \pi\tau\omega\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\nu\omicron\gamma\phi$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) the good ($\epsilon\tau$ - $\eta\lambda\alpha\nu\omicron\gamma\phi$) plant (π - $\tau\omega\delta\epsilon$) is blessed (ϕ - $\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau$)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), $\phi\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \pi\kappa\alpha\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \tau\eta\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\tau\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ 'cursed (ϕ - $\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau$) be the earth (π - $\kappa\alpha\tau$) because of ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \tau\eta$) your deeds ($\nu\epsilon\kappa$ - $\tau\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon$)' (Abbatôn 238:29).

10.1.5.5 Semantic types of focus

Subject inversion represents an ex-situ focusing strategy in which the subject is placed in a postverbal focus position where it can be assigned nuclear (sentence) stress.

a) Presentational focus

In the unmarked case inverted subjects correspond to presentational (new information) focus, which introduces new referents into the discourse. In placing the focused subject at the end of the clause, it is one of the last sentence elements to be mentioned and hence available for later recall in the subsequent discourse. There is a strong tendency for presentational foci to be hearer-new, which results in the frequent occurrence of specific indefinite noun phrases in subject-inverted clauses, e.g. $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\phi\iota\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\varsigma\eta\lambda\gamma\ \mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon\ \mu\eta\mu\alpha\phi$ (...) 'suddenly ($\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$), a luminous (ν - $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu$) *man* ($\omicron\upsilon$ - $\tau\omega\mu\epsilon$) came (λ - ϕ -i) with two others ($\kappa\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\eta\lambda\gamma$) walking ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon$... $\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon$) besides him ($\mu\eta\mu\alpha$ -c)' (Mena, Mir. 21b:10-14), $\lambda\gamma\varsigma\omega\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega\ \psi\alpha\ \alpha\pi\alpha\chi\iota\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ (read $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \alpha\chi\iota\lambda\alpha\varsigma$) $\nu\omicron\iota\ \psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau\ \nu\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron$ 'once (ν - $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$) three ($\psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau$) senior (*monks*) (ν - $\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron$) approached (λ - γ - $\varsigma\omega\kappa$) Apa Archillas' (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-21).

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. $\mu\eta\eta\kappa\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}\ \lambda\phi\epsilon\iota\ \psi\alpha\rho\phi\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\ \pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\lambda\phi\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi$ (...) 'after ($\mu\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$) the glorification (π - $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) of Christ (μ - $\pi\epsilon$ - $\chi\bar{\varsigma}$), Michael ($\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta$), the Archangel (π - $\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) of heaven (ν - μ - $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$), came (λ - ϕ - $\epsilon\iota$) to him (Constantine) ($\psi\alpha\rho\phi$ -c) and instructed him (ϵ - λ - ϕ - $\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi$ -c) (...) (Eud. 42:1-2), $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \nu\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \nu\tau\epsilon\mu\rho\omega\ \tau\eta\lambda\phi\tau\phi\ \nu\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\gamma\chi\phi\ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ 'when the people ($\nu\epsilon$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) of the harbour (ν - $\tau\epsilon$ - $\mu\rho\omega$) go to sleep (ϵ - γ - $\psi\alpha\nu$ - $\epsilon\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$), I will take it (the corpse) (τ - $\eta\lambda\phi\tau\phi$ -c) and throw it ($\nu\tau\alpha$ - $\nu\omicron\gamma\chi$ -c) into the sea (ϵ - $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7), $\lambda\varsigma\omega\psi\pi\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \nu\omicron\iota\ \nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\pi\iota\alpha\tau\tau\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \tau\eta\ \varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ 'it happened (λ - ς - $\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$) when the days ($\nu\epsilon$ - $\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) of the patriarch (μ - π - $\pi\alpha\tau\tau\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$) Isaac had come near

(*ντερ-ογ-ζων*) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (*ε-τρε-q-ει*) out of (*εβολ ζν*) the body (*σωμα*))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), *αφουωψ δε νοι πνουτε εοββιε πεφμεεγε* 'God (*π-νουτε*) wanted (*α-q-ογωψ*) to make his mind (*πεφ-μεεγε*) humble (*ε-εββιε*)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), *αφω εφαιτει ηπνουτε νοι πενειωτ ετβε πειζωε* 'Our father (Pachôm) (*πεν-ειωτ*) kept (*α-q-ω*) asking (*ε-q-αιτει*) God (*η-π-νουτε*) about (*ετβε*) this matter (*πει-ζωε*)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. *αυτωουν δε νοι νερρωου ημπερσοc αψωουζ εζουη ην πευμνηψε τηρ αγει εχη πιερο τιγριc αψτωουν δε νοι κωcταντινοc αψωουζ εζουη ηπεφμνηψε τηρc ηματοι* 'the Persian (*η-η-περσοc*) kings (*νε-ρρωου*) arose (*α-γ-τωουν*), gathered (*α-γ-ωουζ εζουη*) together with (*ην*) all (*τηρ-q*) their multitude (*πευ-μνηψε*) (and) went (*α-γ-ει*) to (*εχη*) the river (*π-ιερο*) Tigris (*τιγριc*). (King) Constantine (*κωcταντινοc*) arose (*α-q-τωουν*) (and) gathered (*α-q-ωουζ εζουη*) all (*τηρ-q*) his troops (*η-πεφ-μνηψε*) of soldiers (*η-ματοι*) (...) (Eud. 42:18-20), *αψωπε δε ντερε πνουτε πωωνε νδιοκλανδιανοc πρρο νανομοc αφρ προ επεφμα νοι κωcτανδινοc πρρο νδικαιοc* 'it happened (*α-c-ωωπε δε*) when God (*π-νουτε*) had overthrown (*ντερε ... πωωνε*) the unlawful (*η-ανομοc*) king (*π-πρρο*) Diocletian (*η-διοκλανδιανοc*) (that) the lawful (*η-δικαιοc*) king (*π-πρρο*) Constantine (*κωcτανδινοc*) became (*α-q-ρ*) king (*πρρο*) in his place (*ε-πεφ-μα*)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), *qcoτπ νοι πμοу ντετμμαу παρa πωηζ νται* 'the death (*π-μοу*) of that (daughter) (*η-τετμμαу*) is better (*q-coτπ*) than (*παρa*) the life (*π-ονζ*) of this one (*η-ται*)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. *тнеζcntε δε нсаапиз ψαψωουζ νοι нкомес ηн ηετpиoυнос ηн ηαpхων нтаγн ηпpпо* '(on the blast of) the second (*т-неζ-сntε*) trumpet (*η-саапиз*), the courtiers (*η-комес*) and (*ηн*) tribunes (*ηε-тpиoυнос*) and (*ηн*) chief officials (*η-αpхων*) of the royal (*η-π-пpo*) court (*η-т-αγн*) would gather (*ψα-γ-ωουζ*)' (Eud. 60:16-18), *хекас еуееи еζpαi εχωтн νοι ζαп ηиη ζи xπиo ηиη ζи нoбнeс ηиη ζи ηкаζ нзнт ηиη ζи cнoq ηиη нaкaиoс* (...) 'so that (*хекас*) all (*ηиη*) judgement (*ζαп*) and (*ζи*) all (*ηиη*) blame (*хπиo*) and (*ζи*) all (*ηиη*) reproach (*нoбнeс*) and (*ζи*) all (*ηиη*) grief (*ηкаζ нзнт*) and (*ζи*) all (*ηиη*) righteous (*η-δικαιοс*) blood (*снoq*) (...) will come (*ε-γ-ε-ει*) down (*εζpαi*) upon you (*εχω-тн*)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), *εαφoueζcaζне δε он νοι ouppo νανομοc επτακο σεπн eει εχωq εтpeυтнмeq oεиκ нeλиφиc ηпeπpoφнтнc* (...) 'and an unlawful (*η-ανομοc*) king (*ou-ppo*) whom perdition (*π-ταко*) would soon (*ε ... σεпн*) overcome (*ε-ει εχω-q*) gave (*ε-α-q-oueζ*) order (*caζне*) to make the prophet (*η-пe-πpoφнтнc*) eat (lit. that they feed him (*ε-тpe-γ-тнмe-q*)) the bread (*oεиk*) of affliction (*η-ελιφиc*) (...) (Sh. III 106:16-19).

10.2 Residual V-S(-O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V-S-O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V-S-O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V-S-O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. ΝΑΝΟΥ- 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V-S	ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ 'your eagerness (ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΡΟΤ) is excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ)' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS ΟΥΝ, ΜΗ '(there)is, (there) is no'	V-S	ΟΥΕΝ ΖΗΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΛΦΑΛΥ ΝΘΙ ΙΘ '(there) are (ΟΥΕΝ) numerous (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ) other works (ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ) that Jesus (ΙΘ) did (Ε-Α-Φ-ΑΑ-Υ)' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS ΟΥΝΤΕ-/ΟΥΝΤΑ= ΜΝΤΕ-/ΜΝΤΑ= 'to have/not have'	V-S-O	ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ 'although you (woman) have (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ) your husband (ΠΟΥ-ΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V-S(-O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. **ΝΑΨΕ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΤΑΥΝΤΟΥ ΝΑC** 'for (ΓΑΡ) the gold (Π-ΝΟΥΒ) and (ΜΗ) silver (ΠΖΑΤ) that was brought (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) to her (ΝΑ-C) was much (ΝΑΨΕ)' (Eud. 64:2-3), **ΜΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΩΝΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ** 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΗ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like **ΟΥΒΑΩ, ΟΥΟΒΩ**† 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
ΝΑΑ-	ΝΑΑ=	to be great
	ΝΑ(Ε)ΙΑΤ=	to be blessed
ΝΑΝΟΥ- (var. ΝΑΝΕ-)	ΝΑΝΟΥ=	to be good
ΝΑΨΕ-	ΝΑΨΩ=	to be numerous
ΝΕCΕ-	ΝΕCΩ=	to be beautiful
	ΝΕCΒΩ=	to be intelligent
	ΝΕCΩ(Ω)=	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord **Ν-** ... **ΑΝ** (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker **Ν-**), e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC** (for **ΜΠΕΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC**) 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I am not (ΑΝ) excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ι) as (ΝΘΕ < **Ν-Τ-ΖΕ**) a Christian (Μ-ΠΕ-ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. **ΚΑΛΩC ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΧΟΟQ** 'how very (ΚΑΛΩC) fair is (ΝΑΝΟΥ) the word (Π-ΨΑΧΕ) that you have spoken (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Q)' (Hil. 4:35), **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'the matter (Π-ΖΩΒ) (i.e. buying books) is excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) poverty (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ) is better (ΝΑΝΟΥ) than all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) of these (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), **ΝΤΟ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕCΕ ΖΡΑ[C]** 'you (ΝΤΟ) (are) a woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (ΖΡΑ-C) is beautiful (Ε-ΝΕCΕ))' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom **ΝΑΙΑΤ-** 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb **ΝΑΑ-** 'to be great' and the body-part expression **ΕΙΑΤ-Q** 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. **ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕQΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟQ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** 'more (ΝΖΟΥΟ) blessed (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Q) is he who will always (Ν-ΟΥΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ) see (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ) his own (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Q) sins (Ε-ΝΕQ-ΝΟΒΕ)' (AP Chaïne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΕΙΕ ΝΑΕΙΑΤΝ ΖΩΩΝ** 'then (ΕΙΕ) (how) blessed

are we (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Ν) ourselves (ΖΩΩ-Ν)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΡΓΟΣ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) the lazy ones (Ν-ΑΡΓΟΣ) are numerous (ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ), too (ΟΝ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ΧΕ ΕΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΚΑΡΠΟΣ 'since (ΧΕ) its fruit (ΝΕΚ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) are fine-looking (Ε-ΝΕΣΩ-ΟΥ)' (Abbatôn 237:10-11).

10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ΟΥΝ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ΜΝ '(there) is no', e.g. ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ 'is (there) (ΟΥΝ) anybody (ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)'? (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ΜΝ ΟΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) brother (ΟΝ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a brother (ΟΥ-ΟΝ) in (ΖΝ) a monastery (ΟΥ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΣ[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ (...) '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) ather brothers (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΣΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) in (ΖΙ) the desert (Π-ΤΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ '(there) is na (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝΑ) you (ΝΤΟΚ), Apollōn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΒΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΙΙ ΖΜΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΙΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΨΙΚΖ {ΠΨΙΚΖ}_{sic} ΝΑΡ ΟΥΠΡ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) thirty (ΜΑΛΒΕ) or (ΙΙ) forty (ΖΜΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) (heaped) on (ΖΙΧΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΙΥ), how large (ΟΥΠΡ) must the pit (Π-ΨΙΚΖ) be (ΕΡΕ ...

ΝΑ-Ρ)' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΓ '(there) was (ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΟΝ) who did (Ε-Χ-ΕΙΡΕ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΟΥ-Γ)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΖΝ ΚΗΜΕ ΕΟΥΝΤΑΓ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΕΧΙΧΙΣ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΑ) in (ΖΝ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) who had (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Γ) a paralysed (Ε-Γ-ΧΙΣ) son (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ΕΝΕΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΝΑ ΠΚΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΨΑΡ '(without (there) being (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΝ) anything (ΑΛΑΥ) on her (ΝΖΗΤ-Σ) except (ΝΑ) bone (Π-ΚΑΣ) and (ΜΝ) skin (Π-ΨΑΡ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΜΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ (for ΜΠΟΛΤΕΙΑ) ΑΥΩ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΕΧΙ ΖΜΟΤ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΑΡΧΕΟΣ (for ΝΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ) 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ), how (Ν-ΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ) are (there) (ΟΥΝ) some (people) (ΖΟΙΝΕ) who toil (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΝ) ascetic labours (Μ-ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ), and (ΑΥΩ) at present (ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ) do not (ΑΝ) obtain (Ν-ΘΕ-ΧΙ) grace (ΖΜΟΤ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) the ancient ones (Ν-Ν-ΑΡΧΕΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙC ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΠΝΑ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) a resurrection (ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙC) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) angels (ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a spirit (ΠΝΑ)' (Acts 23:8), ΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ '(there) isn't (ΜΝ) anyone (ΑΛΑΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ΜΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΩΩΝΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΗ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΩΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ΜΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΧΘΕΙC ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC '(there) is no (ΜΗ) king (ΠΡΟ) as powerful (Ν-ΧΘΕΙC) as (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCOC) empire (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΠΕΧC ΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(there) is no (ΜΗ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ΟΥΝ CΟΝ ΜΜΟΝΟΧΟC (ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟC) ΜΠΖΟΥ '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (CΟΝ) monk (Η-ΜΟΝΟΧΟC) further on (ΜΠΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΛΗ ΖΥΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΡΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥ) courtyard (Ν-ΑΥΛΗ) at (ΖΥΡΗ) the entrance (Π-ΡΟ) of the cell (Η-Τ-ΡΙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC (for ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC) ΜΗΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '(there) was no (ΝΕ-ΜΝ ... ΑΝ) interpreter (ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC) there (ΜΗΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ΜΗ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ '(there) is (ΜΗ) nobody (ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ΜΗ ΛΑΑΥ ΜΗΝΤΑΤCΟΜ ΖΑΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(there) is no (ΜΗ) impossibility (ΛΑΑΥ Η-ΜΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-CΟΜ) with (ΖΑΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚΟC '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the shrine (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna whose name (was) (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ ΠΕ) Marcus' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙOC ΕΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΘΙΛΗΜ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) one (ΟΥΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΑΒ) who was called (lit. whom (ΕΡΟ-Q) they called (Ε-ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ)) Philagrios, who lived (Ε-Q-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΜ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΑΙΝ ΤΕΦΗΝΤΚΟΥ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) also (ΟΝ) a (certain) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) who was possessed by a demon (lit. a demon (ΟΥ-ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ) was with him (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΗΜΑ-Q)) from (ΝΑΙΝ) his childhood (ΤΕΦ-ΗΝΤ-ΚΟΥ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativised existential verb ϋοοπ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΜΕ ΗΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a big (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) heat (Ν-ΖΗΜΕ) down (ΗΠΕCΗΤ) in that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Η-Π-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ΝΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟ[C] ΓΑΡ ΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΜΗ ΖΗΝΟC (for ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) ΜΠΕΤΗΝΑΝΟΥQ ϋοοπ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΜΗΤΡΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕΡΕ ... ϋοοπ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) peace (Ν-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) and (ΜΗ) a lot (ΖΗ-ΝΟC) of good (things) (Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) in (ΖΗ) their kingdom

(*τεγ-πντ-ppo*)' (Mena, Enc. 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. *ανοκ δε τμηπειμα χιν πεζουοι ετημαγ* '(as for) me (*ανοκ*), *I* (*am*) in this place (*τ-η-πει-μα*) from (*χιν*) that (*ετημαγ*) day (*πε-ζουοι*) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences are formed with the possessive predicates *ουντα-* and *μντα-*, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. *ουν* or *μν*, and a locative-committative preposition *ντα-* 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. *νεουντε πρρο καλιπζ εντε ννουβ νχα2χ2* 'the King (*π-ρρο*) had (*νε-ουντε*) two (*εντε*) trumpets (*καλιπζ*) of refined (*ν-χα2χ2*) gold (*ν-νουβ*)' (Eud. 60:13), *μνται ειωτ μμαγ η μααγ* 'I don't have (*μντα-ι*) father (*ειωτ*) or (*η*) mother (*μααγ*)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial *μμαγ* 'there', e.g. *ουνται μμαγ νογψαχε εχοοq εροογ* 'I have (*ουντα-ι*) a word (*ν-ογ-ψαχε*) to say (*ε-χοο-q*) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), *νεουνταq μμαγ νογμνηψε νχρημα* 'he (the rich man) had (*νε-ουντα-q*) a lot (*ν-ογ-μνηψε*) of money (*ν-χρημα*)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), *εμνταq εζογcia μμαγ εερ πβολ μπωμν ετημαγ* 'without having (*ε-μντα-q*) the strength (*εζογcia*) to come out (*ε-ερ π-βολ*) of that (*ετ-μμαγ*) tree(*μ-π-ωμν*)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: *ουντα-q* /wəntaf/ → *ουντ-q* /wəntəf/ 'he has', *μντα-q* /məntaf/ → *μντ-q* /məntəf/ 'he does not have'.

	ΟΥΝΤΑ- 'HAVE'	ΜΝΤΑ- 'NOT HAVE'
1 st sing.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι (ΟΥΝ†)	ΜΝΤΑ-Ι (ΜΝ†)
2 nd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Κ (ΟΥΝΤ-Κ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Κ (ΜΝΤ-Κ)
2 nd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΕ	ΜΝΤΕ
3 rd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q (ΟΥΝΤ-Q)	ΜΝΤΑ-Q (ΜΝΤ-Q)
3 rd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-C (ΟΥΝΤ-C)	ΜΝΤΑ-C (ΜΝΤ-C)
1 st plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ν (ΟΥΝΤ-Ν)	ΜΝΤΑ-Ν (ΜΝΤ-Ν)
2 nd plural	ΟΥΝΤΗ-ΤΗ	ΜΝΤΗ-ΤΗ
3 rd plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Υ (ΟΥΝΤ-ΟΥ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Υ (ΜΝΤ-ΟΥ)
Before noun	ΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ	ΜΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSED NP)
NE- PRETERIT	ΟΥΝΤΕ 'HAVE'	π-ρρο the king	καλιπζ εντε trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates *ουντα-* and *μντα-* appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. *εουντε πογ2αι* '(although) you (woman) have (*ε-ουντε*) your husband (*πογ-2αι*)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9), *εμντq κεροογψ μμαγ επτηρq νca πεψαηλ μν ταιακριcic ννετqψ μμοογ* 'while he (Apa Zenobius) had no (*ε-μντ-q*) other concern (*κε-ροογψ*) at all (*επτηρq*) than (*νca*) prayer (*πε-ψαηλ*) and the critical evaluation (*τ-ταιακριcic*) of what he was reading (*ν-ετ-q-ωψ*)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. *αγω μνταν νλααγ νκολca μμαγ*

ἡσυχιατικόν 'and (ἀγῶ) we don't have (ἡντα-η) any (η-λααγ) physical (η-συχιατικόν) comfort (η-κοαλα)' (Hil. 5:23), οὐνται ἡμῶν νῶμῳτ νῶμῳε ἐνανοῦογ 'I have (οὐντα-ι) three (η-νῶμῳτ) beautiful (ε-νανοῦογ) books (η-νῶμῳε)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), εῶχε οὐντητην ἡμῶν νοῦνοῦτε εῶονη 'if (εῶχε) you have (οὐντη-την) a living (ε-ο-ονη) God (η-οῦ-νοῦτε) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas οὐν and ἡν, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [νεγ]ντε πρρο [κω]σταντινός οὐσῶνε ἡμῶν ἡπαρθενός επεσραν πε εῶδοξια 'King (π-πρρο) Constantine had (η-γντε) a virgin (η-παρθενός) sister (οῦ-σῶνε) whose name (was) (ε-πεσ-ραν πε) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), νεμντῳ ῶνρε νῶοῦτ νῶα ῶερε σεντε νῶῶμε ἡμῶτε 'he had no (η-μντ-ῳ) son (ῶνρε η-νῶοῦτ) besides (νῶα) two (η-νῶοῦτ) daughters (ῶερε η-νῶῶμε) only (ἡμῶτε)' (Hil. 2:5), εῶνταῳς ῶν νετκα ἡα νῶα 'he has it (i.e. place) (ε-οῦντα-ῳ-ς) among (ῶν) those who make (η-ετ-κα) a place (ἡα) for him (η-ῳ)' (Sh. III 85:14), οῦ πετεοῦνταῳ εῶο 'what (claim) (οῦ) (is it) that you have (ετε-οῦντα-κ-ῳ) against him (εῶο-ῳ)?' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

a) Dative possession

Instead of normal οὐντα- and ἡντα- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative ῶοπ 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. επιδη οὐν οῦνοδ ἡμκαῶνῶπ ῶοπ νῶα ετβε τεῳῶερε 'since (επιδη) he had (lit. was (οὐν ... ῶοπ) to him (η-ῳ)) a lot (οῦ-νοδ) of grief (η-μκαῶν-ῶπ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεῳ-ῶερε)' (Hil. 7:12-13), εμν ῶνρε δε ῶοπ νῶα 'while she had no (lit. (there)

was no (ε-ἡν ... ῶοπ) for her (η-ς)) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction οὐν (ἡν) – (ῶ)ῶομ – ἡμο-ῳ – ε-σῶτμ 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (ῶ)ῶομ 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ἡν ῶομ γαρ ἡμοῳ εἡοῶε 'since (γαρ) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (ῶομ) in him ((ἡμο-ῳ)) to walk (ε-ἡοῶε)' (Eud. 66:9), ἀγῶ ἡν ῶῶομ ἡμοι εῶονῶς εῶα 'and (ἀγῶ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (ῶῶομ ῶομ) in me (ἡμο-ι)) to reveal it (ε-οῶονῶς-ε εῶα)' (Hil. 3:21).

Key Terms:

Basic word order	is the fully productive constituent order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S-V-O can be identified as the basic word order.	§10.1.1
Scrambling	is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3

Information-packaging constructions	represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence.	§10.1.3
Subject inversion	involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.	§10.1.5
Presentational (new information) focus	corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse.	§10.1.5.5
Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1

Exercises

10.1 Comprehension and transfer

- Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 - Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
 - The direct object must precede the indirect object.
 - Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

- The focus marker noi is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
- Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
- Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

10.2 Subject order and information structure

- Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.
 - $\text{twepe de wmm nec2en}$ (for nec2n) amntwmmne nromte '(as for) the little (wmm) girl (t-wepe) she was (ne-c-2en) about eighteen (a-) mnt-wmmne years (n-romte) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)
 - $\text{paxwt etbe oy anok pazht naxwt}$ 'my father (pa-ewt), why (etbe oy) is, (as far as) I (anok) (am concerned), my heart (pa-zht) (so) bold (naxwt)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) -
 - $\text{axw nwasce mpmoyte etepaqcotmoy ntootq}$ $\text{nepaqxooq zwoq pe eneqmonaxoc}$ 'and (axw) the words (n-wasce) of God (n-p-moyte) which he (the abbot) heard (ete-pa-q-cotm-oy) from him (n-toot-q) (Pachôm), he in turn (zwo-q) told them (ne-pa-q-xoo-q) to his monks (e-neq-monaxoc)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)
 - $\text{pe[t]ere paxoi [na] xpoq kata romte waiiaq nwmte}$ n-to 'what my boat (pa-xoi) will (pe-et-ere ... na) bring in (xpo-q) each (kata) year (romte), I will split (wa-i-aa-q) into three (n-wmte) parts (n-to)' (KHML II 17:4-5)
 - $\text{nai de eqxw mpmoy nere thewporos zmooc mpoqe}$ noykyi ep (for ere) pq2o mpecht 'when he (Pachôm) was saying (e-q-xw) these (words) (nai), Theodore was sitting (nere ... zmooc) at a little (n-oy-kyi) distance (n-p-oye), his face (pq-2o) (turned down) to the ground (ere ... n-p-echt)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) 2^η [πτρ]εφωβω δε [εις] π^ραγιος ἀπ^α μ^ηνα ἀφ^αζε πατ^ρ [εχ]ω[q] 2^η οὐρο[ρ]ο^ηα ‘when (2^η) he dozed off (π-τρε-φ-ωβω), look (εις), *the holy* (π-ραγιος) *Απ^α Μ^ηνα* stood (α-φ-αζε πατ-ρ) before him (εχω-ρ) in (2^η) a vision (οὐ-ρο-ρο^ηα)’ (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)
☐ indefinite topic ☐ contrastive topic

- (2) αὐω ντοφ πρ^ο κωσταντινος νεφειρε εροογ ν^ηγεννοσ ν^ηζοπ νρ^ο ‘and (αὐω) *he* (ντοφ), king (π-ρ^ο) Constantine, made (νε-φ-ειρε) for them (the Persians) (ερο-ογ) great (ν-^ηγεν-νοσ) royal (ν-ρ^ο) feasts (ν-ζοπ)’ (Eud. 48:27)
☐ resumed topic ☐ “hanging” discourse topic

- (3) ετβε νεχιγ δε ννε ααγ ννεεφ κα χοι εβολ 2^η τεμρω αχ^η πρ^ωμε ντσοογ²ς (...) ‘as for (ετβε) *the ships* (ν-εχιγ), no (ααγ) sailor (ν-νεεφ) shall set loose (ννε ... κα εβολ) a ship (χοι) at (2^η) the landing stage (τε-μρω) without the man (i.e. the prior) (π-ρ^ωμε) of the congregation (ν-τ-σοογ²ς)’ (praec. Pach. 118).
☐ resumed topic ☐ “hanging” discourse topic

- (4) εις οὐσπαθ^αριος ντε ρακοτε αφει μ^η οὐδιακονος εφωωφ εαπαντα εροκ ‘look (εις), *a knight* (οὐ-σπαθ^αριος) from (ντε) Alexandria (ρακοτε) came (α-φ-ει) together with (μ^η) a deacon (οὐ-διακονος), wishing (ε-φ-ωωφ) to meet (ε-απαντα) you (ερο-κ)’ (Hil. 5:8-9)
☐ resumed topic ☐ new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

- (1) κωσταντινος δε ντερεφ²μοος εχ^ην τ^ηντρεο ννεζρ^ωμαιος α π^ηοϋτε φωπε ν^ημμαφ (Eud. 40:1-2)

- (2) αφωωβω νοι ι^ε πεχαφ νιογ^ας κε (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)
- (3) οϋν κε²μεσ²νοογ^ςε ν^ηγενεα ν^αοϋε^ινε φ^αντ^εφει νοι πε^χε (Test. Is. 231:7-8)
- (4) [ν]τεϋ^ηνοϋ δε ετ^ημαϋ αφει εβολ 2^η τ^ηπε νοι μ^ηχανα παρχιστ^ρατηγ^{ος} ντ^οσ^ημ ν^ημ^ηγε (Eud. 34:27-36:1)
- (5) φ^υσι ν^ασ^ηνηϋ α^νοκ μ^ηπ^ηναϋ επ²ο ν^αλαϋ νρ^ωμε ν^α παρχιεπισκοπος μα^γααφ (AP Chaîne no.19, 4:7-8)
- (6) φ^ςμαμαατ νοι π^ηχοε[ις] [π^ηνο]ϋτε μ^ηρ^ο [κ^ως]ταντινος [π^η]χοεις ντ^ηπε μ^ην π^κα² μ^ην θα^λλα^ςα (Eud. 48:9-10)
- (7) 2^η τεϋ^ην ετ^ημαϋ αφωω^η2 εροφ νοι 2^ραφ^αελ πατ^ελος (KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL

ντεροϋμοον[ε] [δε] μ^ηπ^ηχοι ε[π^η]κρο αφτ[ω]οϋν νοι ανδρε[ας] μ^ην πα[γ]^η[λος] μ^ην [α]πολλω[νιος] π^ηνεεφ αϋ[τ^η] [πε]^η[γ]οϋοι ετ^ηπ^ηλη^η ντ[πο]λις^η αϋ^ηβωκ κε εϋ^ηνα (read εϋ^ηναε^η) ε²οϋν νιογ^αι αϋτα^ηρε τ^ηπ^ηλγ (for τ^ηπ^ηλη) 2^η οϋτα^ηχρο κε^αα^ς ννε ν^αποστολος^ς εφ^ωωκ ε²οϋν ετ^ηπολις. ανδρε^{ας} δε αϋ^τ πε[φ]οϋοι αϋ^ημοϋτε ε²οϋν ετ^ηπολις πεχαφ ν^αϋ κε αοϋ^ην ν^αν ντ^ην^ομ π^ωμ^ηνε μ^ηπ^ητα^ημ^οϋ^η κε ανρ μ^ηντρε πεφειωτ κε τ^ην^ηηϋ ντ^ηντοϋν^ςακ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. π^ηλη ‘gate’ b. πολ^ης ‘city’ c. αποστολος ‘apostle’ d. πε-ντ-α-φ-μ^οϋ ‘the deceased (lit. the one who died)’, a free relative clause

ΑΥΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟΣ
 ΝΚΑΝΟΠΟΣ^a ΠΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ^b ΝΤΟΟ[Η] ΝΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟΣ
 ΕΤΡΕΥ[ΣΩΟΥ]Ζ ΝΝΕΚΖΑΡΜΑ^c ΜΗ ΝΕΚΖΙ[Π]ΠΕΥΣ^d ΜΗ ΠΜΗΗΦΕ
 ΝΡΗΝΡΑΤΟ[Υ]^e [Ε]ΡΕΥΜΟ[Ο]ΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ [Ε]ΤΕΖΡΩΜΑΝΙΑ
 ΝΣΕΧΙΟΟΥΡ ΝΠΙΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙΣ ΝΣΕΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΧΝ ΝΤΩΦ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙΟΟΡ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΝ ΠΚΑΖ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ. ΝΤΕΡΕΚΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΙΝΟΣ
 ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΚΗΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΠΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ.
 ΝΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΦΕ ΧΟΥΩΤ ΝΤΒΑ (1.200.000). ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ (read ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ) ΝΣΗΦΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΜΟΟΦΕ ΠΕ (...)
 ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ^f. ΑΥΩ ΜΠΖΟΤ^g ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΦΟΜΝΤ
 ΝΕΒΟΤ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. ΚΑΝΟΠΟΣ (proper name) b. ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ 'commander-in-chief' c. ΖΑΡΜΑ 'chariot' d. ΖΗΠΠΕΥΣ 'cavalry man' e. Ν-ΡΗΝ-ΡΑΤ=ΟΥ 'the footmen, infantry' f. ΕΡΙΜΟΣ 'desert' g. ΖΟΤ 'opposite'

10.3 Residual V-S(-O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) ΕΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΗ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ '(there) was (ΕΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a sycamore (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΖΕ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) desert (Π-ΧΑΙΗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)

☐ comparative extension ☐ locative extension

- (2) ΟΥΝ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΦΑΡΕ ΠΕΣΖΑΙ ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΕΙΚ ΤΕ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) (a kind of) woman (ΣΖΙΜΕ) whom (ΕΡΟ-Σ) her husband (ΠΕΣ-ΖΑΙ) suspects (Ε-ΦΑΡΕ ... ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ) of (ΧΕ) (being) adulterous (ΟΥ-ΝΟΕΙΚ)' (Sh. Or. 44, 159b:42-46)

☐ locative extension ☐ relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

- (1) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΝΡΕΚΩΠΖΙΣΕ ΖΗ ΨΗΤ ΕΦΜΟΚΖ ΜΕΝ ΜΜΟΖ ΖΗ ΠΕΚΩΜΑ ΝΦΟ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΑΚΡΙΒΗΣ ΖΗ ΝΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ (AP Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)

- (2) ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (KMHL II 33:16-17)

- (3) ΜΗ ΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΖ ΕΜΟΟΦΕ (Eud. 66:9)

- (4) ΠΟΥΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΡΤ ΜΜΟΖ (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

FROM THE *APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΝΕΥΝ ΣΟΝ ΣΝΑΥ ΖΗ ΝΡΙ^a. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΖΑΛΟ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ^b ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ.
 ΝΤΟΖ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΖ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΕΚΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΗ ΨΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ
 ΕΟΥΩΖ ΜΜΑΚ ΑΠΑ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΑΥΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΖ ΧΕ ΣΕ^c ΟΥΝ
 ΨΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ^d ΠΕ ΝΦΟΥΩΨ ΑΝ
 ΕΣΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΜΠΟΡΝΙΑ^e (for
 ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤΦ. ΠΕΧΑΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ ΧΕ ΚΑΛΝ ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ^f (for
 ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ) ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΤΝΨΑΧΕ. ΑΦΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΑΥΩ
 ΕΦΟΥΩΨ ΕΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ^g ΜΜΟΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ ΠΕΧΑΖ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΛΙΖΕ
 ΕΥΝΟΒ ΜΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ^h (for ΜΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ) ΖΗ ΤΕΙΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ
 ΠΛΕΙΩΤ. ΛΙΒΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑⁱ ΨΑ ΠΤΜΕ ΛΙΖΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ.
 ΠΕΧΑΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ^j ΨΟΟΠ; ΠΕΧΑΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ
 ΧΕ ΣΕ. ΠΕΧΑΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΜΑΚ ΖΑ
 ΤΠΑΨΕ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ. ΠΕΧΑΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΝΝΑΨΩΜΒΟΜ ΕΟΥΩΖ
 ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΜΟΥ. (AP Chaîne
 no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. ΝΡΙ 'Kellia' b. ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ 'to summon, appeal' c. ΣΕ 'yes' d. ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. ΠΟΡΝΙΑ 'fornication' f. ΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ 'week' g. ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ 'to test' h. ΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ 'temptation' i. ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ 'service' j. ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'repentance'

Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. *ⲛⲉⲡⲁⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲕⲉⲟ ⲛⲛⲫⲩⲭⲏ* 'the remedies (ⲛⲉⲡⲁⲁⲓⲣⲉ) [which (ⲉⲧ ⲛ) give (ⲧ) solace (ⲕⲉⲟ) to the souls (ⲛⲛⲫⲩⲭⲏ)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. *ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ* 'I ate (ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲙ) [what was left (ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) of the bread (ⲙⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. *ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲙⲱⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲣⲛⲧⲕ* '(it is) the governor (ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲙⲱⲛ) [who (ⲉⲧ ⲛ) is asking (ⲭⲏⲙⲱⲛ) you (ⲙⲙⲟⲕ) [what (ⲛⲓⲙ) your name (ⲣⲛⲧⲕ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who*, *whom*, *which*, *what*, e.g. OY^2WB ERE $\text{PI}^2\text{OY}^2\text{TE}$ MOCTE MMOQ 'a thing (OY^2WB) [*that* (ERE) God ($\text{PI}^2\text{OY}^2\text{TE}$) *hates* (MOCTE)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), PMA ETERE PEQ^2EWT ENKOTK N^2HTQ 'the place (PMA) [*that* (ET-ERE) his father (PEQ^2EWT) *was sleeping* (ENKOTK) *in* ($\text{N}^2\text{HT-Q}$)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMPREL for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMPREL	EMBEDDED CLAUSE]
OY^2WB_i a thing _i	[ERE that	$\text{PI}^2\text{OY}^2\text{TE}$ MOCTE MMO-Q_i] God hates (it _i)
PMA_i the place _i	[ET-ERE that	PEQ^2EWT ENKOTK $\text{N}^2\text{HT-Q}_i$] his father was sleeping in-(it _i)

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g. PA^2XPC ANOK ET^2MCTEYE EROQ 'my Christ (PA^2XPC) [*in whom* (ERO-Q) *I* (ANOK) *believe* (ET^2MCTEYE)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g. POME GAP NIM EOYNTAQ ZAZ NNOYTE 'for (GAP) every (NIM) man (POME) [*who has* (EOYNTA-Q) *many* (ZAZ) *gods* (N-NOYTE)]' (Eud. 36:11),

MPTNAY DE NWAQBOYQ ZI POYZE MMHNE 'at the hour (M-PT-NAY) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened them* (the camels) (N-WA-Q-BOY-Q) *daily* (MMHNE) *at* (ZI) *night* (POYZE)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g. OYMA EQO NWARBA 'a place (OY-MA) [*that was* (E-Q-O) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (N-WARBA)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g. AQXICE NTEQATE EZPAI EXWI ERE PWC OYWN 'he (the devil) raised (A-Q-XICE) his head (N-TEQ-ATE) above (EZPAI) me (EXW-I), [*while his mouth* (PWC) *was* (wide) *open* ($\text{ERE} \dots \text{OYWN}$)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g. EKNAOWT NCWI EINABWK ETTAKO 'will you watch (E-K-NA-OWT) me (NCW-I) [*rushing* (E-I-NA-BWK) to perdition (E-PTAKO)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g. EKWONE EOY - PX^2C EYWONE EPAZHPAP 'from what (E-OY) *do you suffer* (E-K-WONE)? - Lord (PX^2C), *I am suffering* (E-I-WONE) from my liver (E-PA-ZHPAP)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative environments (e.g. PMA NTAKONTQ N^2HTQ 'the place (PMA) [*where* ($\text{N}^2\text{HT-Q}$) *you have found it* (the boat) (NT-A-K-ONT-Q)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g. NTA OY WONE MMOK PENXOEIC PIPO 'what (OY) *has happened* ($\text{NT-A} \dots \text{WONE}$) to you (MMO-K), our lord (PEN-XOEIC) (and) king (PI-PO)?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ and ϵ - introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, compare: $\sigma\gamma\zeta\omega\beta \epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\iota\sigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon \mu\iota\omicron\alpha$ 'a thing ($\sigma\gamma\zeta\omega\beta$) [*that* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$) *God* ($\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) *hates* ($\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon$)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. $\mu\alpha \mu\iota\mu \epsilon\gamma\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\alpha$ 'every ($\mu\iota\mu$) place ($\mu\alpha$) [*that they* (the brothers) *will be sent* (lit. that *they* will send them ($\epsilon\gamma\gamma\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$)) to ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\alpha$)]' (praec. Pach. 129).

11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet $\epsilon\tau$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, and $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$ -. The allomorphs $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$ - are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme $\epsilon\tau$ - and the relative markers $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ and ϵ - that also introduce virtual relative clauses: $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$.

a) The "bare" relative complementiser $\epsilon\tau$

The "bare" complementiser $\epsilon\tau$ is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or "gap" (indicated as '___' in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \alpha\beta\gamma\alpha\mu$ 'the angel ($\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) [*who* ($\epsilon\tau$ ___) *serves* ($\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota$) *your father* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) *Abraham*]' (Test. Is 229:18-19).

b) The internally complex relative complementisers $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -. The morphologically derived relative complementisers $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ - and $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. $\pi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\mu\eta\eta\iota \lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\alpha$ 'the word ($\pi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$) [*that* ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$) *the superintendent* ($\pi\mu\eta\eta\iota$) *will say* ($\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\alpha$)]' (praec. Pach. 122) vs. $\pi\mu\alpha \epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\mu\epsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\alpha$ 'the place ($\pi\mu\alpha$) [*where* ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\alpha$) *you are sick* ($\epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\mu\epsilon$)]' (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	$\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$;	[RC $\epsilon\tau$ ___; CWTM]
	The man;	[RC who ___; is listening]
NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	$\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$;	[RC $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\alpha\text{-CWTM}$ NCW- α]
	The man;	[RC that he is listening to (him);]
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-CWTM}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-N-CWTM}$
2 nd masc.	$\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-K-CWTM}$	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-TN-CWTM}$
2 nd fem.	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-CWTM}$	
3 rd masc.	$\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\alpha\text{-CWTM}$	$\epsilon\tau\text{-OY-CWTM}$
3 rd fem.	$\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-C-CWTM}$	
Before noun	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \text{CWTM}$	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: ($\epsilon\tau$ plus subject gap) $\tau\epsilon\chi\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma \mu\iota\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon \epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\alpha$ 'the grace ($\tau\epsilon\chi\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma$) of God ($\mu\iota\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) [*which* ($\epsilon\tau$ ___) *surrounded* ($\epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$) *him* ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\alpha$)]' (KMHL II 35:12-13), $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \mu\iota\mu \epsilon\tau\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\chi \epsilon\iota\tau\eta \mu\pi\epsilon\alpha\eta\iota \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'everybody ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \mu\iota\mu$) [*who* ($\epsilon\tau$ ___) *will throw* ($\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\chi$) *garbage* ($\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$) *out* ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) *of his house* ($\mu\pi\epsilon\alpha\eta\iota$)]' (Eud. 52:26-27), ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ plus subject NP) $\pi\eta\iota \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon \psi\eta\iota \mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau \eta\zeta\eta\tau\alpha$ 'the house ($\pi\eta\iota$) [*where* ($\eta\zeta\eta\tau\alpha$) *this little* ($\psi\eta\iota$) *boy* ($\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon$) *died* ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$... $\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau$)]' (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), ($\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$ - plus subject

pronoun) *οε* *ε-τ-σπουδαζε* *επαζε* *νοιx* 'the manner (*οε* < *τ-2ε*) [*(in which)* I was diligent (*ε-τ-σπουδαζε* < *ετ-τ-σπουδαζε*) at my manual (*ν-οιx*) labour (*ε-πα-2ωβ*)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), *πναγ* *ετεκνα* *αζερατκ* *εροq* 'the hour (*π-ναγ*) [*when* you will stand up (*ετε-κ-να-αζε* *πατ-κ*)]' (Test. Is. 232:19), *2ωβ* *νιμ* *ετεqειρε* *νμοογ* 'everything (*2ωβ* *νιμ*) [*that* he did (*ετε-q-ειρε*)]' (KHML II 19:8-9), *νδον* *νπνογτε* *ετqειρε* *νμοογ* *νιμ* *πρπο* *κωcτaντινoς* 'the mighty deeds (*ν-δον*) of God (*ν-π-νογτε*) [*that* he did (*ετ-q-ειρε*) to (*νιμ*) King (*π-ρπο*) Constantine]' (Eud. 50:1), *2ωβ* *νιμ* *ετcψινε* *ντοc* *νcωογ* 'everything (*2ωβ* *νιμ*) [*which* she (*ντοc*) is looking (*ετ-c-ψινε*) for (*νcω-ογ*)]' (Eud. 64:19).

11.1.2.3 Complementiser-TAM agreement

A different set of complementiser allomorphs is selected when the relative complementiser precedes a tense-aspect-mood marker rather than the embedded subject position of the relative clause.

TAM	COMPREL	TAM	COMPREL
PRETERIT νε-	ε-	NEGATIVE SCOPE DEFINER ν-	ε-
PERFECT α-	(ε)NT-	NEGATIVE PERFECT νπε-	ετ(ε)-
HABITUAL ψα-	ε-, (ε)N-, ετε-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL νε-	ετ(ε)-
VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES	ετ(ε)-	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE νπατ(ε)-	ετε-

TABLE 11.2 Complementiser-tense/aspect/mood agreement

Examples: (relativised Preterit) *κατα* *οε* *ενεqο* *νμοc* 'in (*κατα*) the manner (*οε* < *τ-2ε*) [*that* it (the sun) *is* (*ε-νε-q-ο*)]' (Zen. 200:27), (relativised Habitual) *νοε* *εψαγλαc* *ννιμαρτυροc* *ετογλαβ* 'in the manner (*νοε* < *ν-τ-2ε*) [*that* they used to do it (*ε-ψα-γ-αα-c*) to the holy (*ετ-ογλαβ*) martyrs (*ν-ν-μαρτυροc*)]' (V. Pach. 94:8-9), *ααγ* *νψν* *νιμ* *ενψαqχοογ* 'every (single) (*νιμ*) one (*ααγ*) of the trees (*ν-ψν*) [*that* he (*Απα* Matthew) *planted* (*εν-ψα-q-χο-ογ*)]' (KHML II 19:6-7), *νπναγ* *δε*

νψαqβοψογ *2ι* *ρογ2ε* *ννινε* 'at the hour (*ν-π-ναγ*) [*that* he (*Απα* Mena) *loosened* them (the camels) (*ν-ψα-q-βοψ-ογ*) daily (*ννινε*) at (*2ι*) night (*ρογ2ε*)' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12)], *ογννιψε* *δε* *ον* *2ν* *νετε* *ψαρε* *πεγ2ητ* *πωψc* *εροογ* 'also (*ον*) a lot (*ογ-ννιψε*) of [*those* [*whose* minds (lit. hearts) (*πεγ-2ητ*) *had left* (*ν-ετε-ψαρε* ... *πωψc*) them (*ερο-ογ*)]]]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause), (relativised Perfect) *2ωβ* *νιμ* *εντακ2ων* *νμοογ* *ετοοτ* 'everything (*2ωβ* *νιμ*) [*which* you *ordered* (*εντ-α-κ-2ων*) me (*ετοοτ*) (to do)]' (Eud. 34:14), *πμα* *ντακοντq* *ν2ητq* 'the place (*π-μα*) [*where* (*ν2ητ-q*) you *have found* it (the boat) (*ντ-α-κ-οντ-q*)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), (relativised Negative Perfect), *νεικεογα* *ετ2ν* *τετννιτε* *ετνπεινπψα* *νqψαχε* *ννιμα* 'this other person (*νει-κε-ογα*) [who (is) (*ετ* ...) in (*2ν*) your midst (*τετν-νιτε*) [*that* I *am not* *worthy* (*ετ-νπει-νπψα*) (that) he talks (*ν-q-ψαχε*) to me (*ννιμα-ι*)]' (KHML II 30:18-19), (relativised Unexpected Negative Perfective) *νενειωτ* *ν2αλο* *ετογλαβ* *παι* *ετεμπατqωcκ* *cινταqεωκ* *ερατq* *νπνογτε* 'our senior (*ν-2αλο*) holy (*ετ-ογλαβ*) father (*πεν-ειωτ*), he (*παι*) [*who* *had not long ago* (*ετε-νπατ-q-ωcκ*) gone (*cι(ν)-ντ-α-q-εωκ*) towards (*ε-ρατ-q*) God (*ν-π-νογτε*)]' (Sh. III 142:5-7), (relativised Negative Habitual) *πνογτε* *παι* *ετεμερε* *ααγ* *ψωπε* *εxντq* 'God (*π-νογτε*), [he (*παι*) [without whom (*εxντ-q*) nothing (*ααγ*) *happens* (*ετε-μερε* ... *ψωπε*)]]]' (Zen. 202:3) (a free relative clause), *νετεμεγcει* *ντωρπ* *αγω* *νqι* *ννετενογογ* *αν* *νε* '[those [*who* *do not get enough* (*ν-ετε-νε-γ-cει*) of robbing (*ν-τωρπ*) and stealing (*ν-qi*) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (*αν*) theirs (*ν-ν-ετε-νογ-ογ*)]]]]]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24) (a free relative clause), (relativised negative concord) *ν-ετε-ν-cε-ψοοπ* *αν* '[*what was non-existent*]' (V. Pach. 7:14) (a free relative clause), (fronted adjectival verb) *νειννινε* *νρωμε* *ετε* *ναψε* *νεταψα2ον* *εροογ* 'these kinds (*νει-ννινε*) of people (*ν-ρωμε*) [against whom (*ερο-ογ*) the ones who complain (*ν-ετ-αψ-α2ον*) *are numerous* (*ετε* ... *ναψε*)]' (Sh. IV 99:19).

11.1.3 The grammatical role of the relative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause plays a role in two different clauses. On the one hand, it has a particular grammatical role (subject, direct or indirect object, adjunct) in the matrix clause, but it also has a particular grammatical role in the attributive relative clause. Coptic relative constructions have within their structure an anaphoric element that recovers the pivot's internal role. The placeholder may take the form of a resumptive pronoun, as in *πμα* *ενεqν2ητq* 'the place;

(*π-ι-α*) [where he was (lit. that he was *in it* ((ε-νε-q-ν2ητ-q)')] (KHML II 20:9), but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in *τευπιςτις ετχηκ εβολ* 'their faith_i (τευ-πιστις) [that (ετ _i) perfect (χηκ εβολ)]' (Test. Is. 233:19).

11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) οὐνα εφο νωρβα 'a place' (οὐ-να) [*that was* (lit. while it_i was (ε-φ-ο)) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (ν-ωρβα)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ρωμε νιμ εφζιχμ πκαζ 'every (νιμ) man' (ρωμε) [*who* (lives) *on* (lit. while he_i lives on (ε-φ-ζιχμ)) *earth* (π-καζ)]' (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) λααγ [ν]ψιην νι[μ] εαφχοογ 'every (single) (νιμ) one (λααγ) *of the trees*_i (ν-ψιην) [*that he* (Apa Matthew) *planted* (then_i) (ε-α-φ-χο-ογ)]' (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) εγζαληт εψαγμογτε εροφ κε тηε 'to a bird_i (ε-γ-ζαληт) [*which is called* (lit. while *they* say (ε-ψα-γ-μογτε) *about it*_i (ερο-φ) »truth« (т-ηε)]' (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) ζενнос нмнѡε нѡронос εγζμοос εζραι εχωογ νοι ζενнос нмнѡε нмѡнахос (for нмонахос) εγζа εооγ нмате 'great (ζεν-нос) multitudes (н-нмнѡε) of thrones_i (н-ѡронос) [*on which* great (ζεν-нос) multitudes (н-нмнѡε) *of highly* (нмате) *venerable* (lit. who were under (ε-γ-ζа) glory (εооγ)) monks (н-нмѡнахос) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ε-γ-ζмоос)) *on* (them_i) (εχω-ογ)]' (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ογсѡне (...) нпαρεенос επесран пе εγδοxia 'a virgin (н-пαρεенос) sister_i (ογ-сѡне) [*whose name* (lit. while her_i, name (ε-пес-ран) (was) (пе)) Eudoxia (εγδοxia)]' (Eud. 50:3-4).

11.1.3.2 *The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses*

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ΠΗΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΤΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΑΝ ΗΠΕΦΛΑC ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΗΠΝΑΥ
 ΗΠΩΝΤ the monk (Π-ΗΟΝΑΧΟC) [who (ΕΤ __i) does not (ΑΝ) restrain
 (ΑΝΑΖΤΕ) his tongue (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΛΑC), especially (ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ) in the hour
 (Η-Π-ΝΑΥ) of anger (Η-Π-ΩΝΤ)]' (ΑΡ Claiue no. 12, 3:8-9), ΕΠΘΟΥΕΙΤ
 ΗΠΕΙΚΟCΗΟC 'at the idle (lit. which is idle (ΕΤ __i φΟΥΕΙΤ) praise;
 (Ε-Π-ΕΘΟΥ) of this world (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΚΟCΗΟC)' (ΚΗΜΛ II 28:4-5), ΚΑΤΑ
 ΘΕ ΕΤΗΖ 'according to (ΚΑΤΑ) the manner;' (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [that (ΕΤ __i) is
 written (ΗΖ)]' (V. Pach. 4:20), ΓΕΝΟC ΝΗΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ
 ΤΑΗΝΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΗΜ) human (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) race;' (ΓΕΝΟC) [that (ΕΤ __i) lives
 (ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΝ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ΤΡΙΝΗ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΤΑΓΤΑΑΣ ΝΑΙ 'the peace; (ΤΡΙΝΗ < Τ-ΕΙΡΙΝΗ) of my lord; (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) [which he; has given (it) (ΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΤΑΑ-Σ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι)]' (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ΝΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕΚΧΩ ΜΗΟΟΥ 'your words; (ΝΕΚ-ΨΑΧΕ) [that you spoke (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΧΩ) (them) (ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΤΕΝΟΥ 'this man; (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you are looking (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ) at (him); (ΕΡΟ-Q) right now (ΤΕΝΟΥ)]' (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ΠΩΜΕ ΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΝΤQ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΗ 'the man; (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you were talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) about (him); (ΕΤΒΗΝΤ-Q), (namely) ΑΡΑ ΠΑΧΩΜ]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ (Π-ΘΑΜΟΥΑ) will rest (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) (in it) (ΝΖΗΤ-Q)]]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΠΩΨΣ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'also (ΟΝ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΝΨΕ) of (ΖΝ) those; [whose

minds, (νεγ-ζητ) *had left* (η-ετε-ψαρε ... πωψς) *them*, (ερο-ογ)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause).

11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker η-, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subject tense-aspect-mood marker) νεδον μεν (for ην) νεωπιρε νταψωπε εβολ ζιτοοτq ηπενειωτ ατα μαθεος '*the mighty deeds*, (νε-δον) *and* (μεν) *miracles*, (νε-ωπιρε) [*that (they)*] *happened* (ητ-α-γ-ωωπε) *through* (ζι-τοοτ-q) *our father* (η-πεν-ειωτ) *Apa Matthew*]' (KHML II 18:14-16), οyon γαρ ηνι ετεμπατογσογων ην νεκμαγια 'for (γαρ) *all*, (those) (οyon ηνι) [*that (they)*] *have not yet known* you (ετε-μπατ-ογ-σογων-γ) *and* (ην) *your magical tricks* (νεκ-μαγια)]' (Sh. III 77:26), ηνι πετνηναπιστεγε αν ενεδον ηπινογτε '*who*, (ηνι) (is it) [*that (he)*] *will not* (αν) *believe* (ετ-η-γ-να-πιστεγε) *in the mighty deeds* (ε-νε-δον) *of God* (η-π-νογτε)]' (KHML II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) μαρενταγε καρπος εβολ ετνανογq 'let us bring forth (μαρε-η-ταγε εβολ) *fruit*, (καρπος) [*that (it)*] *is good* (ετ-νανογ-q)]' (KHML II 19:15).

11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics πε, τε, νε 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns παι, ται, ναι 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. πμακαριος ατα ζηνοβιος ετε πενειωτ πε 'the blessed (π-μακαριος) *Apa Zenobius*, [*that is* (ετε ... πε), *our father* (πεν-ειωτ)]' (Zen. 199:9), νετπιστεγε ετε παι πε πχωκ ηπισωτη 'those who believe (η-ετ-πιστεγε), [*which (is)* (ετε παι πε) *the utmost degree* (π-χωκ) *of obedience* (η-π-ωωτη)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ζη τεγνογ ετερε πεπροσταγμα ναπωζ ψαρωτη '*at* (ζη) *the moment* (τε-γνογ) [(when) this order (πει-προσταγμα) will reach (ετερε ... να-πωζ) you (ψαρω-τη)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ηπιναγ γαρ ενταψωωνε ηπαθρονος ζαροι ηπμεζεσεπснаγ '*for* (γαρ) *in the hour* (η-π-η-αγ) [*that my throne* (η-πα-θρονος) *was turned down* (lit. they turned down (εντ-α-γ-πωωνε)) *under me* (ζαρο-η) *for a second time* (η-π-μεζε-σεπ-снаγ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. πεζοογ νταψχοκ νζητq '*the day*, (πε-ζοογ) [*when*, (νζητ-q) you were born (lit. they gave birth to you (ητ-α-γ-χοκ-η))]' (KHML II 30:13).

b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun εε (< τ-ζε) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. κατα εε νταψχοος νας νχιν π[ω]νζ '*in* (κατα) *the manner*, (εε < τ-ζε) [*that he* (Απα Μena) *had told* (ηι) (ητ-α-γ-χοο-ς) *her* (να-ς) *while* (he was) *still* (νχιν) *alive* (π-ωνζ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), εε ενεγειρε ημοος ημμαγ νογοειω ηνι '*the manner*, (εε < τ-ζε) [*that he* (Pachôm) *behaved* (lit. made (ε-νε-γ-ειρε) (ηι) (ημο-ς)) *towards them* (the brothers) (ημμα-γ) *all* (ηνι) *the time* (η-ογοειω)]' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g. εε ετсπογδαζε επαζωβ νοιx '*the manner* (εε < τ-ζε) [(in which) I was diligent (ε-τ-сπογδαζε < ετ-τ-сπογδαζε) *at my manual* (η-οιx) *labour* (ε-πα-ζωβ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ται τε εε ντα παλμωνιον ετμμαγ p ζαζ ηπεθooγ '*this* (ται) (was) *the manner* (εε < τ-ζε) [(in which) *that* (ετμμαγ) *demon* (η-παλμωνιον) *carried out* (ητ-α ... p) *many* (ζαζ) *evil* (things) (η-πεθooγ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g. $\text{2NKE}\psi\text{HIN}$ EYOPT NKAPOC $\text{ENA}\psi\text{WOY}$ EMATE 'other trees (2N-KE-ψHN) [RC1 while (they_i) were loaded (E-Y-OPT) with fruit (N-KAPOC) [RC2 while (they_i) were plenty (E-NAψW-OY)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT ₁	[RC1	ANTECEDENT ₂	[RC2]]
$\text{2N-KE-}\psi\text{HN}_i$ <i>other trees_i</i>	[RC1 E-Y-OPT while (they _i) were loaded	N-KAPOC_j with fruit _j	[RC2 $\text{E-NA}\psi\text{W-OY}$] while (they _j) were plenty

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g. NEYN $\text{OY}\psi\text{HPE}$ ψHM ΔE EPEQPAH PE BHCAMON $\text{EPI}\psi\text{HPE}$ PE NOYCTPATYATHC (for NOYCTPATYATHC) EPEQPAH PE BACIAITHC '(there) was (NE-YN) a young (ψHM) lad_i (OY-ψHPE) [RC1 whose name (lit. while his_i name (was) (E-PEQ-PAH ... PE)) Bêsamôn (BHCAMON), [RC2 who (was) (lit. while he_i (PE) (was)) the son (E-PI-ψHPE) of a general_j (N-OY-CTPATYATHC), [RC3 whose name (was) (lit. while his_j name (was) (E-PEQ-PAH ... PE)) Basilitês (BACIAITHC)]]]' (KHML I 43:5-6), ZENNOB $\text{MHH}\psi\text{E}$ NORONOC EY2MOOC E2PA EXWOY NOI ZENNOB $\text{MHH}\psi\text{E}$ MMONAXOC (for MMONAXOC) EY2A EOOY MMATE 'great (ZEN-NOB) multitudes (M-MHHψE) of thrones_i (N-ORONOC), [RC1 on which_i (EXW-OY) were seated (E-Y-2MOOC) great (ZEN-NOB) multitudes (M-MHHψE) of monks_j (M-MONAXOC) [RC2 that were highly (MMATE) venerable (lit. while they_j were under (E-Y-2A) glory (EOOY)]]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g. NECNHY ETOYAAAB $\text{ET}\psi\text{OON}$ 2M PXAIÉ 'the holy brothers_i (NE-CNHY) (lit. [RC1 who (ET ___i) are holy (OYAAAB)] [RC2 who (ET ___i) live (ψOON) in (2M) the desert (Π-XAIÉ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC1	[RC2]]
NE-CNHY_i <i>the brothers_i</i>	[RC1 ET- OYAAAB who are holy	[RC2 ET- ψOON 2M Π-XAIÉ] who live in the desert

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g. PEIPOME ΔE ETOYAAAB ETEYNTAQ MMAI $\text{MPEIMHH}\psi\text{E}$ NAPETH 'this man_i (PEI-POME) [RC1 who (ET ___i) is holy (OYAAAB) [RC2 that (he_i) possessed (ETEYNTA-Q) such a multitude (M-PEI-MHHψE) of virtues (N-APETH)]]' (BHom. 2:1-2), PEIKEOYA ET2N TETNMHTE $\text{ETMPEIMH}\psi\text{A}$ $\text{NQ}\psi\text{AXE}$ NMMAI 'this other person_i (PEI-KE-OYA) [RC1 who (ET ___i) (is) in (2N) your midst (TETN-MHTE) [RC2 that I am not worthy (ET-MPE-I-MHψA) (that) he_i talks (N-Q-ψAXE) to me (NMMAI-I)]]]' (KHML II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g. NEKCBOOYE ETNANOY NTAKTCABOI EPOOY 'your teachings_i (NEK-CBOOYE) [RC1 that (they_i) are beneficent (ET-NANOY-OY) [RC2 that you have taught me (NT-A-K-TCABO-I) (them_i) (EPO-OY)]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-ordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g. POME NIM ETNAEP $\text{P}\psi\text{H}\psi\text{E}$ ETMMAI NQPICTEYE EPOQ 'everybody

(*ῥωμε* *him*) [who (*ἐστ* ...) will perform (*να-ερ*) that (*ἐτιμαυ*) worship (*π-ῥωμε*) and believe (*ν-α-πιστευε*) in him (Jesus Christ) (*ε-ρο-α*)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), *πισυτε* *νταρῳπε* *μν* *νγενεα* *νταρῳπε* *εαυοεινε* *ετβε* *τευμντακαρεος* (for *τευμντακεραιος*) *μν* *τευμντιστος* *εζουν* *επισυτε* 'God (*π-νουτε*) [who has been (*ντ-α-α-ῳπε*) with (*μν*) the generations (*ν-γενεα*) [that existed (*ντ-α-γ-ῳπε*) and passed by (*ε-α-γ-οεινε*) because of (*ετβε*) their guilelessness (*τευ-μντ-ακαρεος*) and (*μν*) their faith (*τευ-μντ-πιστος*) in God (*ε-π-νουτε*)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), *τμνταγαθος* *μπαχοεις* *πεχc* *παι* *ντατετνc-ρογ* *μμοα* *εατετνκααα* *2η* *ουταφος* 'the goodness (*τ-μντ-αγαθος*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεις*) Christ (*πε-χc*), [he (*παι*) [whom you crucified (*ντ-α-τετν-c-ρογ*) and put (*ε-α-τετν-καα-α*) into (*2η*) a tomb (*ογ-ταφος*)]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: *νεγεν ογρῳμε δε ον 2η τπολιc* *ρακοτε* *ερε* *ογδαμoνιον* *νμμαα* *νxin* *τεαμντκογι* 'there was (*νε-γεν*) also (*ον*) a (certain) *man*_i (*ογ-ρῳμε*) in (*2η*) the city (*τ-πολιc*) Alexandria (*ρακοτε*) [*who* was possessed by a demon (*ογ-δαμoνιον*) (lit. while (there) (was) with *him*_i (*ερε ... νμμα-α*)) since (*νxin*) his childhood (*τεαμντ-κογι*)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. *πρωμε δε ντα απα μμνα †* [*να*] *α* *ννεα[α]μοα* 'the *man*_i (*π-ρῳμε*) [*whom*_i (*να-α*) *Apa* Mena had given (*ντ-α ... †*) his camels (*ν-νεα-αμοα*)]' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), *ογμα εφο νθαρβα* 'a *place*_i (*ογ-μα*) [*that* was (lit. while *it*_i was (*ε-α-ο*)) in (a state of) scorching heat (*ν-θαρβα*)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

vs. *πμα ντα παλoс* *νοαα* *επμοογ* 'the *place*_i (*π-μα*) [(*where*) Paul (*παλoс*) threw himself (*ντ-α ... νοα-α*) into the water (*ε-π-μοογ*)]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

a) Specific indefinite antecedents

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. *α ογoν 2η νετογaaв* *р 2ме* *н2оογ* *натоуom* *натсω* *ετε* *πρωμε* *πε* *μπνουτε* *μωγснc* *παρχηпрофитнc* 'one_i (*ογoн*) amongst (*2η*) the holy ones (*ν-ετογaaв*) spent (*α ... р*) forty (*2ме*) days (*н-2оογ*) without eating (*н-ат-οуom*) (and) drinking (*н-ат-сω*)', [*to wit* (*ετε ... πε*) the (*π-ρῳμε*) of God (*μ-π-ноυτε*) Moses (*μωγснc*), the archprophet (*π-αρχηпрофитнc*)]' (KHML II 35:18-21), *ερε* *πρωμε* *ннрῳme* *ετῳne* *наδω* *επα2ογ* *μμοογ* *ετβε* *ογcon* *εтнаῳne* 'the man (*π-ρῳme*) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (*ετ* ...) are sick (*ῳne*)) people (*н-н-ρῳme*) shall stay (*ερε ... на-δω*) behind them (the fellow monks) (*επα2ογ* *μμο-ογ*) for (*ετβε*) a *brother*_i (*ογ-con*) [*who* (*ετ* ...) will fall sick (*на-ῳne*)]' (praec. Pach.).

b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. *нoε* *нeиcоογ* *εῳaybi* (for *εῳayqi*) *нтоотoγ* *нпeγῳc* 'like (*нoε*) *sheep*_i (*нeи-ecoογ*) [from *which*_i (*нтоот-ογ*) *their*_i shepherd (*μ-пeγ-ῳc*) is taken away (lit. *they* take away (*ε-ῳ-γ-би*)]' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g. $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\pi\tau\ \eta\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\eta\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 'other trees ($\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\epsilon$) [while (they_i) were loaded ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\pi\tau$) with fruit_i ($\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$) [while (they_i) were plenty ($\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma$)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15) vs. $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\gamma$ 'let us bring forth ($\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) good fruit (lit. fruit_i ($\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$) [which_i is good ($\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\gamma$ -q))]' (KHML II 19:15).

c) Quantified antecedents

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with quantified relative antecedents and provide information that makes it possible to narrow down the set of potential referents of quantified antecedents. When the pivot is an indefinite pronoun, such as $\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ 'one' or $\kappa\epsilon$ 'other', the selection of either relativisation pattern depends on its definite or indefinite determination, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\ \zeta\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \epsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\delta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\eta\psi\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\ \mu\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 'with the exception ($\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$) of some_i (people) ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \omicron\upsilon\lambda$) [who_i come ($\epsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$) to visit ($\epsilon\delta\eta$) us ($\pi\epsilon\eta\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the love ($\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$) of God ($\mu\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$)]' (Hil. 5:21-22) vs. $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \dots$ 'this other person; ($\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\lambda$) [who ($\epsilon\tau$ __) (is) in ($\zeta\eta$) your midst ($\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$) [that I am not worthy ($\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\mu\pi\omega\lambda$) (that) he_i talks ($\eta\kappa\alpha\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to me ($\eta\mu\eta\mu\alpha\iota$)]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), $\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\omicron\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$ 'others; (i.e. monsters) ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$) [which_i had ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron$) one single ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$) eye ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$)]' (Test. Is. 234:4) vs. $\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\rho\ \omicron\rho\omega\omega\zeta$ 'the others; ($\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$) [who_i ($\epsilon\tau$ __) are in (lit. make (p)) need ($\omicron\rho\omega\omega\zeta$)]' (Onnophr. 207:17).

The definiteness opposition is not applicable to the distributive universal quantifier $\eta\mu$ 'all, each', which must be construed with "bare" nouns (see above, section 4.3.1 of Unit 4). It looks as if the selection of a non-virtual relative clause imposes a more specific or topical interpretation on the universally quantified antecedent than its non-virtual counterpart. Thus, consider: $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\ \zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma$) $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\ [\eta\psi\eta\eta\ \eta\mu\ \epsilon\lambda\varphi\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ 'briefly ($\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\ \zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$), every ($\eta\mu$) single ($\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$) tree_i ($\eta\psi\eta\eta$) [that he had planted (them_i)($\epsilon\lambda\varphi\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$)]' (KHML II 18:23-24) vs. $\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\mu\ \epsilon\tau\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \pi\rho\alpha\eta\ \eta\iota\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma$ 'briefly ($\zeta\alpha\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma$) everyone_i ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\mu$) [who_i ($\epsilon\tau$ __) was imprisoned ($\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the name ($\pi\rho\alpha\eta$) of Jesus ($\eta\iota\varsigma$) Christ ($\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma$)]' (Eud. 40:24-25); (new discourse topic) $\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\tau\varrho\ \eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \eta\mu\ \epsilon\varphi\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \zeta\eta\ \pi\rho\alpha\eta\ \eta\eta\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$

'blessed are ($\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\text{-}q$) everybody_i ($\eta\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \eta\mu$) [who_i will perform ($\epsilon\text{-}q\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$) an act of mercy ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\eta\alpha$) in ($\zeta\eta$) the name ($\pi\rho\alpha\eta$) of these patriarchs ($\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$)]' (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning) $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\mu\ \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\mu\eta\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\ \mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\rho\ \mu\pi\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ 'everyone; ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\ \eta\mu$) [who_i ($\epsilon\tau$ __) will perform ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$) an act of mercy ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha$) on the day ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) of their (the patriarchs') remembrance ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\rho\ \mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)]' (Test. Is. 237:24).

d) The set interpretation of definite antecedents

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g. $\pi\alpha\chi\bar{\rho}\varsigma\ \lambda\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\iota\mu\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varrho$ 'my Christ_i ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\bar{\rho}\varsigma$) [in whom_i ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}q$) I ($\lambda\omicron\kappa$) believe ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\mu\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16), $\pi\mu\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \lambda\pi\alpha\ \eta\alpha\zeta\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\varrho$ 'the death ($\pi\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma$) [that ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon$) my Father ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) Apa Nahrow is going to die ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma$) (in it_i) ($\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}q$)]' (KHML I 7:27), $\eta\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\zeta\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\varrho\varsigma\eta\omicron\varrho\ \chi\eta\zeta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'the (pavement) stones_i ($\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\lambda\alpha\zeta$) [on which_i ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) his blood ($\pi\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\varsigma\eta\omicron\varrho$) has been smeared out ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \chi\eta\zeta$)]' (KHML I 6:28).

11.1.5.3 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

a) Restrictive relatives

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g. $\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega\beta\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon\ \eta\mu\omicron\varrho$ 'a thing_i ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$) [that God ($\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) hates ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \dots\ \eta\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon$) (it_i) ($\eta\mu\omicron\text{-}q$)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), $\eta\eta\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\varrho\varsigma\omicron\rho\eta$ 'like ($\eta\eta\epsilon$) a sheep_i ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$)

[*which* has gone astray (ε-q-cορν)]' (Test. Is. 232:34), οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐν δαίμονι ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐν ἡμῶν 'for (γὰρ) what (οὐ) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing (π-τῶν)) of *the demons*; (N-2ΕΝ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ) [*who*, fight (lit. give (ε-γ-τ)) with us (NΜΑ-Ν)] compared to (NΝΑΖΡΝ) *the angels*, *who*, fight (ε-γ-μῶν) for us (εχῶ-Ν)]?' (KHML 11 11:14-16). In extended existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ '(there) was (NΕ-ΥΝ) a (certain) *man*; (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the memorial chapel (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (N-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Απα Μena [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*, name (was) (ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ ... ΠΕ)) Mark (ΜΑΡΚΟΣ)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. ἀγὼ ΝΤΟQ ΠΕ ΠΡΟ ΕΦΖΑΡΑΤΚ 'and (ἀγὼ) he (Constantine) (NΤΟQ) (is) *the king*; (Π-ΠΡΟ) [*who*, is under you (ε-q-ΖΑ-ΡΑΤ-Κ)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΝΑΘΩΤ ΝCΑ ΠΕΦΩΠΡΕ ΕΦΒΗΚ ΝΕΜΤΩ ΝQΤΜΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟQ 'who (NΙΜ) (is) *the man*; (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [*who*, will watch (ε-q-ΝΑ-ΘΩΤ) his son (NCA ΠΕΦ-ΩΠΡΕ) drowning (lit. going (ε-q-ΒΗΚ) to the depths (of the sea) (N-ΕΜΤΩ))] and (*he*) would not help (N-q-ΤΜ-ΒΟΗΘΕΙ) him (ΕΡΟ-q)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. ἀγὼ ΝΕΦΑΧΕ ΝΩΡΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΧΟΟΥ ΝΑC 'and (ἀγὼ) *the words*; (NΕ-ΦΑΧΕ) [*that* the holy (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) Απα Pambô used to say (*them*); (N-ΦΑΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-Υ) to her (Hilaria) (ΝΑ-С)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), ΝΤΩΩ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΛΥ 'the rules; (N-ΤΩΩ) [*that* God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has made (*them*); (NΤ-Α ... ΑΛ-Υ)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: ΖΕΝCΙΟΥ ΝΡΟΥΖΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝCΙΟΥ ΝΖΤΟΥΕ ΕΥ† ΜΑΕΙΝ ΕΝΕΥΝΟΟΥΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ 'the evening (N-ΡΟΥΖΕ) and (MΝ) morning (N-ΖΤΟΥΕ) *stars*; (ΖΕΝ-СΙΟΥ) [*which*, indicate (lit. give (ε-γ-τ)) sign (ΜΑΕΙΝ)) the hours

(ε-ΝΕ-ΥΝΟΟΥΕ) of the night (N-ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), ΖΕΝΖΙΡ ΖΗ ΑΗΝΤΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΕΡΗΜΟC ΕΜΝ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'the streets; (ΖΕΝ-ΖΙΡ) in (ΖΗ) Hell (ΑΗΝΤΕ) [*which*, are (ε-γ-ο) (in a) deserted (N-ΕΡΗΜΟC) (state) [*without* (ε-ΜΝ) anyone (ΑΛΛΥ) on *them*; (NΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]]' (Ac. A&P 204:132) vs. ΕΑΜ[N]ΤΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΙΜΕ ΜΝ ΠΟΛΖΟΖ ΝΝΟΒΖΕ 'to *Hell*; (ε-ΑΗΝΤΕ), *which*, is (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) the place (Π-ΜΑ) of weeping (M-Π-ΡΙΜΕ) and (MΝ) gnashing (Π-ΟΛΖΟΖ) of teeth (N-Ν-ΟΒΖΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:142), ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΑ† ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΚ 'the day; (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the judgement (M-Π-ΖΑΠ) [(when) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) will judge (lit. will give (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-†) law (ΖΑΠ)) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΜΝΑΥ ΕΡΩΜΕ 'everyone; (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [RC1 *who*; (is) in (ε-q-ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) [RC2 *who*; (ΕΤ ...) leads an ascetic life (ΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) in order not to see (ε-ΤΗ-ΝΑΥ) anybody (ε-ΡΩΜΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 214:24-25).

11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers N- 'for' and ε- 'to', e.g. ΟΥΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΠΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡQ ΝΑΔΑΜ 'a baptism (ΟΥ-ΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ) [*to save* (N-ΟΥΧΑΙ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-q) race (M-Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of Adam (N-ΑΔΑΜ)]' (Eud. 34:13), ΟΥΦΑΧΕ ΕΧΟΟQ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'a word (ΟΥ-ΦΑΧΕ) [*to be spoken* (ε-ΧΟΟ-q) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), ΕΥCΚΕΥΟC ΕΟΥΟΜQ 'for a vessel (ε-Υ-CΚΕΥΟC) [*to eat from* (ε-ΟΥΟΜ-q)]' (Onnophr. 211:8).

11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. ΠΡΡΟ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑQ ΝΜΜΑQ (...) 'when the King (Π-ΠΡΡΟ) saw (ΝΤΕΡΕ-q-ΝΑΥ) [*what* God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had done (ε-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α ... ΑΑ-q)

for him (αἰνῶν-ϣ)] (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as Ø_{NOUN}). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
πῆ- that	Ø _{NOUNi}	[RC NT-A Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑ-ϣῖ (...)] what God had done (it _i)

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article π-, τ-, n- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns πᾱι, τᾱι, νᾱι. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) πἔτναμελεῖ εῖροϣ 'he who will neglect (π-ετ-να-αμελεῖ) them (the instructions) (εῖρο-ϣ)' (praec. Pach.103), πᾱι δε ζωϣ εἰτερε νεχρεῖστιανος (for νεχρεῖστιανος) † εἰροϣ νᾱϣ 'this one (πᾱι), however (ζωϣ-ϣ), [whom the Christians give (εἰτερε ... †) praise (εἰροϣ) to (νᾱ-ϣ)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), πᾱι ντα πεῖνᾱ ἡπῑαβολος χε νοϣνε εἰροϣ νζητϣ 'this one (πᾱι) [in whom (νζητ-ϣ) the spirit (πε-πῖνᾱ)

of the devil (ἡ-π-αἰβολος) has branched out (lit. has taken (NT-A ... χε εἰροϣ) roots (νοϣνε))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) τετοϣμοϣτε εῖροϣ χε πᾱεῖατ 'the land of the Mariôtês), the one they call (τ-ετ-οϣ-μοϣτε) »Pajat« (τ-πᾱεῖατ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), τᾱι εἰτοϣροεῖς εῖροϣ εἰροϣ ζῖτοϣτοϣ νᾱαῖτελοϣ ἡπᾱεῖωτ εἰτῖν ἡπᾱϣε 'she (τᾱι) [who is watched (lit. they watch (εἰτ-οϣ-ροεῖς) her (εῖρο-ϣ)) by (ζῖτοϣτοϣ-οϣ) the angels (N-N-αῖτελοϣ) of my Father (ἡ-πᾱ-εἰωτ) [who is (εἰτ _) in (ῖν) heaven (ἡ-πᾱϣε)]]' (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) εἰμῖτι ἐνετῖτω ἡμᾱτε 'except (εἰμῖτι) only (ἡμᾱτε) those who have been ordered (ε-ν-ετ-τῖτω)' (praec. Pach. 117), νετσοϣζ εῖροϣ τῖροϣ 'all (τῖρ-οϣ) those who gathered (N-ετ-σοϣζ) with him (εῖρο-ϣ)' (Test. Is. 228:5), νᾱι νψᾱϣεῖνε ἡμοϣ ψᾱροϣ εἰεῖμα νεῖ (for ϣῖ) λωγος (for λογος) 'those (νᾱι) [who are brought (lit. they have brought (N-ψᾱ-ϣ-εῖνε) them (ἡμο-οϣ)) to him (ψᾱρο-ϣ) to this place (ε-πῖ-μα) of justification (lit. taking (N-εῖ) account (λωγος))]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. εῖρε νετψοϣ ζῖ πᾱεῖ εἰτε πᾱοϣτε νᾱζε εῖρωμε τῶν ϣᾱν οϣεῖϣε ταζοϣ ἡ εϣᾱνζκο εϣᾱζε εἰτροφη τῶν εϣᾱνεῖβε εϣᾱζε εἰμοϣ τῶν εἰω 'where (τῶν) will [those who live (N-ετψοϣ) in (ζῖ) the desert (π-ᾱεῖ) for the sake of (εἰτε) God (π-νοϣτε)] find (εῖρε ... νᾱ-ζε) somebody (ε-ρωμε), when they get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (οϣ-εῖϣε) comes upon them (ϣᾱν ... ταζο-οϣ)), or (ἡ) when they are hungry (ε-ϣ-ᾱν-ζκο), where (τῶν) will they find (ε-ϣ-νᾱ-ζε) food (ε-τροφη); if they suffer from thirst (ε-ϣ-ᾱν-εῖβε), where (τῶν) will they find (ε-ϣ-νᾱ-ζε) water (ε-μοϣ) to drink (ε-ϣω)?' (Omnophr. 211:11-14).

c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extraclausal positions of vocative and appositional phrases.

Examples: (subject FRC) α ΝΕΤΗΘΩΦΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΣΟΚΟΥ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ [*those who went* (N-ET-HOOWE) *with him* (NΗΜΑ-Φ)] withdrew themselves (α ... ΣΟΚ-ΟΥ) on each side (NΣΑ-ΟΥ-ΣΑ) (Test. Is. 234:6-7), ΧΙΝ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Α ΝΕΤΗΠΑΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΧΑΙ 'since (ΧΙΝ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) [*all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *which is inside me* (lit. which is in my inner (N-ΖΟΥΝ) side (N-ET-H-ΠΑ-ΣΑ))] has become healthy (α ... ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΤΑΥΕ ΠΕΤΓΟΟΟΥΝ ΗΜΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'and each one (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) told (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΑΥΕ) [*what he knew* (Π-ΕΤ-Φ-ΟΟΟΥΝ ΗΜΟΦ) *from* (ΖΗ) *the Scriptures* (ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), ΑΙΟΥΩΗ ΗΠΕΝΤΑΦΣΕΕΠΕ ΗΠΟΕΙΚ 'I ate (Α-Ι-ΟΥΩΗ) [*what was left* (Η-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΣΕΕΠΕ) *of the bread* (Η-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) ΨΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΟΥΖΗΟΤ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ 'God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) shows (lit. give (ΨΑΡΕ ... †)) favour (ΟΥ-ΖΗΟΤ) [*to those who will believe* (N-ET-NA-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΑΗΕΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΙΑΛΑΦ 'after that (ΜΗΝΣΩ-Σ) I reflected (Α-Ι-ΗΕΕΥΕ) by myself (lit. in (ΖΗ) my heart (ΠΑΖΗΤ)) [*about what I had done* (Ε-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΑΛΑ-Φ)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ 'the regiment (ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ) [*of those whom* (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) *they call* (N-N-ET-ΟΥ-ΗΟΥΤΕ) »Luduriakon« (ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΗΑΩΨ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΕΥΖΗΥ ΗΝ ΟΥΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ (for ΟΥΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) ΝΝΕΤΝΑΩΨ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΗΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΣΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΗ ΟΥ† ΖΗΤΦ 'in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) they shall read (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΩΨ) from it (the book) (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) for the benefit (Ε-Υ-ΖΗΥ) and (ΗΝ) satisfaction (ΟΥ-ΠΛΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) [*of those who will read* (N-N-ET-NA-ΩΨ) *from it* (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)] and (ΗΝ) [*of him who will listen* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΤΗ) *to it* (ΕΡΟ-Φ) *with* (ΖΗ) *attention* (lit. giving (ΟΥ-†) one's attention (ΖΗΤ-Φ))] (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) ΕΙΒΗΚ ΨΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ) [*to* (ΨΑ) *the one who has sent me* (ΗΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) ΣΗΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΤΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΕΦΡΑΝ 'praise (ΣΗΟΥ) God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [*you who fear* (N-ET-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ) *his nome* (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΙϞ ΠΕΧϞ ΠΕΝΤΑΙΑΠΟΤΑΨΕ ΗΠΗΗ ΗΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ 'My Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Jesus (ΙϞ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧϞ), [*he because of whom* (ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ-Φ) *I renounced* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΑΠΟΤΑΨΕ) *my father's* (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) *house* (Η-Π-Η)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ (for ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΤΙΑΓΕ) ΕΥΕΔΙΩΡΕΙ (for ΕΥΕΤΙΩΡΕΙ) ΗΜΟΦ '[*he who will protest* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΔΙΩΡΕΙ) him (ΗΜΟ-Φ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

ΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΕΟΠ ΟΥΝΚΑ ΜΒΛΧΕ (...) ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΗΙΑ ΖΗ ΠΕΦΟΟΥ ΝΟΠ '[*he who will break* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΟΥΕΟΠ) *a piece* (ΟΥ-ΝΚΑ) *of pottery* (Η-ΒΛΧΕ) (...) shall be (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) reprimanded (ΕΠΙΤΗΙΑ) at (ΖΗ) the (lit. his) sixth (ΠΕΦ-ΟΟΥ)) occurrence (N-ΟΠ)]' (praec. Pach. 125).

d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) ΠΕΤ† ΣΒΩ ΓΑΡ ΖΗ ΤΤΑΠΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *he, who*, (Π-ΕΤ ...) teaches (lit. give (†) teaching (ΣΒΩ)) with (ΖΗ) the mouth (Τ-ΤΑΠΡΟ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ΕΚΕΟΥΩΗ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΟΟΥΦΟΥ ΝΑΚ 'you should eat (Ε-Κ-Ε-ΟΥΩΗ) [*what* God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *has sent* (it) (N-N-ΕΝΤ-Α ... ΤΗΝΟΟΥ-ΦΟΥ) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), ΠΕΤΚΝΑΑΙΤΕΙ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'what, you will ask (Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΙΤΕΙ) (it) (ΗΜΟ-Φ) from (ΝΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:25), ΝΕΝΤΑΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'what, you have seen (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΝΑΥ) (it) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ΠΕΤΕΜΗ ΑΛΛΥ ΖΗΠ ΕΡΟΦ 'he, (Π-ΕΤΕ) before whom, (ΕΡΟ-Φ) nothing (ΑΛΛΥ) is hidden (ΗΝ ... ΖΗΠ)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), ΕΤΗΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΖΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΦΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'towards perfection (Ε-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΤΕΛΙΟΣ) in (ΖΗ) [*what he had started* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΑΡΧΕΙ) (in it) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) ΝΟΥΗΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΖΑΤΕΥΖΗ 'Numerian (ΝΟΥΗΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ) *he*, (ΠΑΙ) [*who had been* (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) *king* (ΡΡΟ) before them (ΖΑ-ΤΕΥ-ΖΗ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), ΝΕΤΕΜΕΥΨΕΙ ΝΤΩΡΠ ΑΥΩ ΝΦΙ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΕ 'those, who, do not get enough (N-ΕΤΕ-ΜΕ-Υ-ΨΕΙ) of robbing (N-ΤΩΡΠ) and stealing (N-ΦΙ) [*what does not belong to them* (lit. what is not (ΑΝ) theirs (N-N-ΕΤΕ-ΝΟΥ-ΟΥ))] (Sh. IV 99:23-24).

11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g. *ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ* 'blessed is [*he who will do* (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) *the will* (Μ-Π-ΟΥΩΨ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *on* (ΖΙΧΜ) *earth* (Π-ΚΑΖ)]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9), *ΕΡΕ ΝΕCΜΟΥ ΜΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΜΝΝCΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΩΤΗ ΕΝΕΙΨΑΧΕ* 'may the blessings (ΝΕ-CΜΟΥ) of the patriarch (Μ-Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ) be (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) with (ΜΝ) [*those who come* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙ) *after us* (ΜΝΝCΩ-Ν)] and (ΜΝ) [*those who listen* (Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) *to these words* (Ε-ΝΕΙ-ΨΑΧΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7), *ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΚΖΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ* 'I looked (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) at your face (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΖΟ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) [*someone who had seen* (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΝΑΥ) *the face* (Ε-Π-ΖΟ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9), *ΠΕ[Τ]ΕΡΕ ΠΑΧΟΙ [ΝΑ] ΧΠΟQ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑΙΑQ ΝΨΟΜΤΕ ΝΤΟ* 'what my boat (ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ) will bring in (Π-ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-Q) each (ΚΑΤΑ) year (ΡΟΜΠΕ), I will split (lit. make) (ΨΑ-Ι-ΑΑ-Q) into three (Ν-ΨΟΜΤΕ) parts (Ν-ΤΟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5).

b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g. *ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΨΙ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ* '[*the ones who served* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) *well* (ΚΑΛΩC)] (are) [*those who stand* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) *within* (ΖΜ) *the confines* (Π-ΨΙ) *of the Scriptures* (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31), *ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΠΩΝΕ ΕΠΚΕΛΙΩΝ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΡΑΨΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΥCΟΛCΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΙ* 'in (ΖΜ) their joy (ΠΕΥ-ΡΑΨΕ) and (ΜΝ) compassion (ΠΕΥ-CΟΛCΑ) towards me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), they (the four lads) were (Ε-Υ-Ο) like (ΝΘΕ) [*those who had passed* (Ν-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΝΕ) *to the other world* (Ε-Π-ΚΕ-ΛΙΩΝ)]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3), *ΝΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΙΝΗΦΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΖΑ ΠΗΡΠ* 'suddenly (ΝΤΕΝΟΥ), I woke up (Α-Ι-ΝΗΦΕ) like (ΝΘΕ) [*those who are under* (the influence of) (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΑ) *wine* (Π-ΗΡΠ)]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g. *ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΗ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΨ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΦΕΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΖΩ ΝΖΗΤΗ ΜΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΤΝΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΩ ΝΟΥΨΑΧΕ (...)* '(as for) [*him who has effected* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) *in you* (ΝΖΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) *this good* (Ν-ΑΓΑΘΟΝ) *desire* (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΨ)]', he may also (ΖΩ) produce (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) in us (ΝΖΗΤ-Ν) the fulfillment (Μ-Π-ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) of your wish (Μ-ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΨ) to let us say (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΧΩ) a few words (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) (...)' (Zen. 199:25-27), *ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΑΔΙΒΟΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ* 'look (ΑΝΑΥ) at [*him* (Ε-ΠΑΙ) *in whom* (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) *the spirit* (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) *of the devil* (Μ-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) *has branched out* (lit. has taken (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ)))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), *ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΧΩΡΗΣ (...)* *ΕΚΕΝΕΖCΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΧΑΙΕ* 'oh (you) [*who brought* (Π-ΕΝΤΑ-Φ-ΕΙΝΕ) *water* (Μ-Π-ΜΟΥ) *out* (ΕΒΟΛ) *of* (ΖΝ) *the rock* (Τ-ΠΕΤΡΑ) *of Khôreb* (Ν-ΧΩΡΕΒ)], will you (please) raise (Ε-Κ-Ε-ΝΕΖCΕ) water (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) in (ΖΝ) this desert (ΠΕΙ-ΧΑΙΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΕQΤΑΥΟ ΝΝΕQΨΑΧΕ ΝCΒΩ ΕΙΑΚΩΒ ΠΕQΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ* 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (Isaac) told (Ε-Q-ΤΑΥΟ) his words (Ν-ΝΕ-Q-ΨΑΧΕ) of instruction (Ν-CΒΩ) to Jacob (Ε-ΙΑΚΩΒ), his son (ΠΕQ-ΨΗΡΕ), and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [*those who gathered* (Ν-ΕΤ-CΟΥΖ) *with him* (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5), *ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕCΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC* 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [*those* (ΝΑΙ) *you are looking* (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ) *at* (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)], they (ΝΑΙ) (are) the fathers (ΝΕ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) of the world (Μ-Π-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 21:21-22).

d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *ΙΟΥΔΑC ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΠΕΤΜΟΩΨΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC* 'the Apostle (ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC) *Judas*, [*who* (Π-ΕΤ _) *went*

(ΠΕΤ-ΗΘΩΕ) with (ΗΝ) our Lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΘΕΙC)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), ΠΑΣΩΤ (read ΠΑΣΩΤΗ) ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΡ ΠΟΥΩΨ ΗΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΗ ΝΗΠΗ[Υ]Ε 'my chosen one (ΠΑ-ΣΩΤΗ) Ptolemy (ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ), [who_i has done (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) the will (Π-ΟΥΨ) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ __ ΖΗ) heaven (Η-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΗΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΔΑΗ ΗΝ ΑΒΕΛ ΗΝ ΝΩΖΕ 'God_i (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who_i has been (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ ΨΩΠΕ) with (ΗΝ) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Adam, with (ΗΝ) Abel (ΗΝ) Noah (ΝΩΖΕ)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΨΕΠ ΖΙCΕ ΖΗ ΝΕΖΙCΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΗ ΤΗΡΗ 'the living (ΕΤ __ ΟΝΖ) God_i (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who_i (ΠΑΙ) has taught me (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΑΜΟ-Ι) to bear (Ε-ΨΕΠ) grievances (ΖΙCΕ) through (ΖΗ) the grievances (ΝΕ-ΖΙCΕ) [that he bore (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΨΟΠ-ΟΥ) for us (ΖΑΡΟ-Η) all (ΤΗΡ-Η)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΗΜΟC ΧΕ (...) 'they will become (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΨΩΠΕ) the children (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ) of David (Ν-ΔΑΥΕΙΔ), [who_i (ΠΑΙ) says (ΕΤ __ ΧΩ) that (ΧΕ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΗΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΗΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΗ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'oh holy (ΕΤ __ ΟΥΛΑΒ) virgin (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC), [who_i (ΤΑΙ) is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟΕΙC) her (ΕΡΟ-C)) by (ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (Ν-Η-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ __ ΖΗ) heaven (Η-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΖΟΟΡ (read ΟΥΟΥΖΟΟΡ) ΠΑΙ ΕΥΨΑΝΝΟΧΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΦΒΩΚ ΕΥΨΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΨΑΦΕΙ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a dog (ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΟΡ), [who_i (ΠΑΙ) goes away (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) [if they throw him (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΝΟΧ-Φ) out (ΕΒΟΛ)] (and) (he_i) comes (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) [if they call ((Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) him (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΗΛΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ 'as for all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (rules), [he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΛΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded

(lit. he_i will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) reprimand (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (pracc. Pach.103), ΠΕΤΗΛΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΗΝ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΦΗΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'as for [him_i who (Π-ΕΤ __) will come (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) [to believe (Ε-Φ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΗΝ) his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ)]]], he_i will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) heir (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC) to the kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), ΝΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΗΜΟC ΖΗ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ ΖΗ ΟΥΠΙCΤΙC ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ (read ΕΥΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΘΟΗ ΗΝ ΤΘΟΗ ΗΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΗΝ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΜΗΑΥ 'as for [them_i who (Ν-ΕΤ __) will study (ΝΑ-ΜΕΛΕΤΑ) it (the testament) (ΗΜΟ-C) with (ΖΗ) their whole (ΤΗΡ-Φ) heart (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ), in (ΖΗ) faith (ΟΥ-ΠΙCΤΙC), [believing (Ε-Υ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) in all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [what I have said (Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-Υ)]]], my power (ΤΑ-ΘΟΗ), the power (Τ-ΘΟΗ) of my beloved (Η-ΠΑ-ΜΕΡΙΤ) Son (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ), and (ΗΝ) the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) will remain (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) with them (ΝΜΗΑ-Υ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. ΝΕΜΗ ΠΕΤΗΛΑΝΟΥΦ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'there was nothing (ΝΕ-ΗΝ) [good (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner Π-, e.g. ΜΠΕΥΡΟΟΥΨ ΑΗ ΠΕ ΖΕΝΠΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ 'their care (ΠΕΥ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) (is) not (ΑΗ) [idle things (ΖΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΨΟΥΕΙΤ)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), ΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΕΙΗΥ Κ[Α]ΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΗΜ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟC '[our holy (ΠΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ)] father (Ν-ΕΙΩΤ) [who (ΕΤ __) is honoured ΤΑΕΙΗΥ] in (ΚΑΤΑ) every (ΝΗΜ) manner (CΜΟΤ)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

11.3 Nominal cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are very common in the syntactic patterns of Sahidic Coptic and occur in the declarative as well as the interrogative mood, e.g. ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲛⲧⲕ ‘(it is) the governor (ⲡ-ⲉⲛⲉⲙⲱⲛ) [*who* (ⲉⲧ __) is asking (ⲭⲛⲟⲩ) you (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲕ) [*what* (ⲛⲓⲙ) your name (ⲡⲛⲧ-ⲕ) (is)]]’ (KMHIL II 31:14-15), ⲛⲓⲙ [ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲏⲛⲱⲉ ‘who (ⲛⲓⲙ) (is it) now (ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ) [*that* (ⲉⲧ __) is misleading (ⲥⲱⲣⲙ) the crowd (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲙⲏⲛⲱⲉ)]?’ (Ac. A&P 212:231). Cleft sentences are complex sentences structures that express a single proposition by means of a biclausal syntax. In Coptic, cleft constructions represent a special type of tripartite nominal sentences in which a noun phrase (or its equivalent) is equated with a restrictive relative clause (section 11.3.1). Such nominal clefts encode different semantic types of focus, ranging from presentational (new information) focus to explicit contrast (section 11.3.2).

11.3.1 The equative format of cleft sentences

Coptic cleft constructions have a form that is identical to that of tripartite nominal sentences. Both cleft constructions and tripartite nominal sentences include an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the predicate, which forces a sentential interpretation of the structure (see above, section 5.2.1 of Unit 5 for the syntax of the agreement clitic). Thus compare: (declarative) ΝΤΟQ ΠΕ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΗΙΗΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ‘he (ΝΤΟQ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) after (ΗΙΗΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)’ (V. Pach. 4:11) vs. ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟQ ΜΑΛΛΑQ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ‘and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) him (ΝΤΟQ) alone (ΜΑΛΛΑ-Q) [who was living as a hermit (Ε-Φ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]’ (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), (interrogative) ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΒΑΛΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΕCΟΟΥ ‘who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΛΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕCΟΟΥ)?’ (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:14) vs. ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΝΤΑQΤΩΩCΕ ΗΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ‘who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [that planted (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΩΩCΕ) them (the trees) (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ) in this place (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]?’ (Onnophr. 219:20-21). A schematic representation of the equative format of nominal clefts and tripartite nominal sentences is given in figure 11.5 (AGR-CL stands for agreement clitic’)

	SUBJECT	AGR-CL	PREDICATE NOUN
TRIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCE	ΝΤΟϙ he	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ their father
	CLEFTED NP	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE
CLEFT SENTENCE	ΝΤΟϙ ΜΑΥΛΑ-ϙ he alone	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	[RC Ε-ϙ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ] who lived as a hermit

FIGURE 11.5 The equative format of cleft sentences

Nominal clefts involve minimally two clauses: the matrix clause is a tripartite nominal sentence that includes a restrictive relative clause. Taken together, the matrix clauses and the embedded relative clause express a single proposition. The following sections review the main syntactic characteristics of nominal clefts, namely (i) the distribution of tense and negation, (ii) the morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic, (iii) the anaphoric relation between the clefted noun phrase and the embedded relative clause, and (iv) the interaction between clefting and topicalisation.

11.3.1.1 The distribution of tense and negation

The distribution of tense and negation provides further evidence for the equative format of Coptic cleft constructions. The clefted noun phrase can only appear with the preterit auxiliary *ne-*, suggesting that cleft sentences are subject to the same tense restrictions as the corresponding tripartite nominal sentences, e.g. *ene ntoq mayaaq pe eqanaaxwpei 2m pma etmmay* 'and (it) was (*e-ne*) him (*ntoq*) alone (*mayaa-q*) [who was living as a hermit (*e-q-anaaxwpei*) in (*2m*) that (*etmmay*) place (*p-ma*)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), *2aen mpatoycnt tpe mn pka2 ne oy petwsoop* 'before (*2aen*) heaven (*t-pe*) and (*mn*) earth (*p-ka2*) were created (lit. *they* had not yet created (*mpat-oy-cnt*)), what (*oy*) was (*ne*) (there) [that (*et* __) existed (*wsoop*)]?' (Contra Orig. 60:40-41).

In nominal clefts, negation may take wide or narrow scope (see above, section 9.2 of Unit 9). When negation occurs within the embedded relative clause, it takes wide scope over the backgrounded proposition, e.g. **ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝQΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'who (**ΝΙΜ**) (is it) [*that will not* (**ΑΝ**) believe (**ΕΤ-Ν-Q-ΝΑ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ**) in the mighty deeds (**Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ**) of God (**Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ**)]?' (KMHIL II

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ [+AGR]	[RC NT- ...]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	Π-, Τ-, Ν- [+AGR]	[RC ET- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Π- [-AGR]	[RC ET- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Ø	[RC ET- ...]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or "variable" (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) Η ΝΙΜ ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΚ ΨΑΡΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΦΦΥΧΗ (...) 'or (H) which (NIM) monks (H-MONAXOC) (was it) [who_i came (NT-A-Q-BOK) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-Φ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the salvation (Π-ΟΥΧΑΙ) of his_i soul (N-ΤΕΦ-ΦΥΧΗ) (...)]?' (KHML II 11: 9-11), ΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΗΜΟ ΤΑΨΕΡΕ 'what_i (ΟΥ) (is it) [that (it_i) happened (NT-A-Q-ΨΩΠΕ) to you (ΗΜΟ)], my daughter (ΤΑ-ΨΕΡΕ)?' (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΤΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΡΕCΑΛC 'what_i (ΟΥ) (is it) [that you order (ΕΤ-Κ-ΟΥΕΖ CΑΖΝΕ) your maid servant (N-ΤΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) [to do (it_i) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-C-ΑΛ-C)]]?' (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΝΤΟΚ 'who_i (NIM) (is it) [that you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ) to (him_i)(NΗΜΑ-Φ)]?' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) ΠΚΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΦ '(it is), again (ΟΝ), the earth_i (Π-ΚΑΖ) [that they (i.e. the birds and fish) return (NT-A-Y-KTO-ΟΥ) to (it_i) (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]?' (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΗΑΙΟ[C] ΠΕΤCΖΑΙ Ε[ΒΟΛ] ΖΝ ΤΕΦΜΝΤ[Ε]ΡΟ ΤΗΡC (...) '(it is) it_i (ΑΝΟΚ), Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC), King (Π-ΡΡΟ) of the Romans (N-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΗΑΙΟC) [who_i (ΕΤ _) divulges (CΖΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ) (a decree) in (ΖΝ) his_i entire (ΤΗΡ-C) kingdom (ΤΕΦ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ) (...)]' (Eud. 40:3-4) vs. ΠΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC ΝΡΕΦΧΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕΦCΖΑΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ (read ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ) ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΝΕΥCΕΒΗC ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΨΗΗΤ '(it is) the victorious (N-ΡΕΦ-ΧΡΟ) Augustus (Π-ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC) Zênôn_i (ΖΗΝΩΝ) [who_i is writing (Ε-Φ-CΖΑΙ) to (ΕΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) our holy (ΕΤ _ ΟΥΛΛΕ) and pious (N-ΕΥCΕΒΗC) fathers (N-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) [that (ΕΤ _) reside (ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) Shiêt (ΨΗΗΤ)]]' (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΜΑΥΑΛΦ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) him_i; (ΝΤΟΦ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Φ) [who_i was living as a hermit (Ε-Φ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΜ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΑΛΦ 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) a beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ) thing_i (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [that he did (it_i) (NT-A-Q-ΑΛ-Φ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. ΕΧΝ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ

οὐ πετεφθαλαῖ μὴ παλαβολος *'besides (ἐκτὸς) these (things) (ναί), what_i (οὐ) (is it) [that the devil (π-διαβολος) will (manage) to do (ἵ) (εἶτε-τ-να-α-α-α-α-α-α)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), μὴνσα πζαπ δε τψωτε μπινοῦν τετναψωπε νακ μμα μμοον[ε] *'after (μὴνσα) the (day of) judgement (π-ζαπ), (it is) the pit_i (τ-ψωτε) of the Abyss (μ-π-νοῦν) [which_i (εἰ) will become (να-ψωπε) your (να-κ) dwelling (μ-μοονε) place (μ-μα)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).**

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. πενταϳτ ραν ελλαῡ νιμ αῡω ετσοοῡν νζωβ νιμ ντοϳ ετσοοῡν νενραν *'[he who has given (πε-ντ-α-α-α-α-α-α) a name (ραν) to everybody (ελλαῡ νιμ) and (αῡω) knows (ετ-σοοῡν) everything (ν-ζωβ νιμ)]_i, (it is) him_i (ντοϳ) [who_i (εἰ) knows (σοοῡν) our name (νεν-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), νενταῡμοῡ μν πεῡχ ντοοῡ νετναωνζ ον μν πεῡχ *'(as for) [those who died (νε-ντ-α-γ-μοῡ) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῡχ)]_i, (it is) them_i (ντοοῡ) [who_i (εἰ) will also (ον) live (να-ωνζ) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῡχ)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).**

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. οὐ ντωτν πετετνογεψ τρενααϳ [ν]ναζρν ναι *'(as for) you_i (ντωτν), what_i (οὐ) (is it) [that you_i want (εἶτε-τν-ογεψ) us [to do (ἵ) (τρε-ν-α-α-α-α-α-α) about (νναζρν) these (things) (ναι)]?' (Camb. 11:9-10), νιμ [τ]ενοῡ πετσωρμ μπιμνιψε *'who_i (νιμ) (is it) now (τενοῡ) [that who_i (εἰ) is misleading (τσωρμ) the crowd (μ-π-μνιψε)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).**

11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in οὐπῖνᾱ εφοῡαβ ντε πνοῡτε πετψαχε νζητϳ *'(it is) a pure (ε-φ-οῡαβ) spirit (οὐ-πῖνᾱ) of (ντε) God (π-νοῡτε) [which (εἰ) speaks (ψαχε) through him (νζητ-ϳ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), οὔζωβ ντε πνοῡτε πετψαχε νμμητν ετβηητϳ *'(it is) a divine (lit. of (ντε) God (π-νοῡτε)) matter (οὔ-ζωβ) [that I am speaking (ε-τ-ψαχε) to you (νμμη-τν) about (ετβηητ-ϳ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).**

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like εματε *'only'*, ενεζ *'ever'* or οὔωτ *'single'*, e.g. παην εψαχε ζενκοῡι εματε νετνναχοοῡ ζν νεϳκατωρῶμα (for νεϳκατορῶμα) *'yet (παην) even though (εψαχε) (it is) only (εματε) a few (things) (ζεν-κοῡι) [that we are going to say (ε(τ)-τν-να-χοο-γ) of (ζν) his achievements (νεϳ-κατωρῶμα)]' (Zen. 201:13), νιμ νρωμε ενεζ πε νταϳει ερατϳ μπενειωτ εϳμοκζ νζητ εμεϳεωκ εϳραψε *'which (νιμ) man (ν-ρωμε) ever (ενεζ) (is it) [that had gone (ντ-α-α-α-α-α-α) to (ερατ-ϳ) our father (Matthew) (μ-πεν-ειωτ) [disheartened (ε-φ-μοκζ ν-ζητ)] and did not go away (ε-με-α-α-α-α-α-α) [rejoicing (ε-φ-ραψε)]!'* (KHML II 11:8-9), οὔψηρε νοῡωτ πετσοοπ ναι *'(it is) (just) a single (ν-οὔωτ) son (οὔ-ψηρε) [that (εἰ) I have (lit. exists (σοοπ) with me (να-ι)]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).**

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. πεελαχιστος νρρο ζηνων πε ντα πνοῡτε † ναϳ μπιταιο ντηντρρο παρᾱ πεϳεμπψα εϳζζαι ερατοῡ ννεσνιῡ ννεϳεβης (for νεϳεβης) νψοῡμεριτοῡ (...) *'(it is) this most humble (πει-ελαχιστος) king (ν-ρρο) Zēnōn (ζηνων), [whom (να-α) God (π-νοῡτε) has given (ντ-α ... †) the honour (μ-π-ταιο) of kingship (ν-τ-μντ-ρρο) beyond (παρᾱ) his worthiness (πεϳ-εμπψα)], [who is writing (ε-φ-α-α-α) to (ε-ρατ-οῡ) the pious (νν-εϳεβης) and beloved (ν-ψοῡ-μεριτ-οῡ) brothers (ν-νε-σνιῡ)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).*

11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΩ (for ΠΕΤΟ) ΗΝΕΤΡΗ ΝΤΑΧΙΝΗΔΙΣ (for ΝΤΑΧΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ) 'for (ΓΑΡ) (it is) the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙΣ) [who (ΕΤ __) is (Ω) witness (Η-ΗΕΤΡΗ) to my conscience (Ν-ΤΑ-ΧΙΝΗΔΙΣ)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), [ΑΡΗ]Υ ΠΖΑΓ[ΙΟΣ Α]Π[Α ΜΗΝΑ] ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΝΤ Ε[ΡΟΙ] ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΡΗΤ ΝΤΑΙ[ΕΡΗ]Τ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΑΦ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) (it is) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Αρα Μένα (ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ) [who has become wrathful (ΝΤ-Α-ΦΩΝΤ) with me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the promise (Π-ΕΡΗΤ) [that I made (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΡΗΤ) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)]]' (Mcna, Mir. 11b:25-29).

11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΝΟΦ ΝΑΝ ΗΡΡΟ ΕΠΜΑ ΗΠΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΤΩΠΕ ΔΙΟΚ[Α]ΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΗΠΧΙΝΔΟΝΣ '(it is) Augustus (ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) Constantine, the righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) [that the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙΣ) our God (ΠΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has raised (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΥΝΟΦ-Φ) for us (ΝΑ-Ν) as a king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) instead (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the shameless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ) criminal (Η-Π-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ) Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ), the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) of injustice (Η-Π-ΧΙ Ν-ΔΟΝΣ)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. ΗΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΗΜΟΣ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΦ ΕΚΩΝΣ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΝΤΟΣ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΗΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΦ ΕΚΩΝΣ ΗΜΑΥ '(it is) not (Η- ... ΑΝ) man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) [who (ΕΤ __) turns (ΚΤΟ) it (the sword) (ΗΜΟ-Σ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) he wants (ΕΤ-Φ-ΟΥΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΣ)]]]; rather (ΝΤΟΦ) (it is) it (the sword) (ΝΤΟΣ) [which (ΕΤ __) turns (ΚΤΟ) the man (Η-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where it wants (ΕΤ-Σ-ΟΥΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΣ)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle ΜΑΛΑΑ- 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. ΝΤΩΤΗ ΜΑΛΑΑΤΤΗΥΤΗ ΠΕΤΠΑΛΗΗ ΗΜΩΤΗ '(it is) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ) yourselves (ΜΑΛΑΑΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) [who (ΕΤ __) mislead (ΠΑΛΛΗ) yourselves (ΗΜΩ-ΤΗ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. ΠΚΩΖΤ ΠΕΤΝΑΡΩΚΖ ΝΘΥΛΗ '(it is) the fire (Π-ΚΩΖΤ) [which (ΕΤ __) will burn (ΝΑ-ΡΩΚΖ) the matter (Ν-ΘΥΛΗ < Ν-Τ-ΖΥΛΗ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive

discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΝΟΧΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΤ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ 'if you throw me (Ε-Κ-ΨΑΝ-ΝΟΧ-Τ) out (ΕΒΟΛ), (then) (it is) you (ΝΤΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ __) will account (lit. give (ΝΑ-Τ) account (ΛΟΓΟΣ)) to God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) for (ΖΑ) my soul (ΤΑ-ΨΥΧΗ)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ΜΠΡΤΡΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'do not start (ΜΠΡ-ΤΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) a war (ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ)! (It is) me (ΑΝΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ __) is going to bring them (the apostles) (ΝΑ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΗΘΟΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΖΗ ΜΗΩΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΘΛΙΨΙC ΝΙΗ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) be strong (ΤΑΧΡΟ) and brave (ΝΤΕ-ΘΗ-ΘΟΜ), for (ΓΑΡ) (it is) me (ΑΝΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ __) saves (ΝΟΥΖΗ) you (ΜΗΩ-ΤΗ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) every (ΝΙΗ) trial (ΘΛΙΨΙC)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

Key Terms:

- Virtual and non-virtual relatives §11.1.1
Virtual relative clauses may appear in non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.
- Complementiser alternations §11.1.2
Various subordinating complementisers introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* ΕΡΕ- and *pron.st.* Ε-, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker.
- Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns §11.1.3
instantiate two different types of placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ΓΕΝΟC ΝΙΗ ΝΡΩΜΕ [Ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΑΜΝΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΗ) human (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) race, (ΓΕΝΟC) [that (ΕΤ __) lives (ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤQ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟC 'the mighty deeds, (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) and (ΜΕΝ) miracles, (ΝΕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) [that (they_i) happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) through (ΖΙ-ΤΟΟΤ-Q) our father (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

Nested and stacked relative clauses

Coptic relative constructions may §11.1.4 involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g. $\text{ΖΝΚΕΩΗΗΝ ΕΥΟΠΤ ΝΚΑΡΙΟC ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΜΛΤΕ}$ 'other trees (ΖΝ-ΚΕ-ΩΗΗΝ) [_{RC1} while (they) were loaded (Ε-Υ-ΟΠΤ) with fruit (Ν-ΚΑΡΙΟC) [_{RC2} while (they) were plenty (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g. $\text{ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ}$ 'the holy brothers; (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) (lit. [_{RC1} who ($\text{ΕΤ } ___$) are holy (ΟΥΛΑΒ)] [_{RC2} who ($\text{ΕΤ } ___$) live (ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

Definiteness opposition

The determination of the antecedent §11.1.5.1 noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g. ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΕΝΑΨΩQ 'much (lit. which is abundant (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-Q)) water (ΟΥ-ΜΟΟΥ)' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g. Ν[ΕQ]ΟΙΧ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'his holy (lit. which are holy ($\text{ΕΤ } ___$ ΟΥΛΑΒ)) hands (ΝΕQ-ΟΙΧ)' (KHML II 18:18).

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into §11.1.5.3 restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g. ΟΥΜΟΥ ΕQCAΨΕ 'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter (Ε-Q-CAΨΕ)) death (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ)' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g. $\text{ΖΕΝΖΙΡ ΖΗ ΑΗΝΤΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΕΡΗΜΟC ΕΜΝ ΛΑΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ}$ 'the deserted (lit. which are (Ε-Υ-Ο) (in a) deserted (Ν-ΕΡΗΜΟC) (state)) streets in (ΖΗ) Hell (ΑΗΝΤΕ) without (Ε-ΗΝ) anyone (ΛΑΛ) on them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Ac. A&P 204:132).

Free relatives

are relative clauses that occur without an §11.2.1 overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g. $\text{ΛΙΟΥΩΗ ΜΠΕΝΤΑQCEΠΕ ΜΠΟΕΙΚ}$ 'I ate (Α-Ι-ΟΥΩΗ) [what was left (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-CEΠΕ) of the bread (Μ-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5).

Hypothetical relative clauses

have a clause-like interpretation §11.2.2 corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpreted as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g. ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΔΙΛΓΕ (for ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΤΙΛΓΕ) ΕΥΕΔΙΗΩΡΕΙ (for ΕΥΕΤΙΗΩΡΕΙ) ΗΜΟQ '(as for) [him who will protest (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΝΔΙΛΓΕ)], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΔΙΗΩΡΕΙ) him (ΗΜΟ-Q))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).

Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function. In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause.

The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. *οὐγὼνρε νοῦωτ πετῶοπ ναι* '(it is) (just) a single (N-οῦωτ) son (οὐγ-ωνρε) [that I have (lit. that (ετ __) is (ῶοπ) with me (ΝΑ-Ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).

Exercises

11.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 1. The complementiser *ε-* occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
 2. Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
 3. The complementiser *ετ-* is restricted to subject relatives.
 4. Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
 5. Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

6. Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
7. The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
8. The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

11.2 Attributive relative clauses

- A. Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.
 - (1) *πμα ον (ετερε/ετε) κναβωκ εροϋ* 'the place (π-μα) [where you are going (__κ-μα-βωκ) to (ερο-ϋ)]' (AP Chaine no. 47, 10:10)
 - (2) *οῦωπτ ννεννοῦτε (ετ/ερε) ταεινγ παπολλων μν ταρυμικ* 'worship (οῦωπτ) our revered (__ταεινγ) gods (N-νεν-νοῦτε), Apollōn (π-απολλων) and (μν) Artemis (τ-αρδυμικ)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)
 - (3) *οὔδιακονιθς (ετε/ε) ρογν2 2ν οὔτμε* 'a servant (οὔ-διακονιθς) [who lived (__ϋ-ογν2) in (2ν) a village (οὔ-τμε)]' (AP Chaine no. 99, 22:9-10)
 - (4) *πολις νιμ (εντ/ετε) ψαγβωκ ε2ογν εροϋ* 'every (νιμ) city (πολις) [that they enter (__ψα-γ-βωκ ε2ογν)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)
 - (5) *αϋχνοϋς ετβε θε (ε/ντ) ασει εβολ 2μ πεϋνι* 'he asked her (α-ϋ-χνοϋ-ς) about (ετβε) the way (θε) [in which she had gone (__α-ς-ει) out (εβολ) of (2μ) his house (πεϋ-νι)]' (Hil. 12:10)

Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

- ### 11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

(1) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΠΕ ΝΤΑϞΤΑΜΙΟϞ ΝΑϞ ‘because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) (it was) the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (ΝΤ-Α-Ϟ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Ϟ) for her (Eudoxia) (ΝΑ-Ϟ)]’ (Eud.-50:8-9)
 □ thematic prominence □ contrastive focus

- ΕΠΙΔΗΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΤΣΟΥΝ ΗΠΤΩΨ ΤΗΡ-Q ΜΠΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ**
 'since (ΕΠΙΔΗ) (it is) you (alone) (ΝΤΟΚ) and (ΜΗ) God
 (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [who (ΕΤ __) knows (CΟΥΝ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Q)
 course (M-Π-ΤΩΨ) of my life (M-ΠΑ-ΒΙΟΣ)' (Hil. 12:22)
- ☒ presentational focus
☐ restrictive focus

- (4) πκω2τ πετναρωκ2 νογλη '(it is) the fire (π-κω2τ) [which will burn (ετ — να-ρωκ2) the matter (ν-ογλη < ν-τ-2γλη)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)
- ☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

NOTES: a. $\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\varsigma$ 'Phermês (toponym)' b. $\kappa\omega\ \eta\alpha$ - 'to keep for oneself'
c. $\dagger\ \gamma\eta\upsilon$ 'to give profit' d. $\tau\mu\eta$ 'price'

Present tense sentences may indicate a regular activity or characteristic behaviour of the subject referent. The habitual interpretation may be reinforced by frequency and interval adverbials like *μηνε* 'daily' and *μπεροο μν τεγυν* 'day and night', e.g. *ετβε ογ τονκοτκ εχν ογμαννκοτκ νελεφαντινον* 'why (lit. for (ετβε) what (reason) (ογ)) do (woman) you sleep (τε-νκοτκ) on (εχν) an ivory (ν-ελεφαντινον) couch (ογ-μα-ν-νκοτκ)?' (Eud. 58:3-4), *ανον γαρ εις ζηντε τνναγ ενενηρυ μηννε* 'for (γάρ), look (εις ζηντε), we look (τν-ναγ) after each other (ε-νεν-ερνγ) daily (μηννε)' (Onnophr. 211:3-4), *τνζαρεζ ερος μπεροο μν τεγυν* 'we watch (τν-ζαρεζ) her (ερο-ς) day (μ-πε-ροο) and (μν) night (τε-γυν)' (Hil. 8:6-7).

e) Generic present tense sentences

The present tense may have a generic use to describe situations that hold true at all times, e.g. *πρωτη γαρ παραγγειλε* (for παραγγελλε) *ναν ζμ πεαγγελιον* 'for (γάρ) the Saviour (π-ρωτη) summons (παραγγειλε) us (να-ν) through (ζμ) the Gospel (π-εαγγελιον)' (V. Pach. 89:14-15), *ερε πνουτε † μπογα πογα κατα πρισε ετεφναφοπ* 'God (π-νουτε) gives (ερε ... †) to every single person (μ-π-ογα π-ογα) according to (κατα) the grief (π-ρισε) which he will receive (ετε-φ-να-φοπ-φ)' (Onnophr. 212:7-8).

7.3.3 Future tenses

With respect to future time reference, Coptic employs two different tense forms: the First Future *q-na-cwTM* 'he is going to hear' and the Third Future *e-q-e-cwTM* 'he will come'. The First and the Second Future are formed by combining the present tense form of the motional verb *na* 'to go' with a lexical verb. The Third Future, on the other hand, is an underlying locative construction, whose future time reference stems from the goal-directed meaning of the prepositional predicate *e-cwTM* '(be) towards hearing' (see above, sections 7.1.2.3 and 7.1.2.4 for the syntax of the First and the Third Future, respectively).

The complete paradigm of future tenses is presented in table 7.3 below. In literary Sahidic, the second person singular allomorphs *τε-* and *τερ-* are morphologically fully productive, e.g. *τε-να-ζε* 'you (woman) will find' (Eud. 54:7) vs. *τερ-να-βωκ* 'you (woman) will go' (Mena, Mir.

296:11). Occasionally, the final *n* of the first and second plural pronouns *ten-* and *tetn-* is deleted in the context of the future auxiliary *na* to avoid a cluster of two nasals: *tetn-* /te.tən/ + *na* /na/ → *τεtet.na*/, e.g. *τεtet-na-moy* 'you will die' (Eud. 58:28).

	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE
1 st sing.	†-NA-CW TM	E-I-NA-CW TM	E-I-E-CW TM
2 nd sing. masc.	K-NA-CW TM	E-K-NA-CW TM	E-K-E-CW TM
2 nd sing. fem.	TE(P)-NA-CW TM	E-P-E-CW TM	E-P-E-CW TM
3 rd sing. masc.	Q-NA-CW TM	E-Q-NA-CW TM	E-Q-E-CW TM
3 rd sing. fem.	C-NA-CW TM	E-C-NA-CW TM	E-C-E-CW TM
1 st plural	TEN-NA-CW TM	E-N-NA-CW TM	E-N-E-CW TM
2 nd plural	TETN-NA-CW TM	E-TETN-NA-CW TM	E-TETN-E-CW TM
3 rd plural	CE-NA-CW TM	E-Y-NA-CW TM	E-Y-E-CW TM
Before noun	PWME NA-CW TM	ERE PWME NA-CW TM	ERE PWME CW TM

TABLE 7.3 Future tenses

7.3.3.1 Syntactic relations between future and present tenses

A structural relation between the First Future *q-na-cwTM* 'he is going to hear' and the First Present *q-cwTM* 'he hears, is hearing' is suggested by the obligatory presence of the verbal copulas *oyn* '(there) is' and '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g. *ογμντεβεihn natazooy* 'a misery (ογ-μντ-εβεihn) will come to them (ογν ... να-ταζο-ογ)' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1), *μνν μεταν ναψωπε νακ ω διοκλη ζμ πειλων ογδε ζμ πετνηγ* '(there) is (μνν .. να-ψωπε) no repentance (μετανοια) for you (να-κ), oh Diokletian (διοκλη), (neither) in (ζμ) this era (πει-λων) nor (ογδε, ζμ) the one to come (π-ετ-νηγ)' (Eud. 38:22-23), *αγω μν λ. ναν†τημενος ναεψ ομδον εροφ* 'and (αγω) no (λααγ) advers. (ν-αν†τημενος) will be able to gain power (μν ... να-εψ-ομ-δον) against him (the hermit) (ερο-φ)' (Onnophr. 221:20-21).

The First Present and the First Future differ morphologically from each other with respect to their compatibility with formal classes of verb. As pointed out in section 7.3.2.2 above, Stative verb forms are excluded from contexts other than the First and Second Present and

Present, e.g. $\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\chi \epsilon\omega\eta\epsilon$ 'I am cured' ($\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\chi$) from sickness ($\epsilon\omega\eta\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12). Moreover, the Stern-Jernstedt Rule does not apply to Future Tenses, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\tau\kappa \epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota\iota (\dots) \eta\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega$ 'I am going to take you ($\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\tau\kappa$) to the endless ($\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega$) light ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota\iota$)' (Test. Is. 229:23-24).

In the Third Future $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\omega\tau\tau\iota$ 'he will come', the directional preposition $\epsilon\text{-}$ is deleted in the context of a nominal subject (see above, section 7.1.2.4). The resulting construction $\epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\omega\eta\epsilon \omega\tau\tau\iota$ 'the man will hear' takes exactly the same form as the Second Present. Despite this isomorphy, it is possible to distinguish both tenses on syntactic grounds, the Second Present but not the Third Future is compatible with Stative verb forms, e.g. $\gamma\omega\varsigma \epsilon\pi\epsilon \omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\iota \tau\omicron \gamma\iota\omega\omega\epsilon$ 'as if ($\gamma\omega\varsigma$) a variegated tunic ($\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\iota$) were placed ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon \dots \tau\omicron$) on him ($\gamma\iota\omega\omega\epsilon$)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25). Since the Third Future is not subject to the aspectual restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt rule, the presence of a construct state form is therefore a reliable diagnostic for the Third Future interpretation of the sentence in question, e.g. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota \epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha$ ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$) 'I fasted a whole week) in order that ($\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) God ($\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) would teach me ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon \dots \tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$) about the well-doing ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha$)' (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:29-30).

7.3.3.2 The correlation between future tense and modality

Future tense and mood represent two different categories of verbal semantics in the sense that future tenses describe forthcoming situations that occur after the present moment and moods describe situations that the speaker believes to be true, likely, or desirable. Yet, futurity is never a purely temporal concept, but always involves an element of speculation and prediction: in anticipating events that are not yet actualised, future tense always makes intrinsic reference to possible worlds. It is therefore hardly surprising to find future tenses in modal contexts. Some of these modal uses relate to deontic modality, which deals with obligation and desire, and others to epistemic modality, which deals with degrees of possibility. Although all three Coptic future tenses have partially overlapping temporal and modal uses, the First and Second Future tenses are better candidates as markers for future time reference than the Third Future. Thus, while the First and the Second Future have a primarily tense-deictic function, indicating progression from the present to the

future, the Third Future involves a modal judgement on part of the speaker concerning the necessity or desirability of some future action.

7.3.3.3 Temporal and modal uses of the First and Second Future

The First and Second Future cover a broad spectrum of tense distinctions reaching from near to remote future time reference. Although various degrees of temporal distance are expressed, they always assert relevance of a forthcoming situation for the present. Therefore, both future tenses may be thought of a present-in-the future.

a) Near Future

As grammaticalised expressions of near future reference, the First and Second Future locate a forthcoming situation in the vicinity of the present moment. Adverbs of temporal location of the kind $\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'now' or $\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma$ 'in this hour' are frequently used to stress the connection with the present moment, e.g. $\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma \delta\epsilon \rho\alpha\psi\epsilon \eta\tau\omicron\kappa \chi\epsilon \epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\tau\kappa \gamma\eta \omicron\upsilon\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\gamma$ (for $\omicron\upsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\gamma$) $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'now ($\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$) rejoice ($\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$), you, ($\eta\tau\omicron\kappa$) since ($\chi\epsilon$) I will take you ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\chi\iota\tau\text{-}\kappa$) from ($\gamma\eta$) grief ($\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\gamma$) to joy ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$)' (Test. Is. 229:20-21). The near future reading may also be contextually implied, for instance, by a preceding imperative, e.g. $\lambda\chi\iota \omicron\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota (\dots) \epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon \omicron\gamma \eta\alpha\kappa$ 'say ($\lambda\chi\iota$) a word ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to me ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota$) (...)! What ($\omicron\gamma$) shall I say ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\chi\epsilon$) to you ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\kappa$)?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24-25). Near Future reference may include the day following the present moment, e.g. $\epsilon\pi\omega\alpha\eta \rho\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota\iota \epsilon\iota\iota \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \alpha\eta\eta \epsilon\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\iota\eta \lambda\gamma\omega \pi\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron \eta\alpha \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \eta\epsilon$ 'when daylight ($\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota\iota$) appears ($\epsilon\pi\omega\alpha\eta \dots \epsilon\iota \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$), come (you woman) ($\alpha\eta\eta$) to my shrine ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\iota\eta$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) healing ($\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$) will be granted (lit. happen ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$)) to you ($\eta\epsilon$)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23), $\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon \gamma\eta \rho\omicron\gamma\omega\psi \eta\pi\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa (\dots) \eta\eta\omicron\eta \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\gamma$ 'tomorrow ($\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon$), with ($\gamma\eta$) God's will ($\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$), we will go ($\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$)(...). No ($\eta\eta\omicron\eta$), we will go ($\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$) right now (lit. in this hour ($\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma$))!' (Mena, Mir. 77a:16-24).

b) Distant Future

The First Future may have distant future interpretation and refer to larger time intervals that include the present moment, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon \tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma \mu\eta \eta\epsilon\eta\psi\eta\epsilon \gamma\eta \tau\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\iota\alpha \gamma\alpha \pi\iota\beta\epsilon$ 'look ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma \gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$), we

Coptic has two different strategies for the grammatical expression of past tense reference. One strategy is the use of the First Perfect λ -q-cw τ m and the corresponding Second Perfect η t- λ -q-cw τ m 'he has heard, heard'. The other strategy is represented by the combination of absolute tenses with the temporal auxiliary η e, which underlies the formation of Preterit tenses. Since both the Perfect and the Preterit signal the past location of a situation, the relation between both tenses is not that they are mutually exclusive and contrastive, but rather that the latter contains an extra element of meaning not present in the former. The Preterit auxiliary η e is a purely tense-deictic element, while the Perfect marker λ is a portmanteau morpheme that indicates both past tense reference and

perfective and anterior (Perfect) aspect. Unlike the First Present, First Future and Preterit Present, the First Perfect is not susceptible to copula support in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g. α ΟΥCON ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'a brother (ΟΥ-CON) asked (α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24). The entirely regular paradigm of the First and Second Perfect is presented in table 7.4.

	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT
1 st sing.	Α-Ι-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Ι-CΩΤΗ
2 nd sing. masc.	Α-Κ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Κ-CΩΤΗ
2 nd sing. fem.	Α-ΡΕ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-ΡΕ-CΩΤΗ
3 rd sing. masc.	Α-Q-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Q-CΩΤΗ
3 rd sing. fem.	Α-C-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-C-CΩΤΗ
1 st plural	Α-N-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-N-CΩΤΗ
2 nd plural	Α-ΤΕΤΝ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-CΩΤΗ
3 rd plural	Α-Υ-CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α-Υ-CΩΤΗ
Before noun	Α ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ	ΝΤ-Α ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ

TABLE 7.4 The First and Second Perfect

The Perfect presents an event from a retrospective point of view as having reached its termination at some time prior to the present moment. The aspectual component of the Perfect makes it incompatible with the more durative Stative and nominal predicates that lack a clearly defined endpoint as part of their internal temporal structure.

a) Simple past

The Perfect is consistently used in series of temporally ordered events, which constitute the temporal skeleton of the main plot, e.g. ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΔΕ ΑΓΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΩΨ ΑΦΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤC ΜΠΝΟΜΙCΗΑ ΑΥΟΥΩΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΠΕ2ΟΥΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the deacon (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) fulfilled (Α-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria's) wish (Μ-ΠΕC-ΟΥΩΨ), took (Α-Q-ΧΙ) the solidus (a golden coin) (Μ-Π-ΝΟΜΙCΗΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-C) (and) they ate (Α-Υ-ΟΥΩΗ) together (ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ) on that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (Μ-Π-2ΟΥΥ)' (Hil. 5:1-4), 2Ν ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ Α ΠΕΦΛΑC ΜΕ2 ΡΩQ ΑΦΡQΝΤ ΑΦΜΟΥ 'suddenly (2Ν ΤΕΝΟΥ), his (Diocletian's) tongue (ΠΕQ-ΛΑC) filled (α ...

ΜΕ2) his mouth (ΡΩ-Q), he was eaten (lit. he became (Α-Q-Ρ)) by worms (QNT) (and) died (Α-Q-ΜΟΥ)' (Eud. 38:27).

b) Perfective aspect

The Perfect grammaticalises not only past tense reference, but also indicates perfective aspect, which conceptualises an event as a single point in time with no internal divisions, e.g. ΑCΩΝ2 2Ν ΚΕΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC ΕΝΡΟΜΠΕ (ΝΡΟΜΠΕ) 'she (Hilaria) lived (Α-C-ΩΝ2) another twelve (ΚΕ-ΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC) years (ΕΝ-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Hil. 12:18), Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC (for ΠΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC) ΧΩΡΗΓΕΙ ΝΑΝ Ν2ΕΝΡΕQΟΥΟΕΙΝ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) the Creator (Π-ΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC) provided (ΧΩΡΗΓΕΙ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) with light-bringers (Ν-2ΕΝ-ΡΕQ-Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ)' (Hil. 1:6-7).

c) Anterior aspect

The Perfect may also indicate Perfect or anterior aspect, which signals the enduring relevance of a past situation, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC ΑΚΤΡΕ ΝΒΑΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 'and (ΑΥΩ) since you came (ΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) into (Ε2ΟΥΝ) this city (Ε-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙC), you caused (Α-Κ-ΤΡΕ) the blind (Ν-ΒΑΛΕ) to see (ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ)' (KHML I 5:2-4), ΑΦΡ ΝΑΥ ΝΝΟΥCΥΝΑΞΙC 'it is (lit. has made (Α-Q-Ρ)) the hour (ΝΑΥ) of your (woman) services (Ν-ΝΟΥC-ΥΝΑΞΙC)' (Eud. 60:5-6). Anterior aspect implies resultativity: the resultant state of a past event is still observable at the present moment, e.g. ΕΙC 2ΗΗΤΕ ΑΚΟΥΧΑΙ 'look (ΕΙC), you have become healthy (Α-Κ-ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Onnophr. 209:6), ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΓΓ 2ΙCΕ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΝΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'My father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I have troubled (lit. I have given (Α-Ι-Γ) trouble (2ΙCΕ) to) your holiness (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ)' (Hil. 5:3) (used idiomatically for "excuse me").

7.3.5 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary ΝΕ is to establish a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations are made. Events can then be interpreted as coinciding with, preceding or following this newly established deictic centre, which furnishes three Preterit tenses, viz. the Preterit Present ΝΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past ΝΕ-Α-Q-CΟΤΗ 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future ΝΕ-Q-ΝΑ-CΟΤΗ 'he was going to hear', cf. table 7.5 below.

	PRETERIT PRESENT	PRETERIT FUTURE	PRETERIT PAST
1 st sing.	NE-I-CΩTM	NE-I-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-I-CΩTM
2 nd sing. masc.	NE-K-CΩTM	NE-K-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-K-CΩTM
2 nd sing. fem.	NE-PE-CΩTM	NE-PE-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-PE-CΩTM
3 rd sing. masc.	NE-Q-CΩTM	NE-Q-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-Q-CΩTM
3 rd sing. fem.	NE-C-CΩTM	NE-C-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-C-CΩTM
1 st plural	NE-N-CΩTM	NE-N-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-N-CΩTM
2 nd plural	NE-TETN- CΩTM	NE-TETN-NA- CΩTM	NE-A-TETN- CΩTM
3 rd plural	NE-Y-CΩTM	NE-Y-NA-CΩTM	NE-A-Y-CΩTM
Before noun	NEPE ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTM	NEPE ΠΡΩΜΕ NA-CΩTM	NE-A ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTM

TABLE 7.5 Preterit tenses

7.3.5.1 Optional appearance of the agreement clitic *ne*

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, Preterit clauses may contain the invariable agreement clitic *ne* and thus assume the form of nominal sentences, e.g. *NEQΩWNE ΔΕ ΖΩΩQ ΠΕ ΝΟΙ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΚΩΝΩΜΟC* (for *ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟC*) 'the steward (*Π-ΕΙΚΩΝΩΜΟC*) *Απα* Panoute, too (*ΖΩΩ-Q*), was sick (*NE-Q-ΩWNE*)' (V. Pach. 91:2-3), *NECP ΖΟΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΝΕΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΥCΑΝΤΙΟΝ* 'for (*ΓΑΡ*) she (*Ηιλια*) was afraid (*NE-C-P ΖΟΤΕ*) to go (*Ε-ΒΩΚ*) to the monasteries (*Ε-NE-MΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ*) of the Byzantine region (*Μ-Π-ΒΥCΑΝΤΙΟΝ*)' (Hil. 2:12-13).

7.3.5.2 The Preterit Present

The Preterit Present *NE-Q-CΩTM* 'he heard, was hearing' indicates the co-incidence of a situation with the secondary deictic centre, which is located in the past. It is subject to the same semantic restrictions as the corresponding First Present *Q-CΩTM* 'he hears, is hearing. Thus, copula support applies to indefinite subjects, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΩΗΝ ΡΗΓ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΠΥΓΗ* (for *ΠΗΓΗ*) 'and (*ΑΥΩ*) (there) were big (*ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC*) trees (*Ν-ΩΗΝ*) growing (*NE-YN*)... *ΡΗΓ* near (*ΖΙΧΝ*) the well (*Τ-ΠΥΓΗ*)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). The Preterit Present underlies the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΕΙΡΕ* (read *NEQEΙΡΕ*) *ΝΤΠΑΨΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΕΦΩΛΗ* 'and (*ΑΥΩ*) he (*Ισαακ*) spent

(*NE-Q-ΕΙΡΕ*) *half* (*Ν-Τ-ΠΑΨΕ*) *the night* (*Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ*) praying (*Ε-Υ-ΩΛΗ*)' (Test. Is. 231:30).

On the semantic side, the Preterit Present is widely used to express imperfective aspect and habituality.

a) Imperfective aspect

The Preterit Present is associated with the imperfective point of view that presents an event as being extended in time, e.g. *ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕQΑΖΕΡΑΤQ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ* 'for (*ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ*) he (the archangel Raphael) accompanied (lit. he stood (*NE-Q-ΑΖΕ*) on his foot (*Ε-ΡΑΤ-Q*)) him (*ΝΗΜΑ-Q*) (*Απα Philotheos*) all (*ΝΙΜ*) the time (*Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ*)' (KHML I 1:6-8), *ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕQΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΕΡΕ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟC ΖΜΟΟC ΜΠΟΥΕ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ* (...) *ΕQΡΕΙΜΕ* (for *ΕQΡΙΜΕ*) *ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡ* (for *ΝΕΡΕ*) *ΖΑΖ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΡΕΙΜΕ* 'when he (*Παχὸμ*) said (*Ε-Q-ΧΩ*) these (words) (*ΝΑΙ*), Theodore was sitting (*ΝΕΡΕ ... ΖΜΟΟC*) at a short (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ*) distance (*Μ-Π-ΟΥΕ*) (...) weeping (*Ε-Q-ΡΕΙΜΕ*) and (*ΑΥΩ*) many (*ΖΑΖ*) of (*ΖΝ*) the brothers (*NE-ĆNHY*) were also (*ΟΝ*) weeping (*ΝΕΡ ... ΡΕΙΜΕ*)' (V. Pach. 90:15-17). The imperfective semantics of the Preterit Present may have a habitual connotation, presenting a continuous past activity as a characteristic property of the subject, e.g. *ΝΕΡΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ † ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ* 'Diocletian (*ΔΙΟΚΛΗ*) gave (*ΝΕΡΕ ... †*) them (the Persian kings) gifts (*Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΩΡΟΝ*) annually (*ΤΕ-ΡΟΜΠΕ*) for (*ΕΤΒΕ*) the glorification (*Π-ΕΟΟΥ*) of their gods (*Ν-ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ*)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

b) Backgrounded aspect

The aspectual opposition between the Perfect and the Preterit Present is utilised to express the foreground-background distinction in the temporal organisation of narratives. The Perfect appears in foregrounded portions of the narrative, which describe the main course of events. This contrasts with the Preterit Present, which describes backgrounded events that provide an explanation for the main event frame, e.g. *ΑΥΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΑΥΠΑΖΤΟΥ ΑΥΟΥΩΨΤ ΝΑC ΝΕCΖΜΟΟC ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΧΗ ΝΕCΘΡΟΝΟC ΝΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ* 'they (the servants) were startled (*Α-Υ-ΩΤΟΡΤΡ*), they bent down (*Α-Υ-ΠΑΖΤ-ΟΥ*), (and) did obedience (*Α-Υ-ΟΥΩΨΤ*) to her (*ΝΑ-C*) (*Ευδοξια*), since (*ΓΑΡ*) she (*Ευδοξια*) was sitting (*NE-C-ΖΜΟΟC*)

on (ελη) her ivory (N-ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ) throne (ΠΕΣ-ΟΡΟΝΟΣ)' (Eud. 54:23), ἀρτῶσιν δὲ νοὶ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ἀρτῶσιν ἐξοὺν μπερμηνῶε τῆρῳ μματοὶ ἐνταῖζε ἐροὺν 2N ΤΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΕQ2ΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕQΝΟΥΤΕ '(King) Constantine rose (Α-Q-ΤΩΟΥΝ) (and) gathered (Α-Q-CΩΟΥ2) all (Τῆρ-Q) his troops (M-ΠΕQ-ΜΗΝῶΕ) of soldiers (M-ΜΑΤΟΙ), (yet) only (ΜΜΑΤΕ) (those) he found (ΕΝΤ-Α-Q-2Ε) in (2N) Antiochia (Τ-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ) because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) he trusted (ΝΕ-Q-2ΕΛΠΙΖΕ) in the Lord (Ε-Π-ΧΟΕΙC), his God (ΠΕQ-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 42:19-21).

7.3.5.3 The Preterit Future

The Preterit Future ΝΕ-Q-ΝΑ-CΩΤM 'he was going to hear' serves as a future-in-the-past, which describes past events that were in progress but not yet accomplished, e.g. ἀγῶ ντοοὺ νενῶαρ οὐκοῦι νόοπε νρῶμε 'and (ἀγῶ) they (ΝΤΟΟΥ) were about to become (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΑ-Ρ) a small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) group (N-ΔΟΠΕ) of people (N-ΡΩΜΕ)' (V. Pach.3:28). The Preterit Future is used specifically to describe the result of a counterfactual condition, whose actualisation is considered extremely unlikely or impossible, e.g. ἐνέ [ΝΤ]ΑΚ[Χ]ΟΟC ΧΕ ἰc βο[Η]εῖ ἐροὶ ΝΕΚΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ 'if (ΕΝΕ) you had said (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-C) »Jesus, help (ΒΟΗΕΙ) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι)!«, you would have been saved (ΝΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Ac. A&P 202:125-126), νερε πχοεῖc μπειμα νεῖναβωκ ταπαράκαλει μμοq 'if the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) were (ΝΕΡΕ) in this place (M-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ), I would go (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and appeal (ΤΑ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to him (ΜΜΟ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).

7.3.5.4 The Preterit Past (Pluperfect)

The Pluperfect or Preterit Past ΝΕ-Α-Q-CΩΤM 'he had heard' denotes a past-in-the-past and locates the accomplishment of some event prior to the secondary temporal reference point grammaticalised by ΝΕ, e.g. ἀλλὰ 2PAI 2N ΤQΜΝΤΧΩΡΕ ΕΤΤΑΧΡΗΥ ΝΕΛQΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕΜΑΥ ΕΠΩC2 'but (ἀλλὰ) with (2N) his (Pachôm's) resolute (ΕΤ-ΤΑΧΡΗΥ) strength (ΤQ-ΜΝΤ-ΧΩΡΕ), he had gone (ΝΕ-Α-Q-ΒΩΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) with them (ΝΕΜΑ-Υ) (the brothers) for mowing (Ε-Π-ΩC2)' (V. Pach. 87:14-15), ΝΕΑΥΡ ΟΥCΜΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΝΕΥΟΥM ΑΓΩ ΝΕΥCΩ 'for (ΓΑΡ) they behaved (lit. they had taken (ΝΕ-Α-Υ-Ρ) the appearance (ΟΥ-CΜΟΤ)) as if (ΧΕ) they were eating (ΝΕ-Υ-ΟΥM) and (ἀγῶ) drinking (ΝΕ-Υ-CΩ)' (KHML I 80:21-22). In narrative discourse, the Pluperfect has a stage-setting

function and describes events that precede the main course of events, e.g. ΜΝΝCΩC ΔΕ ΟΝ Α ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΡΕQΒΩΚ ΝQΘM ΠΩΠΙΝΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤ2M ΠΙΟM ΝΕΛQΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2M ΠΕΙΟΟΡ ΑΓΩ ΝΕQΜΕ2 ΝΜCΑ2 ΝΟΙ ΠΕΙΟΟΡ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΑQΨΑΛΗ ΑQΧΙΟΟΡ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΜΜΑQ 'after that (ΜΝΝCΩ-C) it became necessary (lit. the need (ΤΕ-ΧΡΙΑ) occurred (Α ... ΨΩΠΕ)) (that) he (Antony) went (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΒΩΚ) to pay (N-Q-ΘM) a visit (Π-ΨΙΝΕ) to the brothers (N-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) that were in (ΕΤ-2M) the Fayyûm (Π-ΙΟM). He had come (ΝΕ-Α-Q-ΕΙ) upon (ΕΒΟΛ 2M) the canal (Π-ΕΙΟΟΡ) and (ΑΓΩ) that (ΕΤ-ΜΜΑΥ) canal (Π-ΕΙΟΟΡ) was full (ΝΕ-Q-ΜΕ2) of crocodiles (N-ΜCΑ2). He (ΝΤΟQ) prayed (Α-Q-ΨΑΛΗ) (and) crossed over (Α-Q-ΧΙΟΟΡ) with (ΜΝ) those that were with him (N-ΕΤ-ΝΜΜΑ-Q)' (V. Ant. 21:6-9).

7.3.6 Habitual tenses

Coptic employs the aspectual marker ψαρε, ψα- to indicate multiple, iterative, frequentative, distributive, habitual or extensive action. This verbal aspect is called the Habitual in most Coptic grammars. The conjugation base ψαρε, ψα- carries no temporal features by itself. Its past or present interpretation stems from the tense marker (which is a null morpheme in the present tense).

	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	HABITUAL PAST
1 st sing.	ψΑ-Ι-CΩΤM	Ε-ψΑ-Ι-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-Ι-CΩΤM
2 nd sing. masc.	ψΑ-Κ-CΩΤM	Ε-ψΑ-Κ-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-Κ-CΩΤM
2 nd sing. fem.	ψΑ-ΡΕ-CΩΤM	ΕψΑ-ΡΕ-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-ΡΕ-CΩΤM
3 rd sing. masc.	ψΑ-Q-CΩΤM	Ε-ψΑ-Q-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-Q-CΩΤM
3 rd sing. fem.	ψΑ-C-CΩΤM	Ε-ψΑ-C-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-C-CΩΤM
1 st plural	ψΑ-N-CΩΤM	Ε-ψΑ-N-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-N-CΩΤM
2 nd plural	ψΑ-ΤΕΤN-CΩΤM	Ε-ψΑ-ΤΕΤN-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-ΤΕΤN-CΩΤM
3 rd plural	ψΑ-Υ-CΩΤM	Ε-ψΑ-Υ-CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑ-Υ-CΩΤM
Before noun	ψΑΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤM	ΕψΑΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤM	ΝΕ-ψΑΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤM

TABLE 7.6 Habitual tenses

7.3.6.1 Selectional restrictions

The Habitual underlies the same temporal restriction as the Stative and combines only with present tenses. This does not seem to be an accidental property of this aspectual pattern, but rather indicates that the Habitual is semantically stative. In presenting a pattern of events rather than a specific situation, the Habitual denotes a state or condition that holds consistently over an extended period of time. It is therefore semantically incompatible with the Perfect and the Future tenses that are associated with a single event reading.

The Habitual Present and the Habitual Past differ, however, from the corresponding First Present and Preterit Present in being exempt from the the Stern-Jernstedt Rule: both conjugation patterns are fully compatible with the construct state, e.g. *ϣαρε τειεννε ταγε μντcнооуc нλoоу нenne κατa ρомπε* 'this date-palm (τει-enne) yields (ϣαρε ... ταγε) twelve (μντ-снооуc) bunches (н-λoоу) of dates (н-enne) per (κατa) year (ρoмπε)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), *πχαχε мен εfноуχε нзенмееуе еуχαζм εzoуn εpoq αντωνιος δε ζωωq ϣαqβοοpоу зитн неφaηλ* 'the enemy (π-χαχε) (i.e. the devil) insinuated (ε-q-ноуχε) filthy (ε-γ-χαζм) thoughts (н-зен-мееуе) on him (εpo-q). Anthony, however (зωω-q), repelled them (ϣα-q-βοοp-оу) through (зитн) prayers (не-φaηλ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), *πaγω неφaqзpoхpex ннеqоεze ное nourip нагpиoн* 'and (aγω) he (the possessed boy) gnashed (не-φa-q-зpoхpex) his teeth (н-неq-оεze) like (ное < н-т-ze) a wild (н-aγpиoн) boar (оу-pиp)' (Mena, Mir. 23b:24-27).

7.3.6.2 Pluractionality and habituality

The Coptic Habitual represents a pluractional pattern, which indicates the plurality of events and participants. The successive occurrence of several instances of an event as a characteristic feature of a whole period of time, which gives rise to a habitual or gnomic interpretation.

a) Pluractional aspect

The multiple occurrence of an event may be stated explicitly by frequency adverbials or quantified subjects and objects, e.g. *aγω ϣαqεωк ϣαpоc нceπcнaγ μμнne* 'and (aγω) he (Apa Pambō) would go (ϣa-q-εωк) to her (Hilaria) (ϣαpо-с) twice (н-ceπ-снaγ) a day (н-μнne)' (Hil. 6:16), *оуmннuε γαp нcoπ ϣαqαcπaze нmоi*

εταπpo 'because (γαp) a lot (оу-μннuε) of times (н-сoπ) he wo kiss (ϣa-q-αcπaze) me (μmо-и) on my mouth (ε-тa-тaπpo)' (I 10:11-12), *ρωme γαp нм εтнaεωк επεqтoπoс ϣαγмaтe мптаλ* 'for (γαp) every (нм) man (ρωme) who will go (εт-нa-εωк) to his (A Mena's) shrine (ε-πεq-тoπoс) will obtain (ϣa-γ-мaтe) *тесoν* (н-п-тaλбo)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

b) Habituality

The Habitual Present *ϣαq-сωтн* 'he usually hears' is commonly used ascribe a recurrent event pattern to the clausal subject as a characteristic property, e.g. *тнeзcнтe δε нcaлпиз ϣαγсωoγz нoи нкoмec . нeтpиboунoс нн наpхoн нтаγн мпppo* 'and (on the blast of) second (т-мeз-снтe) trumpet (н-сaлпиз), the courtiers (н-кoмec) ε (нн) tribunes (не-тpиboунoс) and (нн) chief officials (н-apхoн) of royal (н-п-ppo) court (н-т-aγн) would gather (ϣa-γ-сωoγz)' (E 60:16-18). In the absence of information to the contrary, the Habit Past *не-ϣαq-сωтн* 'he used to hear' induces a contrastive interpretation that the event pattern that is described no longer holds, e.g. *aγω нφa мпнoуte εтeϣαqcoтнoу нтooтq неφaqxoоу зωωq εнеqмoнaxoс* 'and (aγω) the words (н-φaхе) of God (н-п-нoут that he (the abbot) heard (εтe-φa-q-сoтн-оу) from him (н-тooт (Pachōm), he himself (зωω-q) would tell them (не-φa-q-xoо-γ) to monks (ε-неq-мoнaxoс)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

c) Gnomic use

The Habitual Present often assumes a gnomic interpretation in general statements of facts or truisms, e.g. *оуpωme нcoфoс мeqнex [ϣaλ нм εboλ зинаи aλλa ϣαqт зтнq ε[нeтcω]тн εpoоу* 'a w (н-сoфoс) man (оу-ρωme) does not throw (ме-q-нex) away (εвс every (нм) word (ϣaхе) like that (зинаи) but (aλλa) focuses (ϣa-q- his attention (зтн-q) towards those who listen (ε-н-εт-сωтн) to th (εpo-оу)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), *пmоnaxoс нzak ϣαγт κλoм εxωq πkaз aγω oн мпнuε ϣαγт κλoм εxωq мпмтo εboλ мпнoуte* 'i prudent (н-zak) monk (п-мoнaxoс) is given (lit. they give (ϣa-γ-т) crown (κλoм) on his head (ε-xω-q) on (зм) earth (π-kaз) and (aγω) a (oн) given (ϣa-γ-т) a crown (κλoм) on his head (ε-xω-q) in heav (н-пнuε) in the presence (н-п-нтo εboλ) of God (н-п-нoуte)' (.

Chaine no. 11, 3:6-7), *СОП МЕН* *ΦΑΓΟΥΩ* *ΕΧΗ* *ΠΕΒΙΩ* *ΕΥΦΑΝΘΕΝΤ* *СОП* *ΔΕ* *ΦΑΓΟΥΩ* *ΕΧΗ* *ΠΟΕΙΚ* 'some time (*СОП МЕН*) they (flies) will sit (*ΦΑ-Υ-ΟΥΩ*) on (*ΕΧΗ*) honey (*Π-ΕΒΙΩ*), if they can find it (*Ε-Υ-ΦΑΝ-ΘΝΤ-Ϛ*), some other time (*СОП ΔΕ*) they will sit (*ΦΑ-Υ-ΟΥΩ*) on (*ΕΧΗ*) bread (*Π-ΟΕΙΚ*)' (Sh. III 48:6-8).

d) Conditional use

As a grammatical marker of pluractionality, the Habitual conjugation is commonly used in the apodosis clause of conditional clauses that quantify over types of situations, e.g. *ΑΛΛΑ* *ΕΣΦΑΝΩΠΕ* *ΕΤΡΕΦΩΝΤ* *ΝΟΥСОП* *ΕΨΑΦΩΝΤ* *ΚΑΤΑ* *ΘΕ* *ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ* 'but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) if it happened (*Ε-С-ΦΑΝ-ΩΠΕ*) on some occasion (*Ν-ΟΥ-СОП*) that he (*Ραχδm*) would become angry (*Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ϛ-ΩΝΤ*), (then) he became angry (*Ε-ΨΑ-Ϛ-ΩΝΤ*) in (*ΚΑΤΑ*) the manner (*ΘΕ < Τ-2Ε*) of the holy ones (*Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ*)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21), *ΕΒΟΛ* *ΧΕ* *ΝΟΥΘΕΙΨ* *ΝΙМ* *ΕΥΦΑΝΟΥΨ* *ΕΥΟΥΨ* *НΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ* *ΝΟΕΙΚ* *ΝΕΨΑΥСΟΥΨ* *ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ* 'because (*ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ*) every (*ΝΙМ*) time (*Ν-ΟΥΕΙΨ*) when they finished (*Ε-Υ-ΦΑΝ-ΟΥΨ*) eating (*Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨ*) their small portion (*Н-ΠΕΥ-ΚΟΥΙ*) of bread (*Ν-ΟΕΙΚ*), they used to gather (*ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-СΟΥΨ*) with one another (*Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ*)' (V. Pach. 137:3-4).

e) Intentional use

The Habitual Present may have an intentional or commissive use and indicate the readiness, willingness or capability of the subject to perform a particular action, e.g. *ΨΑΙΚΑ* *ΠΑΧΟΙ* *ΝΑΙ* 'I will keep (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΚΑ*) my boat (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ*) for myself (*ΝΑ-Ι*)' (KMHL II 17:3), *ΠΕ[Τ]ΕΡΕ* *ΠΑΧΟΙ* [*ΝΑ*] *ΧΠΟϚ* *ΚΑΤΑ* *ΡΟМΠΕ* *ΨΑΙΛΑϚ* *ΝΨΟМТЕ* *ΝТО* 'what my boat (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ*) will bring in (*Π-ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-Ϛ*) each (*ΚΑΤΑ*) year (*ΡΟМΠΕ*), I will split up (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΑΑ-Ϛ*) into three (*Ν-ΨΟМТЕ*) parts (*Ν-ТО*)' (KHML II 17:4-5), *НННСА* *ΠΑМОУ* *ΨΑΙΤΑΑϚ* *ΕΖΟΥΝ* *ΕΠТОΠΟС* *ΝΑΠΑ* *МННА* 'after (*НННСА*) my death (*ΠΑ-МОУ*), I will give it (the dish) (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΤΑΑ-Ϛ*) to the shrine (*Ε-Π-ТОΠΟС*) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 17b:16-20), *ΨΑΙΩΡΚ* *ΝΑΚ* *ΠΑΧΟΕΙС* *ΧΕ* *МН* *ΑΑΥ* *ΝΡΩМЕ* *НΠΕΙМА* *ΝММАΙ* 'I (am willing to) swear (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΩΡΚ*) to you (*ΝΑ-Κ*), my Lord (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙС*), that (*ΧΕ*) (there) is (*МН*) nobody (*ΑΑΥ* *Ν-ΡΩМЕ*) here (*Н-ΠΕΙ-МА*) with me (*ΝММА-Ι*)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31).

Key Terms:

Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers	are grammatical markers, which express various categories of verbal semantics, such as tense (the location of events in time), aspect (the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (the commitment of the speaker to the truth of the reported event).	§7.1
Compound tenses	are verbal tenses with two or more grammatical markers. The Conditional <i>Ε-Ϛ-ΦΑΝ-СΩМ</i> 'if/when he hears', for instance, consists of the relative marker <i>Ε-</i> and the conjugation base <i>ΦΑΝ</i> .	§7.1.2.4
First and Second Tenses	Absolute tenses come in pairs of basic First and derived Second Tenses, the latter containing the relative marker <i>Ε-</i> and <i>ΝΤ-</i> besides the main TAM expression. Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology that is found in the context of interrogative and declarative focus constructions.	§§7.2.1-7.2.2
Wh-in-situ questions	are constituent questions in which an interrogative pronoun occurs in the same syntactic position as its non-interrogative counterpart in the corresponding declarative clause. Coptic wh-in-situ questions exhibit a straightforward correlation between Second Tense selection and the clause-internal position of the question word.	§7.2.2.2
Replative and contrastive focus	are semantic focus types that occur in declarative as opposed to interrogative context. Question-answer pairs provide a typical context for replative focus, which is assigned to the sentence element that answers the preceding question. Negative-affirmative pairs provide a typical context for contrastive focus, where the focus in the affirmative clause expresses an alternative value for what has been rejected in the negative clause.	§7.2.2.2

Absolute tenses

are verbal tenses that establish temporal reference with respect to the present moment, i.e. the time at which a sentence is being uttered. The linear order of the time of the event with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses: the present, the past and the future. While the present locates an event at the present moment, the past locates it prior and the future subsequent to the temporal reference point.

§7.3.1

Copula support

In Coptic, present tense sentences with indefinite subjects require the introduction of the verbal copulas **ⲟⲩⲛ** '(there) is' or **ⲙⲛ** '(there) is no' to be grammatical.

§7.3.2.2

Epistemic and deontic modality

Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.

§7.3.3.3

Aspectual distinctions

present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described.

§7.3.4

Preterit tenses

are compound tenses, consisting of an absolute tense and the Preterit auxiliary **ⲛⲉ**. The auxiliary **ⲛⲉ** establishes a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations can be made.

§7.3.5

Pluractional aspect

refers to the plurality of events and participants. In Coptic, pluractional aspect is morphologically marked by the Habitual conjugation, which indicates iterative, frequentative, habitual or extensive action.

§7.3.6

Exercises

7.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:
 1. Coptic tense-aspect-mood markers (TAM) are proclitic elements that are prosodically dependent on the following sentence constituent.
 2. There are two syntactic positions for TAM markers, one preceding the subject and another one preceding the main verb.
 3. In word or *wh*-questions, the clause-internal or clause-external position of the question word is correlated with the presence or absence of Second Tenses.
 4. When Stative verb forms are combined with indefinite subjects, the copular verbs **ⲟⲩⲛ** '(there) is' or **ⲙⲛ** '(there) is not' must be introduced into the structure.
 5. The Third Future **ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲉ-ⲙⲟⲩⲙ** 'he will hear' indicates not only future time reference, but also deontic modality.
 6. The Perfect **ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲙⲟⲩⲙ** 'he has heard, he heard' and the Preterit Present **ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲟⲩⲙ** 'he was hearing' have the same temporal and aspectual interpretation.
 7. In narrative discourse, the Perfect **ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲙⲟⲩⲙ** is commonly used to provide an informative background for the main storyline.
 8. Pluractional/habitual aspect (**ⲙⲁ-ⲓ-ⲙⲟⲩⲙ**) is restricted to the present tense system.

7.2 The morpho-syntax of tense-aspect-mood marking

- A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g. $\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$: 3rd pers. sing. masc. *First Perfect* 'he has heard, he heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
$\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$		
$\lambda\text{p}\epsilon\omega\text{m}\text{h}$		
$\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$		
$\omega\epsilon\omega\text{m}\text{h}$		
$\eta\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$		
$\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$		
$\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{p}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$		

- B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g. $\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}$: 3rd person singular masculine *First Perfect* 'he came to this place'

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
$\lambda\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\chi\omega$	(Test.Is. 229:8)	
$\text{t}\epsilon\text{m}\epsilon\chi\omega$	(Mena, Martyrd.2a:29)	
$\epsilon\text{m}\epsilon\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}$	(Mena, Mir. 25:21-22)	
$\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$	(V. Pach. 2:7)	
$\eta\epsilon\chi\omega\text{m}\text{h}$	(V. Pach. 3:25)	
$\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$	(Eud. 36:24)	
$\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{p}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$	(AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6)	
$\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$	(AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25)	
$\lambda\chi\chi\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$	(AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6)	

- C. Translate the verb forms in the following Coptic examples.

- (1) $\lambda\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}$ '___ for me ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}$) a living ($\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}$) place ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) by myself ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (Onnophr. 207: 1 12)
- (2) $\text{t}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}$ '___ someo: ($\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) from ($\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) my clan ($\text{t}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (Eud. 54:7)
- (3) $\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{p}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$ 'God ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) ___ a mercy ($\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) to those that will belie: ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (Test. Is. 228:11)
- (4) $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$ 'but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$) ___ on ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}$) my feet ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) in ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}$) gratefulne: ($\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) and ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}$) humility ($\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (V. Pach. 90:6-7)
- (5) $\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$ 'since ($\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) our Lo: ($\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) ___ you ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) according to ($\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) your hea: ($\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (V. Pach.136:11-12)
- (6) $\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$ 'a lot of times ___ into the sea' (Mena, Mir. 23b:28-30)
- (7) $\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$ 'My ho: ($\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) father ($\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$), ___ a monk's ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) hat: ($\omega\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (Hil. 6:10-11)
- (8) $\chi\epsilon\kappa\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$ 'in order th: ($\chi\epsilon\kappa\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) that every one ($\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$) of them (the brother: ($\eta\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)) ___ for himself ($\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (V. Pach. 4:2-3)
- (9) $\lambda\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$ '... (as for) me ($\lambda\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$), ___ t: the desert ($\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon\text{m}\text{h}\omega\text{m}\text{h}$)' (Ac. A&P 200:95)

7.3 First and Second Tenses

- A. Recall that the four absolute tenses (the Present, the Future, the Perfect and the Habitual) come in pairs of "basic" First and "derived" Second Tenses. Fill in the corresponding First and Second Tense in the empty cells and translate them into English, e.g. $\lambda\alpha\beta\omega\kappa \rightarrow \eta\tau\alpha\lambda\beta\omega\kappa$ 'he came'.

FIRST TENSE	SECOND TENSE	TRANSLATION
	$\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\eta\gamma$	
$\sigma\epsilon\zeta\omicron\beta\epsilon$		
	$\epsilon\psi\alpha\tau\omicron\omega\eta\tau$	
$\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\zeta\eta$		
	$\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$	
$\tau\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$		

- B. Second Tenses are selected in a variety of interrogative and declarative focus contexts. Consider the following Coptic examples and identify the relevant syntactic context motivating Second Tense selection by choosing one of the two alternatives.

- (1) $\epsilon\sigma\eta\alpha\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon\sigma \eta\alpha\psi \eta\zeta\epsilon$ (...) 'how (lit. in which ($\eta\alpha\psi$) manner ($\eta\zeta\epsilon$)) could she (possibly) recognize ($\epsilon\sigma\eta\alpha\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon\sigma$) her (...)?' (Hil. 8:26-27)
☐ *wh*-fronting question ☐ *wh*-in-situ question

- (2) $\text{[} \eta\mu\eta\eta \eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota\alpha \eta\alpha \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \eta\alpha\kappa \omega \delta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta \zeta\eta \pi\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\omega\eta \omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon \zeta\eta \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \zeta\eta \pi\omicron\lambda\zeta\omicron\zeta \eta\eta\omicron\beta\zeta\epsilon \psi\alpha \pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \eta\pi\zeta\alpha\pi \text{]}$ '(there) will ($\eta\alpha$) be ($\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) no ($\eta\mu\eta\eta$) repentance ($\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota\alpha$) for you ($\eta\alpha\kappa$), oh (ω) Diocletian ($\delta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta$), (neither) in ($\zeta\eta$) this world ($\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\omega\eta$) nor ($\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$) in ($\zeta\eta$) the one to come ($\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$), but ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) you will be ($\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) in ($\zeta\eta$) (the place of) the gnashing ($\pi\omicron\lambda\zeta\omicron\zeta$) of teeth ($\eta\eta\omicron\beta\zeta\epsilon$) until ($\psi\alpha$) the day ($\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) of the Judgement ($\eta\pi\pi\zeta\alpha\pi$)' (Eud. 38:22-24).
☐ replacive focus ☐ contrastive focus

- (3) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\chi\iota \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\omega\eta$ (...) $\epsilon\eta\chi\iota \eta\eta\omicron\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma \eta\alpha\iota \eta\eta\eta\alpha$ 'whereto ($\epsilon\tau\omega\eta$) do you bring ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\chi\iota$) this m ($\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon$)? – We bring ($\epsilon\eta\chi\iota$) him ($\eta\eta\omicron\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma$) to the shri ($\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\sigma$) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6)
☐ contrastive focus ☐ replacive focus

- (4) $\alpha\pi\alpha \eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma \eta\eta\eta\eta\omega\eta \epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\pi \omicron\gamma \zeta\omega\omicron\gamma$ 'what ($\omicron\gamma$) shall the who come ($\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$) after us ($\eta\eta\eta\eta\omega\eta$) do ($\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\pi$) l themselves ($\zeta\omega\omicron\gamma$)?' (AP Chaîne no. 207, 53:29)
☐ yes-no question ☐ *wh*-in-situ question

- (5) $\zeta\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon \psi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma \eta\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon \epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\pi\eta\tau\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon \epsilon\psi\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon \eta\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron \delta\omega\omicron\gamma\delta$ '(as for) some (people) ($\zeta\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon$) he (the demon) made them ($\psi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma$) lame ($\eta\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) in their legs ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\pi\eta\tau\epsilon$), (as for) others ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$) he twisted ($\epsilon\psi\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon$) . $\delta\omega\omicron\gamma\delta$ their face ($\eta\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron$)' (KHML II 53:3-5)
☐ anticipatory focus ☐ contrastive focus

- C. Translate the following the text fragment and identify all verb tenses you know.

FROM THE VITA OF APA ONNOPHRIOS

$\alpha\iota\chi\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon \chi\epsilon \eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \eta\alpha\psi \eta\zeta\epsilon \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\iota\varsigma^a \omicron\gamma\eta\eta\pi \eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi \chi\iota\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$ ($\chi\iota\eta^b \eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$) $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \alpha\gamma\omega \eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma\eta \omicron\gamma \alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \omicron\gamma \epsilon\kappa\kappa\eta\kappa \alpha\zeta\eta\gamma^c \epsilon\mu\eta^d \zeta\beta\epsilon\omega \tau\omega$ (for to) $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\kappa$. (Onnophr. 206:32-207:2)

Notes: a. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (interjection) 'look' b. $\chi\iota\eta$ (+ Second Perfect) 'since' c. $\kappa\omega \alpha\zeta\eta\gamma$ 'to undress' d. $\epsilon\mu\eta$ a Relative Present, which translates as circumstantial clause 'while'.

7.4 Temporal, aspectual and modal uses of absolute tenses

A. Recall that several absolute tenses require the presence of the copular verbs **ΟΥΝ** '(there) is' and **ΜΗ** '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects. Complete the following Coptic examples by selecting one of the two alternatives given in brackets (Ø indicates the absence of a copular verb).

- (1) (ΟΥΝ/Ø) ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΖΙΣΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟQ Ω ΠΗΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΙΣΑΑΚ 'great grievances will befall (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) him (Jesus Christ), oh (Ω) Isaak, the beloved (Π-ΗΕΡΙΤ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 230:5-6)
- (2) ΜΗΝΝΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ (ΝΕΥΕΝ/ΝΕ-Ø) ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΡΗΜΑΘ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΦΙΛΟΞΑΝΙΤΗ (...) 'after (ΜΗΝΝΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) (the other miracles) (there) was (___ ΨΟΟΠ) also (ΟΝ) a rich (Ν-ΡΗ-ΜΑΘ) woman (ΟΥC-ΖΙΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) Philoxanitê (...) ' (Mena, Mir. 22a:16-20)
- (3) ΑΨΩ (ΝΕΥΝ/ΝΕΡΕ Ø) ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΩΗΝ ΡΗΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΙΠΥΓΗ (for ΤΙΠΗΓΗ) 'and (ΑΨΩ) (there) were big (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) trees (Ν-ΩΗΝ) growing (___ ΡΗΤ) near (ΖΙΧΝ) the well (ΤΙ-ΠΥΓΗ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18)
- (4) Α (ΟΥΝ/Ø) [Ο]ΥCΟΝ ΝΑΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ [read ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ] ΕΠQΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑ<Π>ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΗΓΙCΘΑΙ ΕΖΕΝCΗΥ ΜΗΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ 'a hermit (Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) brother (ΟΥC-ΟΝ) whose name (Ε-ΠQ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Apa Parnoute was writing (Α ___ ΕΖΗΓΙCΘΑΙ) to God-loving (Μ-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) brothers (Ε-ΖΕΝ-CΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:8-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples

- (1) ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΟΥΗΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΝΖΜΕ ΜΜΙΛΙΟΝ (Hil. 5:20-21)
- (2) ΑΨΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ (V. Pach. 4:22-23)
- (3) ΤΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΗCΑΥ (Test. Is. 229:30)

(4) ΑΛΛΑ CΕΨΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΒΡΡΕ (Hil. 1:19)

C. Decide which temporal or modal meaning is involved in the following future tense sentences by choosing one of the two alternatives.

- (1) ΖΗ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (for ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. 'in (ΖΗ) a dying (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ)) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ)) (Eud. 58:28-60:1)
☐ near future ☐ directive
- (2) ΠΕΡΕ ΠΕΖΜΟΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ 'may the grace (ΠΕ-ΖΜΟΤ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) come upon (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) everybody (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) and (ΜΗ) those who believe (Ν-ΕΤ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).
☐ volitive use ☐ commissive use
- (3) ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΨΩΝΕ ΝΑΔΩ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥCΟΝ ΕΤΨΩΝΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) (responsible) for the people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) who are sick (ΕΤ-ΨΩΝΕ) will stay (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΔΩ) behind (ΕΠΑΖΟΥ) them (the brothers) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) for (the sake of, (ΕΤΒΕ) a sick (ΕΤ-ΨΩΝΕ) brother (ΟΥC-ΟΝ)' (praec. Pach. 129)
☐ directive use ☐ commissive use

D. Analyse all Preterit tenses in the following Coptic examples, e.g. ΝΕQCΩΤΗ: 3rd person masculine singular 'he was hearing, he heard'

- (1) ΑΨΩ ΠΩΜΨΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΩΜΨΙΝΕ) ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΛQΨΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΝCΟΟΥC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕCΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΕCΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC 'and (ΑΨΩ) that (ΕΤ-ΜΗΑΥ) affliction (Π-ΩΜ Π-ΨΕΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-Q-ΨΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-CΟΟΥC) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΗΥ) through (ΖΗ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕC-ΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12)

(2) $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\rho$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\eta\delta\omicron\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) they ($\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$) were about to become ($\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\rho$) a small ($\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$) group ($\eta\delta\omicron\eta\epsilon$) of people ($\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$)' (V. Pach.3:28)

(3) $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\tau\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\varsigma\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varsigma\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) the words ($\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) of God ($\mu\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) which he (the abbot) heard ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\tau\eta\omicron\gamma$) from him ($\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$) (Pach δ m), he himself ($\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon$) would them ($\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\varsigma\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$) to his monks ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varsigma\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

F. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT APA NAHROW IN THE AMPHITHEATRE

$\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\lambda\gamma\epsilon\eta$ $\pi\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\pi\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\gamma\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha\delta\rho\omicron\eta$ (for $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\eta$)^a $\alpha\kappa\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ ^b $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$ $\mu\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ ^c. $\alpha\phi\pi\omega\rho\psi$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\iota\chi$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ ^d $\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma$ $\gamma\eta$ $\pi\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\psi\gamma\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ ^e $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\mu\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ ^f $\eta\eta\epsilon\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ ^g (Psalm 73:19). $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ α $\pi\mu\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$ $\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\tau$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$ $\eta\rho\omega\epsilon$ $\alpha\varsigma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\eta\eta$ $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\chi\omega\gamma$ ^h $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ $\eta\alpha\psi$ $\eta\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\theta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ⁱ $\mu\eta\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ ^j $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$; $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ α $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\alpha$ $\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\epsilon$ $\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\tau\eta\gamma$ $\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ $\alpha\varsigma\chi\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ^k α $\pi\mu\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\tau$ $\eta\alpha\epsilon$ $\alpha\varsigma\phi\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha$. (KHML I 4:6-19)

Notes: a. $\theta\epsilon\alpha\delta\rho\omicron\eta$ 'theatre' b. $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ 'to order' c. $\omega\mu\alpha$ 'body' d. $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ 'saying that' (introduces direct speech) e. $\omicron\gamma\psi\gamma\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'soul ($\omicron\gamma\psi\gamma\chi\eta$) which appears ($\epsilon\varsigma\omega\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) to you ($\eta\alpha\kappa$)' (a relative clause) f. $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ 'do not' (negative imperative) g. $\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ 'wild animal, beast' h. $\chi\omega\gamma$ 'to touch' i. $\theta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ < $\tau\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon$ j. $\epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ 'who surrounds' (a relative clause) k. $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ 'city, town'

Unit 8

Relative tenses and moods

Coptic is a language with a basic tripartite tense system with distinct conjugation patterns for present, past and future tenses. More fine-grained temporal distinctions are made in the domain of past and future time reference. In the past, the presence of a secondary deictic centre furnishes a triplet of Preterit tenses, to wit the Preterit Present, the Preterit Past (Pluperfect), and the Preterit Future. Moreover, there are two distinctive future tenses that ascribe different degrees of likelihood or necessity to a forthcoming situation.

Besides absolute tenses, Sahidic Coptic has an extensive set of relative tenses and moods. Relative tenses derive their name from the fact that they locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. In this way, they serve similar functions as temporal connectives like *after*, *when* and *until* in English. Section 8.1 examines how these subordinate tense forms establish the relative order of events. The focus of section 8.2 is on the Coptic modal system. Mood is a grammatical category through which the speakers of a language communicate their attitude or beliefs concerning the likelihood, desirability, or necessity for some situation to occur. Within the same formal system, Coptic has not only an Imperative, but also a formally distinct Jussive, Conditional, and Inferential mood.

8.1 Relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses express three types of temporal ordering relations, viz. simultaneity, precedence, and subsequence. Relative tenses that indicate simultaneity locate some event at the same time as some other event or state. Relative tenses that indicate precedence or anteriority locate an event prior to another event, and relative tenses that express subsequence locate some event after some other event.

8.1.1 The inventory of Coptic relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses are anaphoric tense categories, since they receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually given reference point, which is the time of the event with respect to which a particular temporal order is established. The inventory of Coptic relative tenses is presented in table 8.1 below. The anaphoric behaviour of relative tenses has a structural correlate in their restriction to adverbial clauses (ADV-CL), which may precede or follow the main clause (M-CL) they modify.

The principle determining the relative order of main and adverbial clauses is iconicity, meaning that the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events. Thus, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal conjugation will normally appear preceding the main clause they modify, since they describe events occurring prior to the main event. Vice versa, adverbial clauses containing a Terminative follow the main clause that they modify, since they describe events that succeed the main event in time.

In providing information about the temporal order of events, relative tenses are often associated with a particular aspectual interpretation and refer to the preparatory phase of an event or its termination. For this reason, these tenses are semantically incompatible with Stative verb forms, which designate non-dynamic situations without internal temporal structure.

RELATIVE TENSE	TEMPORAL RELATION	ADV-CL > M-CL	M-CL > ADV-CL
TEMPORAL NTETP-Q-CWTM after/when he had heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
TERMINATIVE WANT(ε)-Q-CWTM until he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	marked option	yes
CONJUNCTIVE N-Q-CWTM and he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes
RELATIVE PRESENT ε-Q-CWTM while he hears/heard	SIMULTANEITY	yes	yes
CONDITIONAL ε-Q-WAN-CWTM if/when he hears/heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
INFERENTIAL TAPε-Q-CWTM and/so he shall hear	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes

TABLE 8.1 The relative tense system

8.1.2 The Temporal

Adverbial clauses corresponding to 'AFTER'-clauses in English are formed with the Temporal conjugation **NTETP-Q-CWTM** 'after/when he had heard'. The Temporal operates in tandem with a following Perfect to indicate past anteriority and locates some event prior to the main clause event.

8.1.2.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Temporal conjugation is shown in table 8.2 below. The base morpheme **NTETP** /ən.te.re/ may be phonologically reduced to **NTEP** /ən.te.r/.

TEMPORAL

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Ι-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Ν-ΣΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Κ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-ΤΗ-ΣΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-ΣΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΣΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Σ-ΣΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΣΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.2 The Temporal conjugation

8.1.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses and the temporal organisation of the narrative

The Temporal conjugation designates anterior events, which have been accomplished some time before the main event starts. In introducing a series of temporally ordered events that push forward the storyline, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal belong to the foregrounded portions of the narrative.

a) Change of temporal location

The Temporal is used to signal a change in time or progression in the development of the storyline. The discontinuity of temporal location and succession of events is often highlighted by the Greek discourse marker ΔΕ, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΤ ΟΥΩ ΕΥΡ ΖΩΒ 'when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ), they finished (Α-Υ-Τ ΟΥΩ) working (Ε-Υ-Ρ ΖΩΒ)' (V. Pach.6:5), ΝΤΕΡΕΓΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΘ ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΓΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΓΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'after the great (Π-ΝΟΘ) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had heard (it) (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ), he gathered (Α-Γ-ΣΩΟΥΖ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) his soldiers (Ν-ΝΕΓ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)' (Eud. 44:25-26), ΝΤΕΡΟΥΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΠΕΓΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΛΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΖΕΘΟΣ 'when they (the brothers) proceeded (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΧΝ) the Eucharist (ΤΕ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ), the eagle (Π-ΛΕΤΟΣ) did not come (ΜΠΕ-Γ-ΕΙ) down (ΕΠΕΣΗΤ) as (ΚΑΤΑ) usual (Π-ΖΕΘΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne, no. 192, 49:31-32).

b) Discourse cohesion

Temporal subclauses provide a bridge between two narrative units: they commonly recapitulate the most important information of the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΓΧΟΟΥ ΑΓΚΟΤΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΓΗΛΒΟΚ 'when he (Andrew) had said (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΧΟΟ-Υ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ), he turned away (Α-Γ-ΚΟΤ-Α ΕΒΟΛ) to (ΧΕ) leave (Γ-ΝΑ-ΒΟΚ)' (Ac. A&P 196:41), ΝΤΕΡΕΓΩΤΗ [ΕΝΑΙ] ΑΓΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ (...) 'when he (the landlord) had heard (ΝΤΕΡ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ) this, he rejoiced (Α-Γ-ΡΑΨΕ) exceedingly (ΕΜΑΤΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9).

c) Extending the paragraph marker ΑΣΩΠΕ 'it happened (that)'

When extending the existential sentence Α-ΣΩΠΕ 'it happened (that)', the Temporal clause has a scene-setting function and marks the beginning of a new discourse paragraph, e.g. ΑΣΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΙΒΩΚ ΕΠΝΟΥΝ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΜΗΛΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'it happened (Α-ΣΩΠΕ) when I had come (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ι-ΒΩΚ) to the abyss (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΝ), (that) I saw (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) the residence (Ε-Η-ΜΑΝ-ΨΩΠΕ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the souls (Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ)' (Ac. A&P 198:72-73), ΑΥΩ ΑΣΩΠΕ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΟΥΩΤ (...) ΝΤΕΡΟΥΧΙ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΗ ΕΠΚΑΙΕΩΝ (for ΕΠΚΑΙΩΝ) (...) ΑΓΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΡΨΙΡΕ (for ΕΠΖΡΨΙΡΕ) ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ 'and (ΑΥΩ) it happened (Α-ΣΩΠΕ) in that same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) period (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) when they had brought (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΧΙ) our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachōm to another world (Ε-Π-ΚΑΙ-ΕΩΝ) (...), (that) he saw (Α-Γ-ΝΑΥ) the innocent (Ν-ΒΑΛΖΗΤ) child (Ε-Π-ΖΡ-ΨΕΙΡΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:6-9).

8.1.3 Terminative aspect

Coptic has a special verbal aspect to indicate that some event lasted until some other event took place. Due to its delimiting meaning and function, the ΨΑΝΤ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ 'until he hears' pattern will be referred to as Terminative aspect in this grammar.

8.1.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Terminative is presented in table 8.3. In the first person singular, there are two allomorphs, ΨΑΝΤ- /santi-/ and

ψΑΝΤΑ- /santa-/, the latter representing the less common variant, e.g. †ΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΚΝΑ† ΣΟΜ ΝΑΙ ΨΑΝΤΑΧΙ ΗΠΕΚΛΟΜ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ 'I will know (†-ΝΑ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) you will give (Κ-ΝΑ-†) me (ΝΑ-Ι) strength (ΣΟΜ) *until I receive* (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΧΙ) the imperishable (Ν-ΑΤ-ΤΑΚΟ) crown (Η-ΠΕ-ΚΛΟΜ)' (KHML II 30:5-6).

TERMINATIVE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ΨΑΝ†-CΩΤΗ, ΨΑΝΤΑ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Ν-CΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Κ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤΕ-ΤΝ-CΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΨΑΝΤΕ-CΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Γ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-CΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-C-CΩΤΗ	
before noun	ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.3 Terminative aspect

8.1.3.2 The delimitative meaning of 'UNTIL'-clauses

The Terminative is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English 'UNTIL'-clauses. It designates the initial stage of some event beyond which the event described by the preceding main clause no longer continues.

a) Delimitative

The Terminative describes a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential to go on beyond that point. As an aspect, it has no inherent tense value: the event it describes is temporally interpreted as taking place after the main event has been accomplished, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΘΩ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΙΨΛΗΑ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) stayed (Α-Ι-Ω) at (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ) praying (Ε-Ι-ΨΛΗΑ) *until* the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) advanced (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ)' (Onnophr. 206:10-12), ΤΕΝΟΥ Σ[Ε] [ΠΕ]ΨΑΧΕ [†]ΝΑΚΤ[ΟQ] ΕΥ[Σ]ΑΖΟΥ ΨΑΝ[ΤΑΕΙΡΕ] ΝΟΥΚΒΑ ΜΗ ΚΗΜΕ 'so (ΣΕ) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) I will turn (†-ΝΑ-ΚΤΟ-Q) this word (ΠΕΙ-ΨΑΧΕ) into a

curse (Ε-Υ-ΣΑΖΟΥ) *until I do* (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) vengeance (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΒΑ) with (ΜΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (Camb. 2:18-20), †ΨΟΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΗΜ ΕΝΤΑΙΖΩΝ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΕ 'I am (†-ΨΟΟΠ) with you (ΝΗΜΕ) *until you complete* (ΨΑΝΤΕ-ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) everything (Ν-ΖΩΒ ΝΗΜ) that I ordered (ΕΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΖΩΝ) you (ΕΤΟΟΤ-Ε) (to do)' (Eud. 52:13-14), ΝΓΨΛΗΑ ΕΧΩC ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑC ΗΠΤΑΛΔΟ 'and you should pray (Ν-Γ-ΨΛΗΑ) for her (ΕΧΩ-С) *until* the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) grants (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) her (ΝΑ-С) healing (Η-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ)' (Hil. 9:4-5), ΑΓΤΡΕ CΟΟΥ ΝΚΕCΤΩΝΑΡΙΟC ΖΩΩΚΕ ΜΗΟQ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΕQСΝΟQ ΖΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'he (the king) let (Α-Q-ΤΡΕ) six (CΟΟΥ) torturers (Ν-ΚΕCΤΩΝΑΡΙΟC) beat (ΖΩΩΚΕ) him (Απα Nahrōw) (ΜΗΟ-Q) *until* his blood (ΠΕQ-СΝΟQ) dropped (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΖΕ) down on (ΕΧΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (KHML I 5:25)

b) Purposive

The Terminative may assume a purposive interpretation, when the delimiting event designates the attained goal of some prior action, e.g. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΜΟΩΨΕ ΝΗΜΑQ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΝΤQ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'they (the brothers) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) walked (Α-Υ-ΜΟΩΨΕ) with him (Παχόμ) (ΝΗΜΑ-Q) *so that they brought him* (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΤ-Q) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the monastery (ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Ε-Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:20-21), ΑΥΑΛΕ ΕΠΧΟΙ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΩΖ ΕΡΟQ 'they went (Α-Υ-ΑΛΕ) onto the ship (Ε-Π-ΧΟΙ) (and) went away (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) *until they reached* (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΠΩΖ) it (ΕΡΟ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 196:51-52), ΑQΝΤΟΥ ΕQΜΟΩΨΕ ΖΑΤΕΥΖΗ ΨΑΝΤΟΥCΩ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ 'walking (Ε-Q-ΜΟΩΨΕ) in front of them (the Persians) (ΖΑ-ΤΕΥ-ΖΗ) he (Constantine) brought them (ΑQ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) *so that they could drink* (water) (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-СΩ) with (ΜΗ) their cattle (ΝΕΥ-ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ)' (Eud. 48:16).

8.1.4 The Conjunctive

The Conjunctive Ν-Q-CΩΤΗ 'and he hears' occupies a special position in the Coptic conjugation system, since it has no inherent temporal, aspectual or modal features of its own, but receives its semantic interpretation from a preceding verbal tense. As the most underspecified member of the Coptic conjugation system, the Conjunctive may indicate a broad

spectrum of structural relations between clauses, crossing the traditional distinction between coordination and subordination.

8.1.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Conjunctive conjugation exhibits a considerable degree of allomorphy in various person, gender, and number distinctions. This paradigmatic irregularity results from the interaction of two parameters of allomorphic variation, one of which concerns the distribution of the alternants **ΝΤΕ-** /ənte-/ and **Ν-** /nə/, and the other the variable position of the *schwa* /ə/, as indicated by the different placement of the superlinear stroke (for its prosodic interpretation, see section 1.3.1.3 of Unit 1). Moreover, there are two allomorphs for the first person singular, **ΝΤΑ-** /ənta/ and **ΤΑ-** /ta-/ , the latter involving the deletion of the morpheme-initial syllabic nasal **Ν-** /ən/.

CONJUNCTIVE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	(Ν) ΤΑ-ÇΩΤΗ	ΝΤ(Ε)-Ν-ÇΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	Ν-Γ-ÇΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕ-ΤΗ-ÇΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΝΤΕ-ÇΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	Ν-Ç-ÇΩΤΗ	Ν-ÇΕ-ÇΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	Ν-Ç-ÇΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ÇΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.4 The Conjunctive conjugation

Examples: (1st sing.) **ΝΤΑ-ΠΩΖΤ ΕΒΟΛ** 'and I pour out (ΕΒΟΛ)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:11-12), **ΤΑ-ΩΣΤ ΜΜΟΙ** 'and I strangle myself (ΜΜΟ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:103), (2nd sing. masc.) **Ν-Γ-ÇΙ** 'and you carry' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:28), **Ν-Γ-ÇΩΠΤΕ** 'and you will be' (Camb. 8:2), (2nd sing. fem.) **ΝΤΕ-ΒΩΚ** 'and you (woman) go' (Eud. 52:5), (3rd sing. masc.) **Ν-Ç-ÇΩΛ** 'and he will spoil' (Test. Is. 231:16), **Ν-Ç-Π** **ΖΟΤΕ** 'and he will fear' (Camb. 8:12), **Ν-Ç-ΤÇΑΒΟ-ΟΥ** 'and he will teach them' (Test. Is. 231:12), (3rd sing. fem.) **Ν-Ç-ΡΙΜΕ** 'and she wept' (Hil. 9:14) (1st pl.) **Ν-ΤΝ-ΟΥΩΗ** 'and we eat' (Onnophr. 215:29), **ΝΤΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΤΗΡΗ ΖΙΟΥÇΟΝ** 'and

may we all (**ΤΗΡ-Ν**) be saved (**ΝΤΕ-Ν-ΟΥΧΑΙ**) together (**ΖΙ-ΟΥ-ÇΟΝ**)' (Zen. 199:4) (2nd pl.) **ΝΤΕ-ΤΝ-ΕΙ** 'and you shall come' (Camb. 10:5), (3rd pl.) **Ν-ÇΕ-ΠΩΤ** 'and they run' (AP Chaîne no. 50, 11:11), (before noun) **ΝΤΕ ÇΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΟΕΙ ΜΟΟΝΕ** 'and four (**ÇΤΟΟΥ**) ships (**Ν-ΧΟΕΙ**) should land (**ΝΤΕ ... ΜΟΟΝΕ**)' (Eud. 62:11).

8.1.4.2 Clause chaining

In a clause chain consisting of two or more consecutive verbs Conjunctive morphology may appear on medial or final verbs, but not on the initial verb that introduces the chain, e.g. **ΜΗΝÇΩÇ ΟΝ ÇΝΑΛΛΕ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΨΕ ΝÇΡÇÇ ΝÇΜΟΥ ΖΑ ΠΤΗΡÇ ΝÇΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΠΕÇΜΕΖΩΜΗΝΤ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΝÇΨΩΛ ΝΑΜΗΤΕ ΝÇÇΕΙ** (for **ΝÇÇΙ**) **ΝΤΗΝΤΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡÇ ΝΤΟΟΤÇ ΜΠΧΛΧΕ** 'after that (**ΜΗΝÇΩ-Ç**) he (Jesus Christ) will ascend (**Ç-ΝΑ-ΛΛΕ**, **ΟΝ** (**ΕΧΝ**) a cross (lit. a wood (**ΟΥ-ΨΕ**) of cross (**Ν-ÇΡÇÇ**) and will die (**Ν-Ç-ΜΟΥ**) for (**ΖΑ**) the whole (world) (**Π-ΤΗΡ-Ç**) and rise (**Ν-Ç-ΤΩΟΥΝ**) on the third (lit. his third) (**Μ-ΠΕÇ-ΜΕΖ-ΩΜΗΝΤ**) day (**Ν-ΖΟΟΥ**) and destroy (**Ν-Ç-ΨΩΛ**) Hell (**Ν-ΑΜΗΤΕ**) and take (**Ν-Ç-ÇΕΙ**) all (**ΤΗΡ-Ç**) humanity (**Ν-Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΡΩΜΕ**) away from the hands (**ΝΤΟΟΤ-Ç**) of the enemy (**Μ-Π-ΧΛΧΕ**)' (Test. Is. 231:14-16). See figure 8.1 for further illustration:

CHAIN-INITIAL VERB [ABSOLUTE TENSE]	CHAIN-MEDIAL VERB(S) [+ CONJUNCTIVE]	CHAIN-FINAL VERB [+ CONJUNCTIVE]
Ç-ΝΑ-ΛΛΕ he will ascend	Ν-Ç-ΜΟΥ ... Ν-Ç-ΨΩΛ and die ... and destroy	Ν-Ç-ÇΕΙ and take away

FIGURE 8.1 Clause-chaining with Conjunctive verb forms

As a clause-chaining device, the Conjunctive covers some kind of middle ground between coordination and subordination. Coordination involves the combination of two or more clauses, neither of which is syntactically dependent on the other. Subordination, on the other hand, occurs when two clauses are combined such that one clause is embedded in or syntactically dependent on the other.

a) Topic continuity

The Conjunctive typically connects subject-identical clauses, which indicate topic continuity, i.e. the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions or activities, e.g. ερε πεχ̄ε σοу ερο ηq† σοm ηε ‘may Christ (πε-χ̄ε) bless (ερε ... σοу) you (ερο) (woman) and give (η-q†) you (ηε) power (σοm)’ (Eud. 56:12-13), σεναμερε πβιος νταναχωρησις ετουλαβ νεαποτασσε μπκοσμος (...) ‘they (the hermits) will love (се-на-μερε) the life (π-βιος) of holy (ετ-ουλαβ) seclusion (η-τ-αναχωρησις) and renounce (η-се-αποτασσε) the world (η-π-κοσμος) (...)’ (Test. Is. 233:13-14). The Conjunctive resumes the number and gender specification of the expressed second person subject of a preceding imperative, e.g. qει (for qi) ηνεκβαλ ε2ραι ηгнау енколасиς ‘lift (qει ε2ραι) your eyes (η-νεκ-βαλ) and look (η-г-нау) at the punishments (ε-η-κοласиς)’ (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (see below, section 8.2.1.2).

Occasionally, a topical noun phrase recurs for a second time in the Conjunctive clause, e.g. $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\chi\chi\eta$ $\nu\alpha\tau'$ $\zeta\eta\gamma$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\nu\tau\epsilon$ $\zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\chi\chi\eta$ $\beta\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\eta\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\zeta\eta$ $\tau\beta\beta\omicron$ $\nu\iota\mu$ 'so that ($\chi\epsilon$) the souls ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\chi\chi\eta$) will benefit (lit. gain (\dagger) profit ($\zeta\eta\gamma$)) and ($\alpha\gamma\omega$) the souls ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\chi\chi\eta$) will come ($\nu\tau\epsilon$... $\beta\omega\kappa$) to ($\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota$) God ($\mu\eta\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) in ($\zeta\eta$) every ($\nu\iota\mu$) purity ($\tau\beta\beta\omicron$)' (Sh. III 40:28-29).

b) Switch reference

Despite its ample attestation in series of subject-identical clauses, the Conjunctive can also be used to connect different-subject clauses, which involve switch reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. In sequences of different-subject clauses, switch reference often involves a change in grammatical functions. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. $\epsilon\text{N}\chi\text{I}\ \mu\mu\omicron\text{q}\ \epsilon\text{Π}\tau\omicron\text{Π}\omicron\text{C}\ \text{N}\alpha\text{Π}\alpha\ \mu\text{H}\text{N}\alpha\ \alpha\text{P}\eta\chi\ \text{N}\text{q}\chi\alpha\rho\text{I}\text{Z}\epsilon\ \text{N}\alpha\text{q}\ \mu\text{I}\text{T}\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$ ‘we bring ($\epsilon\text{-N-}\chi\text{I}$) him (the possessed boy) ($\mu\mu\omicron\text{-q}$) to the shrine ($\epsilon\text{-Π-}\tau\omicron\text{Π}\omicron\text{C}$) of *Ἀπα Μῆνα* ($\text{N-}\alpha\text{Π}\alpha\ \mu\text{H}\text{N}\alpha$) and perhaps ($\alpha\text{P}\eta\chi$) *he* will grant ($\text{N-q-}\chi\alpha\rho\text{I}\text{Z}\epsilon$) him ($\text{N}\alpha\text{-q}$) healing ($\mu\text{-Π-}\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$)’ (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8), $\mu\text{H}\text{N}\text{N}\alpha\ \text{Π}\chi\omega\text{K}\ \text{N}\text{N}\alpha\text{I}\ \text{T}\eta\rho\omicron\gamma\ \text{q}\text{N}\alpha\text{C}\omega\text{T}\text{T}\text{I}\ \mu\text{H}\text{N}\text{T}\text{C}\text{N}\omicron\omicron\gamma\text{C}\ \text{N}\rho\omega\text{M}\epsilon\ \text{N}\text{q}\omicron\gamma\omega\text{N}\text{2}$

ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΦΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΚΤΣΑΒΟΥ ΕΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΜΠΕΦΩΜΑ ΜΝ
ΠΕΦΩΝΟΦ ΝΑΛΗΘΙΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΟΥΟΕΙΚ ΜΝ ΟΥΗΡΠ ΝΤΕ ΠΟΕΙΚ ΨΩΠΕ
ΝΣΩΜΑ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΗΡΠ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΣΝΟΦ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ‘after (ΜΝΝΣΑ) the
completion (Π-ΧΩΚ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (years) (ΝΑΙ) he (Jesus) will
choose. (Φ-ΝΑ-ΣΩΤΠ) twelve (Μ-ΜΝΤ-ΣΝΟΥΦ) people (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) and
reveal (Ν-Φ-ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ) his divine secrets (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) to them
(ΝΑ-Υ) and teach them (Ν-Φ-ΤΣΑΒΟ-ΟΥ) the nature (Ε-Π-ΤΥΠΟΣ) of his
real (Ν-ΑΛΗΘΙΟΝ) body (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΣΩΜΑ) and (ΜΝ) blood (ΠΕΦ-ΣΝΟΦ)
through (ΖΙΤΝ) bread (ΟΥ-ΟΕΙΚ) and (ΜΝ) wine (ΟΥ-ΗΡΠ) and the bread
(Π-ΟΕΙΚ) will become (ΝΤΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) a divine (Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ) body (Ν-ΣΩΜΑ)
and the wine (Π-ΗΡΠ) will become (ΝΤΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) divine (Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ)
blood (Ν-ΣΝΟΦ)’ (Test. Is. 231:10-14).

Switch reference is particularly common with non-emphatic personal pronouns, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ ΝΤΑΧΙΤΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΡΤΑΦΟΣ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) then (ΣΕ), rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ), *let's go* (ΜΑΡΟ-Ν) and let me take you (woman) (ΝΤΑ-ΧΙΤ-Ε) to (ΕΧΗ) his (Jesus Christ's) tomb (ΠΕΡ-ΤΑΦΟΣ)' (Eud. 68:10-11), ΑΛΤ ΝΝΟΘ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΜΗΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΓ† ΟΕ ΝΑΙ ΤΑΔΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΜΠΕΙΑΝΟΜΟC ΝΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ 'make me (ΑΛ-Τ) strong (Ν-ΝΟΘ) through (ΖΝ) your divinity (ΤΕΚ-ΗΜΤ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and give (Ν-Γ-†) me (ΝΑ-Ι) the means (ΟΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) to defend (myself) (ΤΑ-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ) against this criminal (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟC) governor (Ν-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ)!' (KHML II 35:2-4).

When the switch-referenced subject is a common noun or proper name, it frequently undergoes subject-verb inversion: the inverted subject noun occurs in postverbal position and is morphologically marked by the focus particle *νόι*, while the preverbal subject position is occupied by a co-referential pronoun, e.g. *ΕΥΕΤΑΜΟΝ (2N) ΟΥΜΝΤΜΕ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΥCΜΑΜΑΑΤ (2N) ΝΕΥ2ΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝCΕΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕCΜΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤCΗ2* 'they shall inform us (ε-γ-ε-ταμο-ν) truthfully (lit. in (2N) a truthful manner (ου-μντ-με)) about what they have seen (ε-πε-ντ-α-γ-ναγ) so that (χεκαc) they become (ε-γ-ε-ψωπε) blessed (ε-γ-cμαμαατ) through (2N) all (τηρ-ου) their works (νευ-2βηυε) and all (τηρ-ου) the blessings (νε-cμου) written down (ετ-cη2) (in the Scriptures) will come (ν-ce-ει) upon them

(εχω-ογ)' (Sh. III 158:28-31). A more detailed analysis of subject-inverted clauses will be offered in Unit 10.

c) Subordinate clauses

In chains of same-subject and different-subject clauses, the Conjunctive serves primarily to coordinate and connects clauses of equal status, but it is equally suitable for various types of subordinate clauses.

- Subject clauses appear postverbally after the existential verb *ωπιε* 'to happen', while the preverbal subject position is occupied by the expletive third person singular feminine pronoun -c 'it', e.g. *εσψανωπιε δε νσεεине ναq νzenτbt η zenκεδινουωμ (...)* 'when it happened (ε-с-ψαν-ωπιε) (that) they brought (н-се-εине) him (Pachôm) (на-q) fish (н-zen-тbt) or (η) other food (zen-ke-din-o-y-ωm) (...)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3), *αγω εσψανωπιε ανοκ ταep pωme ταμουq τatwouγn εβολ qη netmooγt nпmezωomnt n2ooγ tnatpe oγon nim ep nпeeγe nпetnpaн nceenпkaлeи nмωтn ναγ neиωт 'and (αγω) when it happens (ε-с-ψαν-ωπιε) (that) I (ανοκ) become (та-ep) human (pωme) and die (та-моу) and rise (та-тwouγn) from (qη) the dead (н-ет-мооγт) on the third (н-п-мез-ωomnt) day (н-2ooγ), I will cause (т-на-тpe) everybody (oγon nim) to remember (lit. make (ep-) remembrance (п-мееγe) of) your name (н-пeтn-pan) and call upon (н-се-epиkaлeи) you (нмω-тn) for them (на-γ) as a father (н-еиωт)' (Test. Is. 237:1-4), *nnecωπιe nmoι taoγwπt nneknoγte n8ote* 'it will not happen (nnе-с-ωπιe) to me (нmo-и) (that) I worship (та-ογwπt) your abominable (н-8ote) gods (н-nek-noγte)' (KHML I 5:21-22).*
- Conjunctive clauses are often used as propositional complements of verbs of cognition, such as *ειμε* 'to know', e.g. *xeκac eγeeime nceagwпize etpeγwπe nθγcia nпnoγte (...)* 'so that (xeκac) they shall know (ε-γ-ε-ειμε) (that) they (the holy fathers) fought (н-се-αγwпize) to become (ε-тpe-γ-ωπιe) a sacrifice (н-θγcia) for God (н-п-ноγte)' (V. Pach. 253a:25-28).

- Conjunctive-inflected verb forms may also introduce adverbial purpose clauses that specify the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g. *ειenh επτοποc ναпа mηna nтаψana* 'I am on my way (ε-и-enh) to the shrine (ε-π-τοποc) of Apa Mēna to pray (нт-α-ψana)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25), *nп2e επeccωna 2ωλωc (for 2oλωc) тatwmc mmoq* 'I have actually (2ωλωc) not found (н-п-2e) her body (ε-пec-ωna) to bury (та-тwmc) it (mmo-q)' (Hil. 8:1), *п2aγioс пeтpoс пapxheпicкoπoс пapaκαλeи nпeχc nqδιhkeи nпaβioс kaтa пeqoγwψ* 'holy (п-2aγioс) Peter, archbishop (п-apxheпicкoπoс), ask (пapaκαλeи) Christ (н-пe-χc) to guide (н-q-διhkeи) my life (н-пa-βioс) according to (καта) his will (пeq-oγwψ)' (Hil. 3:29-30).
- Finite Conjunctive clauses alternate with non-finite infinitival clauses in control constructions, which express indirect directive or commissive speech-acts, e.g. *toγe2 ca2ne etpeγwпwe nпnoγte nπte mп neqχc ic mп neпnā etoγaλb nceпnoγw2 8e etootoγ etaye пpaн nneиawoн εβολ qη teγtaпpo* 'I (hereby) give (т-ογe2) order (ca2ne) (that) they should follow (ε-тpe-γ-ωпwe) the God (н-п-ноγte) of heaven (н-т-пe) and (mп) his Christ (пeq-χc) Jesus and (mп) the Holy (εт-ογaλb) Spirit (пe-пnā) and (that) they never again (н-се-тn-oγw2 etoot-oγ) pronounce (ε-таγe) the name (п-pan) of the idols (н-ne-иawoн) with (qη) their mouths (teγ-taпpo)' (Eud. 40:6-8), *ανοκ γap eiouγwψ nтапωт nтапw2т εβολ nпacnoq εχm пpaн nпaxoeic ic пeχc* 'since (γap) I (ανοκ) want (ε-и-ογwψ) to go (нта-пωт) and shed (нта-пw2т) my blood (н-пa-сnoq) for (εχm) the name (п-pan) of my Lord (н-пa-xoεic) Jesus (ic) Christ (пe-χc)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:10-15).

d) Clausal connectives

A range of clause connectors may specify the syntactic relation between the Conjunctive clause and the preceding main clause.

- Conjunctive clauses may be combined with various rhetorical conjunctions that indicate a particular discourse relation, such as contradiction (ἀλλὰ 'but') or topic switch (Δε), e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΤΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΗΝΤΖΗΤ ΕΤΗΤΡΕΤΕΤΝΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ (for ΕΤΗΤΡΕΤΕΤΝΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ) ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΖΡΗΤΝ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ (...) 'for (ΕΤΒΕ) this (reason) (ΠΑΙ) I appeal (ΤΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to your sound judgement (ΝΤΕΤΝΗΝΤΖΗΤ) not to concern (yourselves) (ΕΤΗΤΡΕΤΕΤΝΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ) with them (ΝΖΗΤΟΥ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) to *pay heed to* (ΝΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΖΡΗΤΝ) the holy (ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) words (ΕΝΨΑΧΕ) (...) ' (Sh. III 31:2-5), ΕΥΨΑΝΤΜΡ ΑΝΑΨ ΗΠΡΑΝ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΕΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΚΕΑΝΑΨ ΝΣΕΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΜΟQ (...) 'if they do not swear (ΕΥΨΑΝΤΜΡ) an oath (ΑΝΑΨ) in (ΖΗ) the name (ΠΡΑΝ) of God (ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ), yet swear (ΝΣΕΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ) a different (kind of) oath (ΝΚΕΑΝΑΨ) and violate (ΝΣΕΠΑΡΑΒΑ) it (ΜΜΟ-Q) (...) ' (Sh. III 19:4-6).

- Particularly common is the combination of Conjunctive verb forms with coordinating conjunctions like αὐω 'and' and ἢ 'or', e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΕΨΟΡΨΡ ΝΝΡΠΠΙΥΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΜΑ Ν[ΤΑ]ΔΕ ΜΑΣΕ <Ε2>ΡΑΙ (...) ΝΣΕΚΑΛΥ ΜΜΑ ΝΡΜΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝΣΕQΙ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΖΟΟΥ ΠΑΙ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) they shall destroy (ΕΥΕΨΟΡΨΡ) the temples (ΝΝΡΠΠΙΥΕ) and (ΜΝ) their places (ΝΕΥΜΑ) of bull (ΜΑCΕ) sacrifices (ΝΤΑΔΕ) (...) and they shall make them (ΝΣΕΚΑΛΥ) places (ΜΜΑ) of tears (ΝΡΜΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) they shall (re-)build (ΝΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ) the churches (ΝΕΚΛΗCΙΑ) and celebrate (ΝΣΕQΙ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) in them (ΝΖΗΤΟΥ) on (ΖΗ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙΖΟΟΥ)' (Eud. 40:8-10), ΨΩΠΕ [Ν]ΗΜΑΙ ΑΥΩ [Ν]ΓCΩΤΗ Ε[Ρ]ΟΙ ΜΠΟΟΥ [Π]ΙΩΤ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC 'be (ΨΩΠΕ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) and (ΑΥΩ) *heor* (ΝΓCΩΤΗ) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ), oh Father (ΠΙΩΤ) of my Lord (ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕΧC)!' (Eud. 46:11-12), ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΨΙC ΤΑΖΟΟΥ Η ΝΤΕ ΟΥΚΙΝΔΥΝΟC ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΟΥ (...) 'if an affliction (ΟΥΘΑΙΨΙC) comes upon them (the hermits) (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟΟΥ) or (Η) a danger (ΟΥΚΙΝΔΥΝΟC) rises up (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΩΟΥΝ) against them (ΕΧΩΟΥ) (...) ' (Onnophr. 211:31-32).

- Conjunctive direct object clauses are often introduced by the finite subordinating complementisers ΖΩCΤΕ and ΖΩC '(such) that' and their negative counterparts ΜΗΠΩC and ΜΗΠΟΤΕ 'that not', e.g. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑQΩΝΑΖ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΖΝ ΟΥCΟΡΑΖΤ ΖΩCΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΜ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΤΗΨΘΜΘΜ ΕΤΩΗΝΤ ΕΡΟQ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ 'he (ΠΑΙ) lived (Α-Q-ΩΝΑΖ) in (ΖΝ) silence (ΟΥCΟΡΑΖΤ) for (ΖΝ) a long (ΟΥΝΟC) time (ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ) such that (ΖΩCΤΕ) many (ΖΑΖ) who were in (ΝΕΤ-ΖΜ) the village (ΠΤΗΜΕ) could not (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΗΨΘΜΘΜ) meet (ΕΤΩΗΝΤ) him (ΕΡΟ-Q) on many (ΝΖΑΖ) occasions (ΝCΟΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210:54:25-27), ΑQΠΩΝΕ ΖΩC ΝQΡ ΘΕ ΝΚΕΡΩΜΕ 'he (the senior monk) changed (Α-Q-ΠΩΝΕ) such that (ΖΩC) he became (Ν-Q-Ρ) like (ΘΕ <Τ-ΖΕ) another man (ΝΚΕΡΩΜΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:2-3), ΕΝΧΩ ΘΕ ΜΠΑΙ ΜΗΠΩC ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑ ΧΟΟC ΧΕ (...) 'we actually (ΘΕ) say (ΕΝ-ΧΩ) this (ΜΠΑΙ) so that (ΜΗΠΩC) someone (ΟΥΑ) will not say (ΝΤΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C) that (ΧΕ) (...) ' (V. Pach. 291:6), ΒΛΧΤΗΥΤΝ ΖΝ ΤΕCΒΩ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΟΥC (...) 'wrap yourselves up (ΒΛΧ-ΤΗΥΤΝ) in (ΖΝ) the teaching (ΤΕCΒΩ) so that (ΜΗΠΟΤΕ) the Lord (ΠΧΟΕΙC) does not become angry (ΝΤΕ ... ΝΟΥC) (...) ' (V. Pach. 329a: 14-17 [Ps. 2:12]).

e) Clause-initial Conjunctives

The impossibility of a chain-initial Conjunctive can be directly related to the serializing character of this conjugation pattern. Yet, there are a few counterexamples to this positional restriction, where a Conjunctive occurs clause-initial position, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΑ[Γ]ΟΝΙΖΕ (for ΤΑΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ) ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΚΕΚΟΥΙ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) myself (ΖΩ) will fight (ΤΑ-ΑΓΟΝΙΖΕ) with (ΜΝ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) a little more (ΝΚΕΚΟΥΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16). It looks as if this example involves verb ellipsis, where a matrix control verb like ΟΥΩΨ 'to want' has been deleted from the surface structure of the clause, although its semantic content is recoverable from the strong intentional reading of the Conjunctive verb form ΤΑ-ΑΓΟΝΙΖΕ 'I will fight'.

8.1.4.3 Event composition

The different degrees of structural integration between main clauses and Conjunctive clauses roughly correlate with different degrees of semantic integration between the main event and the consecutive events referred to by the chain-medial or chain-final Conjunctive verb forms.

a) Complex events

Conjunctive clause chains can describe a complex event consisting of two or more subevents, e.g. *ψαπαζτε εχμ πκαζ νερμε ψαντεζεπι πκαζ 2ν νεσρμειοογε* 'she used to throw herself (*ψα-с-παζт-с*) on (*εχμ*) the ground (*π-καζ*) and weep (*ν-с-ρμε*) until she drenched (*ψαντε-с-ζεπι*) the ground (*π-καζ*) with (*2ν*) her tears (*νεс-ρμειοογε*)' (Hil. 9:13-14), *ντερεqδοκιμαζε xe* (read *δε*) *ηηοογ νqηαγ xe νανογ πεγсmot αqт εxωογ мπεсхηма мμοναxос αqψοπογ epoq 2ν ογpαψe* 'when he (Pachōm) had tested (*ντερε-с-δοκιμαζε*) them (the novices) (*ηηο-ογ*) and seen (*ν-с-ηαγ*) that (*xe*) their character (*πεγ-сmot*) was good (*νανογ*), he put (*α-с-т*) the monkish (*м-μοναxос*) habit (*м-πε-схηма*) on them (*εxω-ογ*) (and) received them (*α-с-ψοп-ογ epo-с*) with (*2ν*) joy (*ογ-pαψe*)' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19), *αγω ντεγνογ ψαγκα βολ мппαθос αγω ντεγνογ ψаре πιογxαι ψωπε ναγ νсemтon нсeт epooγ мппоγте мн νεψαηα мπeneиωт etoγaab aπa μαθθaиос* 'and (*αγω*) immediately (*ντεγνογ*) they vomitted (*ψα-γ-κα βολ*) the evil (*м-π-παθос*) and (*αγω*) they recovered (lit. recovery (*π-ογxαι*) happened (*ψаре ... ψωπε*) for them (*να-γ*)) and were relieved (*ν-сe-мton*) (from sickness) immediately (*ντεγνογ*) and praised (lit. give (*ν-сe-т*) praise (*epooγ*)) God (*м-π-ноγте*) as well as (*мн*) the prayers (*νε-ψαηα*) of our holy (*εт-ογaab*) father (*м-πeн-еиωт*) Apa Matthew' (KHML II 10:16-20).

b) Polarity switch

A series of Conjunctive clauses may present a situation from different points of view, for instance, by switching from positive to negative polarity, e.g. *μαρε мηατοι εωκ нсeqei* (for *нсeqi*) *ннеπαλx epе пeсcноq xη2 epooγ нсeноxογ εθαλaccα мηпωс нсeηαγ epooγ*

нсeπicтeγe epеqноγte 'let the soldiers (*м-ηατοι*) go (*μαρε ... εωκ*) and remove (*ν-сe-qei*) the (pavement) stones (*н-не-παλx*) on which his (Apa Nahrōw's) blood (*пeс-сnoq*) has been smeared out (*epе ... xη2*) and throw them (*ν-сe-ноx-ογ*) into the sea (*ε-θαλaccα*) so that (*μηпωс*) they do not see (*ν-сe-ηαγ*) them (*epo-ογ*) and have faith (*ν-сe-πicтeγe*) in his god (*ε-пeс-ноγте*)' (KHML I 6:27-30).

c) Discourse paragraph

The Conjunctive may be consistently used throughout an entire discourse paragraph, describing a succession of events that are grouped together under a single contextual parameter, e.g. *εωκ 2ν ογβeπη нгсoвте нac нqтooγ нcтpαтнaαтнс мн qтooγ нтβα мηατοι мн qтooγ н2apмa ннecтpαтнaαтнс мн ψomнт нтppω тпapθeнoc мн oγноγb eηαψωq eβoλ 2м пнι мпeкxοeис (...)* *нгтаac нac etpεсxο eβoλ epтoпoc мпeнxοeис ic пeχс (...)* *нтe qтooγ нxοeи moone 2aηн нqтooγ нтe qтooγ ψωпe 2н εθαλaccα ψανтсxωк eβoλ н2ωb ним eηта пxοeис xooγ нac мп2oγн нcaψq н2ooγ нсemooнe eθiλiиm αγω нгснмaнe [м]пeneиωт [нe]πicкoпoc нqсγнaгe [н]тпoλис тнpс мпooγ (...)* *мннca нαι δε тнpoγ нгp пaи 2н oγcпoγдн нψopп eηaи тнpoγ нгxooγ нoγпeнтнкoнтapxoc мн пeqтaиoγ мηατοι eβoλ 2н т2иη мпppo нψopп нqснмaнe мпoλис мн нтme xεкac ннeγтapaccе (...)* 'go (*εωκ*) quickly (*2н ογβeπη*) and make ready (*ν-г-сoвте*) for her (*на-с*) four (*ν-qтooγ*) generals (*ν-стpαтнaαтнс*) and (*мн*) forty thousand (*qтooγ н-тβα*) soldiers (*м-ηατοι*) and (*мн*) four (*qтooγ*) chariots (*н-2apмa*) for the generals (*ν-не-стpαтнaαтнс*) and (*мн*) three (*ψomнт*) (chariots) for the virgin (*т-пapθeнoc*) queen (*н-т-ppω*) and (*мн*) a large amount of (*ε-ηαψω-с*) gold (*ογ-ноγb*) from (*2м*) the house (*π-ηи*) of your lord (*м-пeк-xοeис*) (...) and give it (*ν-г-таa-с*) to her (*на-с*) to spend (*ε-тpε-с-xo eβoλ*) on the place (*ε-п-тoпoc*) of our Lord (*м-πeн-xοeис*) Jesus (*ic*) Christ (*пe-xс*) (...) and four (*qтooγ*) ships (*н-xοeи*) shall lie in port (*нтe ... moone*) before (*2aηн*) four (*ν-qтooγ*) and four (ships) (*qтooγ*) shall lie (*нтe ... ψωпe*) on (*2н*) sea (*εθαλaccα*) until she accomplishes (*ψανт-с-xωк eβoλ*) everything (*ν-2ωb ним*) that the Lord (*π-xοeис*)

told (ΕΝΤ-Α ... ΧΟ-ΟΥ) *hcr* (ΝΑ-С) within (Μ-Π-ΖΟΥΝ) seven (Ν-СΑΨQ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥQ), and they shall land (Ν-СΕ-ΜΟΟΝΕ) at Jerusalem (Ε-ΘΙΧΗ) and you shall notify (Ν-Γ-СΗΜΑΝΕ) our father (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) the bishop (Ν-ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟС) that he assembles (Ν-Q-СΥΝΑΓΕ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-С) city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙС) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ) (...); in addition to (ΜΝΝСА) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (orders) (ΝΑΙ) you shall do (Ν-Γ-Р) this (ΠΑΙ) swiftly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-СΠΟΥΔΗ), before (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (Ε-ΝΑΙ) you shall send (ΝΓΧΟΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) first (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) a commander-of-fifty (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΡΧΟС) and (ΜΝ) his fifty (ΠΕQ-ΤΑΙΟΥ) soldiers (Μ-ΜΑΤΟΙ) on (ΖΝ) the king's (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) road (Τ-ΖΗ) and he shall notify (Ν-Q-СΗΜΑΝΕ) the cities (Ν-Η-ΠΟΛΙС) and (ΜΝ) villages (Ν-†ΜΕ) that (ΧΕΚΑС) they will not be troubled (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΤΑΡΑССЕ)' (Eud. 62:4-18).

d) Aspectual verbs

Verbs of *inherently directed motion* like *ει* 'to come' and *εωκ* 'to go' and *assume position* verbs like *τωουν* 'to stand up' may be used as auxiliary verbs, indicating the entrance into some event or state. When construed with such aspectual verbs of initiation, Conjunctive clauses have a single event interpretation, e.g. *αμοу ηγναу εταοуcia* '*come* (αμοу) and look (Ν-Γ-ΝΑУ) at my state of being (Ε-ΤΑ-ΟΥCΙΑ)!' (V. Pach. 86:13-14), *ογδε ηπειει εйнаεωκ εyna εне2 η οусооу2 тахоос 2ωс εyntai теxоуcia* 'and (ογδε) I never (ΕΝΕ2) intended (lit. I never went (ΗΠΕ-Ι-ΕΙ)) to go (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΕΩΚ) to a place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) or (η) a congregation (ΟΥ-СООУ2) and speak (ТА-ΧОО-С) as if (2ωс) I had (Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Ι) authority (Τ-ΕXΟΥCΙΑ)' (V. Pach. 90:3-5), *νειнаεωκ тапаракаλει ημοQ* '(if the Lord were in this place), I would go (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΕΩΚ) and appeal (ΓΑ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to him (ΗΜΟ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), *εinaтwoyn таωот ημοι* 'I will *stand up* (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΤΩΟΥΝ) and strangle (ТА-ΩОТ) myself (ΗΜΟ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:102-103).

8.1.4.4 Tense construal

The Coptic Conjunctive is an extremely flexible serialisation pattern, which links two or more finite verb forms and describes events of various complexities. Apart from signalling sequentiality and consecutivity, it

makes no further contribution to temporal, aspectual or modal interpretation of the clausal chain in which it appears. The Conjunctive is assigned a particular tense or mood by being anaphorically related to preceding verbal tense. Not only absolute but also relative tenses can serve as antecedents for the semantically underspecified Conjunctive conjugation. In this case, both the relative tense and the Conjunctive describe a complex event that occurs before or after the main clause event.

Examples: (absolute tense as an antecedent) *πειкоуа ет2η τετνημте етηпеймψа ηqψαхе ηммаи* 'this other person (ΠΕΙ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΑ) who is in (ΕΤ-2η) your midst (ΤΕΤΗ-ΜΗТЕ) that I am not worthy (ΕΤ-ΜΠΕ-Ι-ΜΠΨΑ) (that) he talks (Ν-Q-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΗΜΜΑ-Ι)' (KMHL II 30:18-19), *αγω αρεεεуε ηсеентq εхη пвhma* 'and (αγω) he (the governor) ordered (Α-Q-ΚΕΛΕУЕ) (that) they brought him (Απα Nahrōw) (Ν-СΕ-ΕΝΤ-Q) to (ΕХΗ) the tribune (Π-ΒΗΜΑ)' (KMHL I 5:18-19), *†ηαqитq ηтaηoуxq εθαλαcca* 'I will take it (the corpse) (†-ΝΑ-QIT-Q) and throw it (ηТА-ΝΟΥХ-Q) into the sea (Ε-ΘΑΛΑССΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:5-7); (relative tense as an antecedent) *ητερεqεωк де ηqр monaxoc* *αqψωπε 2η οуameia* *αγω αqхе πεqα2ε εβoλ каkωс* 'when he had gone (away) (ηΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΕΩΚ) and become (Ν-Q-Р) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟС), he became (Α-Q-ΨΩΠΕ) negligent (lit. in (2η) a negligence (ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΙΑ)) and (αγω) spent (Α-Q-ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) his time (ΠΕQ-Α2Ε) badly (κακωс)' (AP Chaine no. 1, 1:3-4), *ηηηηсωс αγψαλλει 2ατεq2η ψaηтoуxитq ептoоу ηсетomcq ηсoуmηтη ηπειεот ηoуот пaψoηс* 'after this (ΗΗΗΗCΩ-С) they sang psalms (Α-Υ-ΦΑΛΛΕΙ) in front of him (Pachōm) (2Α-ΤΕQ-2Η) until they took him (ψΑηТ-ΟΥ-ХИТ-Q) to the mountain (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥ) and buried him (Ν-СΕ-ΤΟМC-Q) on the fifteenth day (Ν-СΟΥ-ΗΗТΗ) of that same (Ν-ΟΥΩТ) month (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΕΒΟТ) Pashōns (ПАΨΩηс)' (V. Pach. 95:25-27).

8.1.4.5 Apodosis clauses

The Conjunctive may appear in the apodosis clause (the 'THEN'-clause) of a conditional construction, which relate two hypothetical events in terms of cause and effect, e.g. *αγω εηψaηει εβoλ ептoоу ет2иbоλ ηтηηcуηaгe ηη ηесηηу 2η ηсѣεbαт.η ηη ткyриакη* '(αγω) whenever we came (Ε-Ν-ΨΑη-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) to the outer (ΕΤ-2ИΒΟΛ) mountain (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥ), we celebrated the Eucharist (Ν-ΤΗ-СΥΝΑΓΕ) with (ΗΗ) the

brothers (NE-CNHY) on (2M) Saturday (Π-CXBET.N) and (MN) Sunday (T-KYPIAKH) (BMisc. 441:32-442:1).

8.1.5 Absolute-relative tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are anaphoric tense categories, which receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually specified reference point. In this respect, they are semantically contrastive with the absolute tenses, which are deictic tense categories where time reference is determined with respect to the present moment. Absolute-relative tenses combine these two kinds of temporal reference. As combined deictic-anaphoric tense categories, absolute-relative have a reference point that is located at, before, or after the present moment and in addition locate a situation at, before, or after that reference point.

8.1.5.1 Forms

Coptic has three absolute-relative tenses, which are morphologically derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding the relative marker ε- in front of the verbal cluster, cf. table 8.5:

	RELATIVE PRESENT	RELATIVE FUTURE	RELATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing	ε-I-CWTH	ε-I-NA-CWTH	ε-A-I-CWTH
2 nd sing. masc.	ε-K-CWTH	ε-K-NA-CWTH	ε-A-K-CWTH
2 nd sing. fem.	εPE-CWTH	εPE-NA-CWTH	ε-A-PE-CWTH
3 rd sing. masc.	ε-Q-CWTH	ε-Q-NA-CWTH	ε-A-Q-CWTH
3 rd sing. fem.	ε-C-CWTH	ε-C-NA-CWTH	ε-A-C-CWTH
1 st plural	ε-N-CWTH	ε-N-NA-CWTH	ε-A-N-CWTH
2 nd plural	ε-TETN-CWTH	ε-TETN-NA-CWTH	ε-A-TETN-CWTH
3 rd plural	ε-Y-CWTH	ε-Y-NA-CWTH	ε-A-Y-CWTH
Before noun	εPE ΠPΩME CWTH	εPE ΠPΩME NA-CWTH	ε-A ΠPΩME CWTH

TABLE 8.5 Absolute-relative tenses

8.1.5.2 Syntactic differences with Second Tenses

Absolute-relative tenses share with Second Tenses the relative marking of the main tense/aspect inflection. But while the verbal paradigms of the Relative Present and the Relative Future are formally identical to those of the Second Present and Second Future, the Relative Perfect ε-A-Q-CWTH 'when/while he heard' and the Second Perfect NT-A-Q-CWTH 'he heard' are morphologically distinguished with respect to the relative markers ε- and NT-, respectively.

a) Syntactic dependency

Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology, which flags main clauses with a marked information structure, such as question-answer pairs (see below, section 7.2.2 of Unit 7), e.g. EKΩNE EOY - ΠXĀ EIΩNE EΠAZHTAP 'from what (ε-OY) do you suffer (ε-K-ΩNE)? - Lord (Π-XĀ), I am suffering (ε-I-ΩNE) from my liver (ε-ΠA-ZHTAP)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). Absolute-relative tenses, on the other hand, are syntactically dependent tenses that introduce various types of complement and adjunct clauses, e.g. XE ANZE EPOT PΩ EONZ 'because (XE) we found (A-N-ZE) her (Hilaria) (EPOT) at last (PΩ) being alive (ε-C-ONZ)' (Hil. 12:6-7), AYΩ AITEI (for ETI) EQOZC AQZE EΠECHT EXEN (for EXH) ΠQZO (for ΠEQZO) ZH TEYMHTE 'and (AYΩ) when (AITEI) he (Pachôm) was harvesting (ε-Q-OZC)], he fell (A-Q-ZE) down (EΠECHT) on (EXEN) his face (ΠQ-ZO) in (ZH) their (the brothers') midst (TEYMHTE)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17).

b) Copula support

Absolute-relative tenses differ syntactically from the corresponding Second Tenses with respect to their external distribution and the applicability of copula support. Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences with indefinite subjects, which thus take the form of existential sentences. Copula support applies in full force in the Relative Present, e.g. AYZE EPQ EYN OYNOB N2MOM ZH ΠQCΩMA EBOA ZH ΠΩNE 'they found (A-Y-ZE) him (Pachôm) (EPQ-Q) while (there) was (ε-YN) a big (OY-NOB) fever (N-ZMOM) in (ZH) his body

(ΠΙ-ΣΩΜΑ) because of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the illness (Π-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:19-20), ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΚΗΚ ΑΖΗΥ ΕΜΝ ΖΒΩ ΤΩ ΖΙΩΩΚ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) are you naked (lit. stripped off (Ε-Κ-ΚΗΚ) naked (ΑΖΗΥ)) without (there) being (Ε-ΗΝ ... ΤΩ) clothes (ΖΒΩ) on you (ΖΙΩΩ-Κ)?' (Onnophr. 207:1-2). The corresponding Second Tense sentence is, however, exempt from copula support, e.g. ΖΩC ΕΡΕ ΟΥCΤΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΖΙΩΩΚ 'as if (ΖΩC) a (varigated) tunic (ΟΥ-CΤΑΡΙΟΝ) were placed (ΕΡΕ ... ΤΟ) on him (ΖΙΩΩ-Κ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

8.1.5.3 Syntactic distribution

Absolute-relative tenses have a flexible syntax and appear before or after the main clause with respect to which their temporal interpretation is determined. They indicate various types of clausal dependencies (concomitance, sequentiality, secondary predication).

a) Clauses of circumstance and concomitance

The Relative Present is widely used 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE' adjunct clauses that indicate the co-temporality of two situations, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΕΙΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΙC ΤΤΟΥ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΑΥΕΙ ΜΠΟΥΕ 'and (ΑΥΩ) while I was looking (Ε-Ι-ΘΕΩΡΕΙ) at them (the trees) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) and (ΜΝ) their fruits (ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ), look (ΕΙC), four (ΤΤΟΥ) young (ΨΗΜ) fellows (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) from a distance (Μ-Π-ΟΥΕ)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), ΕΥΜΟΥΤ ΔΕ ΝΤΚΑΘΗΚΙ ΝΝΕΥΨΩΨ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΜΟΥΨ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΡΜΝΗΙ ΧΟΟC 'when they reflect upon (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΨΤ) the instruction (Ν-Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΙ) they shall not stretch out (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΨΩΨ) and not (ΟΥΤΕ) turn (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) to the water (Ε-Π-ΜΟΥ) until the housekeeper (Π-ΡΜΝ-ΗΕΙ) says so (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C)' (praec. Pach. 123).

Adverbial time clauses of concomitance often have non-temporal meanings, providing background information about the setting, the conditions or the circumstances under which the main event/situation took place, e.g. ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'you (ΝΤΚ) (are) who (ΝΙΜ) such (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) that this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) glory (Ν-ΕΟΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1).

A range of temporal connectives can further specify the co-temporality between the main clause and the dependent clause situation. Particularly common are the subordinators (Ε)Ν ΖΟCΟΝ 'as long as, during, when' and ΕΤΙ 'while, still', e.g. ΕΝ ΖΟCΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΝΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΕΤΜΗΥ 'while (ΕΝ ΖΟCΟΝ) we were talking (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΝ) each other (ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ), the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) of that (ΕΤ-ΜΗΥ) district (Ν-ΤΕ-ΧΩΡΑ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ)' (KHML I 143:12-14), ΕΤΕΙ (for ΕΤΙ) ΕΝΖΜΟΟC ΑΥΤ ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΝΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC 'while (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟC), an old (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) priest (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) came forth (lit. gave (Α-Υ-Τ) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), whose name (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) John (ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC)' (Abbatôn 228:13-15). A more detailed discussion of WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses will be offered in section 12.2.2.1 of Unit 12.

b) Predicative adjuncts

Sentence constructions with predicative adjuncts express two types of predicative relationships, one between the subject and the main verb (the "primary" predicate) and another between the subject, direct and indirect object and an additional predicate expression, the predicative adjunct (or "secondary" predicate). Predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the subject referent are called subject depictives and predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the direct or indirect object are called object depictives. Predicative adjuncts are optional sentence constituents: they can be omitted without any unsystematic change of meaning, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΕΙΧΑΖΗ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I am afraid (Τ-ΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ) of entering (Ε-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) (of the holy Apa Mena) being impure (Ε-Ι-ΧΑΖΗ)' (Mena, Mir. 29b:14-17), ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΝΑΝΤΥ ΕΦΜΗΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΤΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΟΡ 'and (ΑΥΩ) we (ΑΝΟΝ) will bring him (Constantine) (ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Υ) bound (Ε-Υ-ΜΗΡ) to your chariot (Ε-ΠΕΤΝ-ΖΑΡΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ a dog) (Ν-ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΡ)' (Eud. 44:11-12), ΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ 'you find (lit. you see (ΚΝΑΥ)) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) sick (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20).

c) Resultative complements

The Relative Present is widely used to form the resultative complement clauses of aspectual verbs of continuation or completion, such as *ᾶ* 'to remain', *μoγν* *εβoλ* 'to stay, continue', *λo* 'to stop', *oγw* 'to have already done', which assert the accomplished or ongoing state of some event, e.g. *xe* *nnεiδw* *εικηκ* *λzhγ* 'so that (*xe*) I would not stay (*nnε-i-δw*) *naked* (lit. stripped off (*ε-i-κηκ*) *naked* (*λzhγ*))' (Onnophr. 217:31), *λqμoγν* *δε* *εβoλ* *εqψλhλ* *zαpoc* (...) 'he (Apa Sarapiōn) remained (*λ-q-μoγν*) *praying* (*ε-q-ψλhλ*) for her sake (*zαpoc-c*) (...) ' (AP Chaine no. 240, 73:5), *λiλo* *ειψωνε* *επαλzhπap* 'I stopped (*λ-i-λo*) *being sick* (*ε-i-ψωνε*) at my liver (*ε-πα-zhπap*)' (Onnophr. 209:10), *λqoγw* *εqμoγ* 'he is already (*λ-q-oγw*) *dead* (*ε-q-μoγ*)' (Ac. A&P 196:24).

d) Sequential-consecutive clauses

Relative-absolute tenses may have a sequential-consecutive function and connect two or more clauses in a series. In elaborating on the description of some situation, such sequentially used absolute-relative tenses extend the narration in the same time-line as the preceding clause, e.g. *πpαν* *δε* *noεneεte* *εtμmαλy* *πε* *εphte* *εno* *noγzhт* *noγwt* *mn* *nenepny* *zioγcoп* *εpe* *tpnhh* *ψooп* *zh* *tnmhte* *εnψooп* *zh* *oγecγxia* (for *oγhцγxia*) *mn* *nenepny* *εnt* *εooγ* *hпnoγte* 'the name (*π-pαν*) of that (*εt-mαλy*) monastery (*noεneεte* < *n-t-zeheεte*) (was) Erête and we lived (*ε-n-o*) together (*zi-oγ-coп*) with (*mn*) one another (*nen-epny*) in harmony (*n-oγ-zhт* *n-oγwt*) and peace (*tpnhh* < *t-epnhh*) was (*εpe* ... *ψooп*) in (*zh*) our midst (*tn-mhte*) and we were (*ε-n-ψooп*) at (*zh*) ease (*oγ-ecγxia*) with (*mn*) one another (*nen-epny*) and praised (*ε-n-tp* *εooγ*) God (*m-π-noγte*)' (Onnophr. 210:23-26).

Absolute-relative tenses may assume a purposive reading and describe the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g. *qnhγ* *noι* *oγaγγeλoc* *nte* *πnoγte* *εqcyhate* *hmoι* *hпcābβaт.н* *mn* *тkypιαkη* 'an angel (*oγ-aγγeλoc*) of (*nte*) God (*π-noγte*) comes (*q-nhγ*) and serves (the Eucharist) (*ε-q-cyhate*) to me (*hmo-i*) on Saturday (*m-π-cābβaт.н*) and (*mn*) Sunday (*т-kypιαkη*)' (Onnophr. 214:22-23),

hnhca *πεooγ* *δε* *hпeχc* *λqei* *ψapoq* *noι* *μiχαηλ* *παpχαγγeλoc* *hпhnoγe* *εaтcαβoc* 'after (*hnhca*) the glorification (*π-εooγ*) of Christ (*m-πe-χc*), Michael, the archangel (*π-aρχαγγeλoc*) of heaven (*n-m-πhnoγe*), came (*λ-q-ei*) to him (Constantine) (*ψapo-q*) and instructed him (*ε-λ-q-тcαβo-q*)' (Eud. 42:1-2).

8.1.5.4 Tense distinctions

Absolute-relative tenses combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation. They express three different ranges of temporal reference.

a) Relative Present

The Relative Present *ε-q-cωтm* 'when/while he hears/heard' depicts events or states that lasted during the time at which another event took place, e.g. *αγαπαntα* *εпzhгemωn* *εqβhк* *επbhma* 'they met (*α-γ-aπaнтa*) the governor (*ε-π-zhгemωn*) on his way (*ε-q-βhк*) to the tribunal (*ε-π-bhma*)' (Ac. A&P 208:171-172), *αγw* *εις* *ce* *hpoμte* *tpooп* *zh* *тephμia* *εimoωpe* *zh* *ntooγ* *noε* *nnεoηpion* 'and (*αγw*), behold (*εις*), (for) sixty (*ce*) years (*hpoμte*) I have been living (*tpooп*) in (*zh*) this desert (*т-ephμia*), wandering around (*ε-i-mooωpe*) in (*zh*) the mountains (*n-tooγ*) in the manner (*noε* < *n-t-ze*) of wild beasts (*n-ne-θipion*)' (Onnophr. 210:18-20), *hαι* *δε* *εqχw* *hmooy* *nepe* *θeωλωpoc* *zmooc* *hпоγe* *noγkoγi* *ep* (for *εpe*) *пqzo* *hпecнт* 'when he (Pachōm) was saying (*ε-q-χw*) these (words) (*hαι*), Theodore was sitting (*nepe* ... *zmooc*) at a little (*n-oγ-koγi*) distance (*h-π-oγe*), his face (*пq-zo*) (turned down) to the ground (*ep* ... *m-π-ecнт*)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

b) Relative Future

The Relative Future *ε-q-на-cωтm* 'when/while he is/was going to hear' describes an event that was about to happen when another event took place, e.g. *acze* *eyxoi* *εqhαψoηp* *eyπολic* *xe* *capalla* 'she (Hilaria) found (*λ-c-ze*) a ship (*ε-γ-xoi*) ready to sail (*ε-q-на-ψoηp*) to a city (*ε-γ-πολic*) called (*xe*) Saralêa' (Hil. 3:17-18), *tapxh* *gap* *eyhαbωк*

ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCIC (for ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΗCIC) ψΑΥΡΑΦΕ ΕΝΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΚΟ ΜΗ ΠΕΙΒΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (in) the beginning (Τ-ΑΡΧΗ) *when they are about to enter* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) the solitary life (Ε-Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCIC), they rejoice (ΨΑ-Υ-ΡΑΦΕ) much (ΕΝΑΤΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ) and (ΜΗ) the thirst (Π-ΕΙΒΕ)' (Onnopht. 211:14-15), ΕΚΝΑΘΩΨΤ ΝCΩΙ ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΑΚΟ 'will you watch (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΘΩΨΤ) me (ΝCΩ-Ι) *going down* (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to destruction (Ε-Π-ΤΑΚΟ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91).

c) Relative Perfect

The Relative Perfect Ε-Α-Q-CΩΤΗ 'when/while he has/had heard' indicates an anterior event that had been accomplished some time before another event started, e.g. ΑΥΖΕ ΕΠΩΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΕΛΦΟΥ ΕΦΜΟΥ 'they found (Α-Υ-ΖΕ) the little (ΨΗΜ) boy (Ε-Π-ΩΗΡΕ) *having already* (Ε-Α-Q-ΟΥΩ) died (Ε-Q-ΜΟΥ)' (Ac. A&P 196:48), ΑΙΘΩΨΤ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΑΓΕΛΕΙ (for ΕΥΑΓΕΛΗ) ΝΨΟΥ ΕΛCΕΙ ΗΠΟΥΕ 'I looked up (Α-Ι-ΘΩΨΤ) (and) saw (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) a herd (Ε-Υ-ΑΓΕΛΕΙ) of antilopes (Ν-ΨΟΥ) *having approached* (Ε-Α-C-ΕΙ) from a distance (Η-Π-ΟΥΕ)' (Onnopht. 206:13-14), ΑΥΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ΕΛQΡ ΒΛΛΕ ΕΠΕQΒΑΛ CΝΑΥ 'they found (Α-Υ-ΖΕ) him (Diocletian) (ΕΡΟ-Q) *having become* (Ε-Α-Q-P) blind (ΒΛΛΕ) in both (CΝΑΥ) his eyes (Ε-ΠΕQ-ΒΑΛ)' (Eud. 36:22-23).

8.2 Moods

Mood is a grammatical category used to describe the speaker's attitudes or beliefs towards non-observable facts. A major division in the modal domain concerns the distinction between epistemic and deontic modality, where the former deals with matters of knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said and the latter with obligation and desire. Epistemic and deontic modality are therefore related to the informative and the pragmatic functions of language, respectively. The inventory of Coptic basic moods is presented in table 8.6 below.

DEONTIC MODALITY	EPISTEMIC MODALITY
IMPERATIVE CΩΤΗ listen!	CONDITIONAL Ε-Q-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ if/when he hears/heard
JUSSIVE ΜΑΡΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ may he hear	INFERENTIAL ΤΑΡΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ and/so that he shall hear

TABLE 8.6 Basic moods

In expressing a proposal for action, the imperative and the Jussive relate to deontic modality. The Conditional and the Inferential, on the other hand, are epistemic modal patterns that express hypothetical situations and emphatic assertions and deductions, respectively.

N.B. Besides the involvement of the speaker in the event under consideration, deontic and epistemic modal pattern have little in common semantically. Thus, it is never possible to interpret a deontic modal pattern like the Jussive epistemically in terms of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what is being said. Neither can an epistemic modal like the Conditional be used deontically to elicit some action from the person they are directed to. In this respect, Coptic moods differ systematically from the modalised future tenses, which have epistemic as well as deontic uses (see above, section 7.3.3 of Unit 7).

8.2.1 The imperative

The imperative represents the quintessential form of deontic modality that encodes events imposed by the speaker. In Coptic, as in many other languages, the imperative is an impoverished conjugation pattern. It is morphologically impoverished in the sense that most imperatives lack special formal marking and syntactically impoverished in the sense that imperatival mood can only have second person reference.

8.2.1.1 Forms

Imperatives can be formed morphologically either by unmarked infinitival verbs or by irregular imperatives with a distinct imperatival marker.

a) Infinitival imperatives

Most verbs have infinitival imperatives, where an uninflected absolute or construct state stem is used as the main predicate of the imperational clause, e.g. *ΟΥΧΑΙ* *ΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ* *ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ* 'farewell (*ΟΥΧΑΙ*), my holy (*ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ*) fathers (*ΝΑ-ΕΙΟΤΕ*)!' (Hil.8:13-14), *CAZOK* *ΕΒΟΛ* *ΝΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ* 'turn yourself (*CAZOK*) away from (*ΕΒΟΛ*) the idols (*Ν-Ν-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ*)!' (Eud. 38:12-13), *ΝΤΟΚ* *ΖΩΩΚ* *ΦΟΧΝΕ* *ΜΕΕΥΕ* *ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΚ* *ΕΙΜΕ* *ΧΕ* *ΟΥ* *ΠΕΤΡΝΑΛΛΑ* 'you (*ΝΤΟΚ*), on your part (*ΖΩΩ-Κ*), take council (*ΦΟΧΝΕ*), think (*ΜΕΕΥΕ*), ponder (*ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚ-Κ*), consider (well) (*ΕΙΜΕ*) what (*ΟΥ*) you will do (*Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΑ-Υ*)!' (Camb. 9:12-15), *ΖΩΕ* *ΝΙΜ* *ΧΟΟΥ* *ΝΑΙ* 'tell (*ΧΟΟ-Υ*) me (*ΝΑ-Ι*) everything (*ΖΩΕ* *ΝΙΜ*)!' (Eud. 54:17).

b) Irregular imperatives

Coptic has a number of so-called irregular imperatives, which are characterised morphologically by a special imperational prefix *α-* or by a suppletive verb stem that is phonologically unrelated to the basic form of the verb. Some irregular imperatives are also inflected for gender and number.

SING. MASC.	SING. FEM.	PLURAL	BASE VERB	GLOSS
<i>ΑΛΟ=Κ</i>	<i>ΑΛΟ</i>	<i>ΑΛΩ=ΤΝ</i>	<i>ΛΟ</i>	stop!
<i>ΑΜΟΥ</i>	<i>ΑΜΗ</i>	<i>ΑΜΗΓΙ=ΤΝ</i>	<i>ΕΙ</i>	come!
<i>ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-</i>	<i>ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-</i>	<i>ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-,</i>	<i>ΕΙΝΕ</i>	bring!
<i>ΑΡΙΠΕ, ΑΡΙ-</i>	<i>ΑΡΙΠΕ, ΑΡΙ-</i>	<i>ΑΡΙΠΕ, ΑΡΙ-</i>	<i>ΕΙΡΕ</i>	make!
<i>ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=</i>	<i>ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=</i>	<i>ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=</i>	<i>ΧΩ</i>	say!
<i>ΑΟΥΩΝ</i>	<i>ΑΟΥΩΝ</i>	<i>ΑΟΥΩΝ</i>	<i>ΟΥΩΝ</i>	open!
<i>ΑΝΑΥ</i>	<i>ΑΝΑΥ</i>	<i>ΑΝΑΥ</i>	<i>ΝΑΥ</i>	see!
<i>ΜΟ, ΜΩ</i>	<i>ΜΟ</i>	<i>ΜΜΗΕΙΤΝ</i>	<i>ΧΙ</i>	take!
<i>ΜΑ-</i>	<i>ΜΑ-</i>	<i>ΜΑ-</i>	<i>†</i>	give!

TABLE 8.7 Irregular imperatives

Examples: *ΑΜΟΥ* *ΕΠΕCΗΤ* *ΦΑΡΟΙ* *ΠΡΩΜΕ* *ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ* 'come (*ΑΜΟΥ*) down (*ΕΠΕCΗΤ*) to me (*ΦΑΡΟ-Ι*), holy (*ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ*) man (*Π-ΡΩΜΕ*)!' (Onnophr. 210:12), *ΑΜΗ* *ΝΤΕΝΑΥ* *ΕΝΑΔΙΧ* *ΜΝ* *ΠΑΣΠΙΡ* 'come (woman) (*ΑΜΗ*) and look (*ΝΤΕ-ΝΑΥ*) at my hands (*Ε-ΝΑ-ΔΙΧ*) and (*ΜΝ*) my side (*ΠΑ-CΠΙΡ*)!' (Eud. 52:3), *ΑΜ[Η]ΕΙΤΝ* *ΕΒΟΛ* *ΛΟΥΩΝ* *ΝΑΝ* *ΝΤΠΥΛΗ* *ΝΤΠΙΟΛΙC* 'come (*ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ*) outside (*ΕΒΟΛ*) (and) open (*ΛΟΥΩΝ*) us (*ΝΑ-Ν*) the gate (*Ν-Τ-ΠΥΛΗ*) of the city (*Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC*)!' (Ac. A&P 206:166-167), *ΑΡΙ* *ΠΜΕΕΥΕ* *ΠΑΧΟΕΙC* 'remember (lit. make (*ΑΡΙ*) remembrance (*Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ*)), my Lord (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC*)!' (Ac. A&P 200:83), *ΑΝΙΝΕ* *ΝΑΙ* *ΜΠΕCΤΟΥ* *ΝΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ* *ΕΠΙΜΑ* 'bring (*ΑΝΙΝΕ*) me (*ΝΑ-Ι*) the four (*Μ-ΠΕ-CΤΟΥ*) gospels (*Ν-Ν-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ*) here (*Ε-ΠΙ-ΜΑ*)!' (Hil. 11:25), *ΑΝΙ* *ΟΥΓΝΩΜΗ* *ΝΑΝ* *ΕΖΟΥΝ* *Ω* *ΝCΑΖ* *ΜΠΗ* *ΜΠΗΛ* 'give (*ΑΝΙ*) us (*ΝΑ-Ν*) advice (*ΟΥ-ΓΝΩΜΗ*), oh (*Ω*) educated people (*Ν-CΑΖ*) of the house (*Μ-Π-Η*) of Israel!' (Eud. 52:23), *ΑΧΙC* *ΝΑΥ* 'tell it (*ΑΧΙ-C*) to them (*ΝΑ-Υ*)!' (Hil. 11:25), *ΤΕΝΧΟΕΙC* *ΛΟΥΩΝ* *ΝΑΝ* 'our mistress (*ΤΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC*), open (*ΛΟΥΩΝ*) to us (*ΝΑ-Ν*)!' (Eud. 54:20), *ΜΩ* *ΝΓCΟΥΕΝ* *ΤΟΙΧ* *ΝCΖΑΙ* *ΜΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ* *ΜΝ* *ΤΕCΦΡΑΓΙC* 'take (it) (the letter) and you will recognise (*Ν-Γ-CΟΥΕΝ*) your father's (*Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΕΙΩΤ*) handwriting (lit. the hand (*Τ-ΟΙΧ*) of writing (*Ν-CΖΑΙ*)) and (*ΜΝ*) his seal (*ΤΕCΦΡΑΓΙC*)!' (Victor, Martyrd. 29:25-26), *ΑΥΩ* *ΜΑ* *ΝΑΙ* *ΜΠΕΑΠΤΙCΜΑ* 'and (*ΑΥΩ*) give (*ΜΑ*) me (*ΝΑ-Ι*) the baptism (*Μ-Π-ΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ*)!' (Pist. Soph. 111:6).

c) Prefixation of *μα-*

Lexical *τ*-causatives have two imperational forms that appear in free variation. On the one hand, there are "bare" infinitival imperatives, e.g. *ΑΛΛΑ* *ΤΑΧΡΟ* *ΝΤΕCΜCΟΜ* 'but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) be strong (*ΤΑΧΡΟ*) and vigorous (*ΝΤΕCΜ-CΟΜ*)!' (Eud. 50:22). On the other hand, there are irregular imperatives formed with the suppletive imperational verb *μα-* 'give!', e.g. *ΜΑΤCΑΒΟΙ* *ΕΠΜΑ* *ΝΤΑ* *ΠΑΥΛΟC* *ΝΟΥΧC* *ΕΠΜΟΥ* 'inform me (*ΜΑ-ΤCΑΒΟΙ*) about the place (*Ε-Π-ΜΑ*), where (*ΝΤ-Α*) Paul threw himself (*ΝΟΥΧ-C*) into the water (*Ε-Π-ΜΟΥ*)!' (Ac. A&P 196:50-51), *ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ* *ΝΑΙ* *ΝΟΥΑΒΩ* 'make (*ΜΑ-ΤΑΜΙΟ*) me (*ΝΑ-Ι*) a drag net (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΑΒΩ*)!' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-35).

8.2.1.2 The imperative and second person reference

In Coptic, as in many other languages, imperatival mood can only have second person reference. By using the imperative, the speaker proposes that the addressee take action, while the Jussive mood must be selected when he or she issues a command from another speech participant. Since the subject of imperatival clauses refers to the addressee, the use of second person pronouns becomes redundant and only a few irregular imperatives show second person inflection on the verbal stem. The number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatival clauses may, however, be co-referenced by various types of pronouns:

- So-called ethical datives, which reinforce the necessity or urgency of the proposed action, e.g. *ᾠεωπει* (read *ᾠεωπει*) *νακ* 'see (*ᾠεωπει*) for yourself (*νακ*)!' (KHML II 21:26), *τενοϥ ὅε βιτϥ* (for *ϥιτϥ*) *νακ* *ϥιχϥ* 'now (*τενοϥ*) take it (the cloak) (*βιτϥ*) (away) from me (*ϥιχϥ*)!' (V. Pach. 92:15), *βωκ νακ ἐπζενατον* '(if you want to become a monk) go (*βωκ*) for yourself (*νακ*) to the Henaton (*ε-π-ζενατον*)!' (Hil. 5:17)
- The second person subject pronoun of a following Conjunctive, e.g. *ϣωπτε* [*νημαι* *αγω* [*νη*] *γρωτη* *εροι* *ηποοϥ* 'be (*ϣωπτε*) with me (*νημαι*) and listen (*νη-γρωτη*) to me (*εροι*) today (*ηποοϥ*)!' (Eud. 46:11)
- Appositionally used independent pronouns, which are added to the imperatival verb for emphatic purposes, e.g. *ϥμοοϥ* *ντοκ* *ϥη* *τεκπι* 'sit (*ϥμοοϥ*), you (*ντοκ*), in (*ϥη*) your cell (*τεκπι*)!' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

8.2.2 The Jussive

Coptic has a Jussive mood, which is formally distinct from the corresponding imperative. Both deontic modals are in complementary distribution with respect to grammatical person. While the imperative has only second person forms, the Jussive instantiates specific first and third person forms for orders, requests, entreaties, and the like, e.g. *αγω* *χι* *μοεϊτ* *ϥιτ* *ϥη* *πεκοϥοειν* *αγω* *μαριεμε* *ω* *ποϥοειν* *χε* *ντοκ* *πε* *παρεϥνοϥϥη* 'and (*αγω*) guide me (lit. take (*χι*) road (*μοεϊτ*) before me

(*ϥητ*)) in (*ϥη*) your light (*πεκ-οϥοειν*) and (*αγω*) let me know (*μαρι-εμε*), oh (*ω*) light (*π-οϥοειν*), that (*χε*) you (*ντοκ*) (are) my saviour (*πα-ρεϥ-νοϥϥη*)!' (Pist. Soph. 79:18).

8.2.2.1 Forms

The defective pronominal paradigm of the Jussive mood is presented in table 8.8. The empty paradigmatic cells in the second person singular and plural are filled by the corresponding imperatives.

	JUSSIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	μαρ(ε)-ι-ϥωτη	μαρ(ε)-η-ϥωτη, μαρο-η
2 nd		
3 rd masc.	μαρε-ϥ-ϥωτη	μαρ-οϥ-ϥωτη
3 rd fem.	μαρε-ϥ-ϥωτη	
Before noun	μαρε πρωμε ϥωτη	

TABLE 8.8 Jussive mood

8.2.2.2 The metaphorical extension of deontic modality

From a syntactic point of view, the imperative and the Jussive may be treated as a single verbal pattern, since the forms are in complementary distribution. Yet, both deontic modals differ from one another both semantically and pragmatically: semantically in the sense that the Jussive always implies the presence of a remote causer; pragmatically in the sense that it is used as a politeness form in those contexts where the imperative would be socially inappropriate.

a) Remote causer

The conjugation base **μαρ(ε)-** represents the imperatival counterpart of the causative verb **τρε-** 'cause to do' (for its syntax, see section 6.4.3 of Unit 6). The Jussive therefore implies the presence of an implicit CAUSER, denoting the entity that is capable of initiating the proposed action, e.g.

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΥ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ), may your grace (ΠΕΚ-ΝΑ) come upon them (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)!' (Abbatôn 242:31). Third person plural Jussives may have a passive interpretation, where the causer is left unspecified, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΜΟΥΡ ΜΠΧΟΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΟΝΤΩ ΝΖΗΤΩ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) let the ship (Μ-Π-ΧΟΙ) be moored (lit. let them moore (ΜΑΡ-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΡ)) at the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) where you have found it (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΟΝΤ-Ω)!' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΥΚΑΤ ΚΑΖΗΥ ΝΤΑΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ (for ΝΤΑΛΕΒΙΤΩΝ) ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΚΟΟΤ ΝΗΜΑΣ 'don't let me (ΜΠΕΡ-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΚΑΑ-Τ) be bared (ΚΑΖΗΥ) of my habit (Ν-ΤΑ-ΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) let them bury me (ΜΑΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΟΟΤ-Τ) with it (ΝΗΜΑ-Σ)!' (Hil. 12:23-24).

b) Third person imperatives

The Jussive replaces the imperative in manipulative speech acts (orders, instructions) with third person reference, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΝΚΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΜΑΡΕΨΤ ΝΝΟΥΨ ΝΑΝ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) he will not (ΑΝ) rise (Ν-Κ-ΝΑ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), he shall give (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-Τ) to us (ΝΑ-Ν) what is his (ΝΝΟΥ-Ψ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212), ΜΑΡΕΨΩΚ ΝΚΣΟΤΗΕΣ ΝΤΟΟΤΩ (read ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ) ΝΝΕΤΝΟΙ 'he should go (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-ΩΚ) and hear it (the testament) (Ν-Κ-ΣΟΤΗΕ-Σ) from those (ΝΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) who know (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΟΙ) (to read)!' (Test. Is. 236:4).

c) Politeness form

The Jussive is used as a politeness form in manipulative speech-acts when the addressee outranks the speaker on a social or ontological hierarchy, e.g. ΑΙΟ ΠΑΓΙΩΤ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ 'please (ΑΙΟ), my good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ψ) father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), let your grace (ΠΕΚ-ΝΑ) come upon us (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΤΑΖΟ-Ν) all (ΤΗΡ-Ν)!' (Onnophr. 216:24-25), ΕΙΣ ΤΕΙΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΜΑΡΕΣΩΝΖ ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ 'behold (ΕΙΣ), this other (girl) (ΤΕΙ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΕΙ), let her stay alive (ΜΑΡΕ-Σ-ΩΝΖ) in your presence (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ)!' (Hil. 8:5), ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΨΧΕ ΚΝΑΣΟΥΤΝ ΤΑΖΗ ΖΗ ΠΖΩΒ ΕΨΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΙΕ ΜΑΡΙΩΤΗ ΕΖΕΝΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΨΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΜΠΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ '(oh) Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ), God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ), if (ΕΨΧΕ) you want to direct

(Κ-ΝΑ-ΣΟΥΤΝ) my way (ΤΑ-ΖΗ) in (ΖΗ) the matter (Π-ΖΩΒ) that I want to pursue (ΕΨΝΑΒΩΚ < ΕΤ-Ψ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ)), then (ΕΙΕ) let me hear (ΜΑΡ-Ι-ΣΩΤΗ) Scripture readings (Ε-ΖΕΝ-ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ) that are suited (Ε-Υ-ΠΡΕΠΕΙ) to my goal (Μ-ΠΑ-ΣΚΟΠΟΣ)!' (Hil. 2:20-21).

d) Optative

The Jussive can have an optative reading, expressing the speaker's hopes about some state of affairs that has not yet been realised, e.g. ΑΚΣΕΤΗ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΨΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΜΑΚ 'you have heard (Α-Κ-ΣΕΤΗ) a word (ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ). (So) may it stay (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ) with you (ΝΗΜΑ-Κ)!' (Test. Is. 228:9-10), ΜΑΡΕ ΤΑΘΥΣΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΨΗΠ ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ 'may my sacrifice (ΤΑ-ΘΥΣΙΑ) be (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) accepted (Ε-Σ-ΨΗΠ) in your presence (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ)!' (Test. Is. 232:32-33).

e) Exhortative

First person plural Jussives are conventionally associated with an exhortative meaning and function, expressing desires for actions involving the speaker and some other speech participant, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΜΑΡΝΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΨ ΑΓΑΠΗ ΖΙ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'let us now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), my beloved (ΝΑ-ΜΕΡΑΤΕ), be zealous (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) to give (Ε-Ψ) love (ΑΓΑΠΗ) and (ΖΙ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ)!' (Abbatôn 247:34-248:2). The freestanding form ΜΑΡΟΝ 'let's go' is used as a parenthetical expression that reinforces the proposition for action that is described, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ ΝΤΑΧΙΤΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΨΤΑΦΟΣ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), risc (ΤΩΟΥΝ), let's go (ΜΑΡΟΝ) and I will take you (woman) (ΝΤΑ-ΧΙΤ-Ε) to (ΕΧΗ) his (Christ's) tomb (ΠΕΨ-ΤΑΦΟΣ)!' (Eud. 68:10-11).

8.2.3 Conditional mood

The Conditional Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΣΩΤΗ 'if/when he hears' introduces the subordinate adjunct clause (the protasis) of an open conditional sentences, which describes hypothetical situations that have the potential of becoming reality.

8.2.3.1 Forms

The Conditional conjugation $\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$ 'if/when he hears' is a compound verbal tense, consisting of an initial relative marker $\epsilon\text{-}$ and the modal auxiliary $\psi\alpha\text{n}$, which has a fully grammaticalised meaning and function. It undergoes subject-verb inversion in the context of full noun phrases: $\epsilon\text{p}\epsilon$ NP_{subject} $\psi\alpha\text{n}$ \rightarrow $\epsilon\text{p}\psi\alpha\text{n}$ NP_{subject} (see above, section 7.1.2.4 of Unit 7).

CONDITIONAL		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	$\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd masc.	$\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\text{n}\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd fem.	$\epsilon\text{-}\rho\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	
3 rd masc.	$\epsilon\text{-}\chi\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd fem.	$\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	
Before noun	$(\epsilon)\rho\psi\alpha\text{n}$ $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\mu$	

TABLE 8.9 Conditional mood

8.2.3.2 Modal and aspectual uses of the Conditional

The Conditional conjugation has a broad spectrum of semantic connotations. Depending on the tense-aspect selected in the apodosis clause, it assumes a more modal or more temporal interpretation ('whenever, every time he hears').

a) Real conditions

As an epistemic modal, the Conditional anticipates a situation about which the speaker has some positive belief that it will occur at some point in the future. The apodosis clause of such realis conditionals frequently contains a future tense, asserting that if one event takes place some other will naturally follow, e.g. $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\text{n}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\nu\omicron\iota$ $\nu\epsilon\text{n}\tau\alpha\gamma\text{n}\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\chi$ $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$ $\varsigma\epsilon\text{n}\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\chi$ (Eud. 52:21-22) 'because ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) if all ($\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) those (people) who saw ($\nu\text{-}\epsilon\text{n}\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\gamma$) him (Jesus Christ) ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\chi$) come to

know ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) (about it), they will believe ($\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) in him ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\chi$)' (Eud. 52:21-22), $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\text{n}\epsilon\iota$ $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\text{n}\tau\text{n}$ $\epsilon\text{n}\rho\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\text{n}\text{n}\alpha\chi\iota$ $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'if they come ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) and find us ($\nu\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\text{n}\tau\text{-}\text{n}$) awake ($\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\text{-}\rho\eta\varsigma$), we will be glorified (lit. receive ($\tau\text{n}\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\text{-}\chi\iota$) glory ($\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17), $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\text{†}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\text{n}\epsilon\iota$ $\psi\alpha\rho\text{n}$ $\tau\text{n}\text{n}\alpha\delta\epsilon\text{n}$ $\gamma\eta\gamma$ $\tau\eta\rho\text{n}$ $\gamma\iota\tau\text{n}$ $\nu\epsilon\chi\psi\alpha\text{n}\eta$ 'and ($\alpha\gamma\omega$) I believe ($\text{†}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) when he comes ($\epsilon\text{-}\chi\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) to us ($\psi\alpha\rho\text{-}\text{n}$), we all ($\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\text{n}$) will benefit (lit. gain ($\tau\text{n}\text{-}\text{n}\alpha\text{-}\delta\epsilon\text{n}$) profit ($\gamma\eta\gamma$)) from ($\gamma\iota\tau\text{n}$) his prayers ($\nu\epsilon\chi\psi\alpha\text{n}\eta$)' (Hil. 10:30-31).

b) Quantification over event types

The Conditional may express quantification over types of situations rather than possible scenarios in some imaginary world. The quantificational meaning is reinforced by the selection of habitual aspect in the consequent clause, e.g. $\epsilon\varsigma\psi\alpha\text{n}\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\text{n}$ $\epsilon\psi\alpha\text{n}\eta$ $\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\varsigma\psi\alpha\text{n}\eta$ $\text{n}\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma$ 'whenever she (Hilaria) rose ($\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\text{n}$) to pray ($\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\eta$), she used to pray ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\eta$) with her (her younger sister) ($\text{n}\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$)' (Hil. 9:12), $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\rho\psi\alpha\text{n}$ $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\text{n}$ $\text{†}\mu\kappa\alpha\gamma$ $\text{n}\alpha\chi$ $\gamma\text{n}\text{n}\omicron\gamma\gamma\omega\chi$ (for γn $\omicron\gamma\gamma\omega\epsilon$) $\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\chi$ 'but ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) whenever a brother ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\text{n}$) hurt ($\rho\psi\alpha\text{n}$... $\text{†}\mu\kappa\alpha\gamma$) him (the ill-tempered monk) ($\text{n}\alpha\text{-}\chi$) in anything ($\gamma\text{n}\text{n}\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\gamma\omega\chi$), he used to hate him ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{-}\chi\text{-}\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\text{-}\chi$)' (V. Pach. 86:2-3).

c) With other deontic modals

Realis conditionals may restrict the deontic force of a manipulative speech act by specifying a condition or circumstance under which an order must be obeyed, e.g. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\omicron\text{n}$ $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\text{n}\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\text{n}\alpha\text{n}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\text{n}\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\epsilon$ $\text{n}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ γm $\pi\text{n}\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (read $\pi\text{n}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$) $\epsilon\pi\text{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ (read $\text{n}\pi\text{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) 'and ($\alpha\gamma\omega$) also ($\omicron\text{n}$) (as far as) the brothers ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{n}\eta\gamma$) (are concerned): if they become negligent ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\text{n}\text{-}\alpha\text{n}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$) you shall raise ($\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\text{n}\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\epsilon$) them ($\text{n}\mu\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) up in (γm) the law ($\pi\text{-}\text{n}\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$) of God ($\text{n}\text{-}\pi\text{-}\text{n}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 94:14-16).

8.2.4 Inferential mood

The Inferential $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$ 'and/so that he shall hear' instantiates a relatively unique case of evidential modality in the Sahidic Coptic conjugation system. Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or functions words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.

8.2.4.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Inferential $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$ is represented in table 8.10. Contrary to what is stated in many Coptic reference works, there is no evidence for a paradigm gap in the first person singular. Yet, it seems to be the case that first person singular inferentials ($\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$) can only be used under specific contextual conditions.

	INFERENTIAL	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	$\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\nu\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd masc.	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd fem.	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	
3 rd masc.	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd fem.	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	
Before noun	$\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{ πρωτε } \omega\tau\mu$	

TABLE 8.10 Inferential mood

8.2.4.2 Inferential evidentiality and first person reference

In a system based on a primary division of the source of knowledge into the speaker and other speech participants, inferred evidence is intrinsically related to the speaker. When the speaker was a knowing participant in some event, either as a voluntary agent or conscious experiencer, the knowledge of that event is normally direct and evidential markers are therefore often omitted. First person singular inferentials do, however,

occur in those contexts where the speaker distances himself from his own actions and takes the stance of an outside observer, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \varphi\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\omega\ \tau\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\ \nu\varsigma\omega\kappa\ \gamma\eta\ \omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\omega\epsilon\ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\eta\ \omega\varsigma\kappa$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) take ($\varphi\iota$) care ($\pi\text{-}\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\omega$) and I shall fetch ($\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\iota\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) you ($\nu\varsigma\omega\text{-}\kappa$) with ($\gamma\eta$) joy ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\rho\alpha\omega\epsilon$) without ($\epsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\eta$) delay ($\omega\varsigma\kappa$)' (Test. Is. 230:9-10), $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \nu\omicron\gamma\alpha\beta\omega\ \tau\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\ \omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma\ \nu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\eta\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\omicron\iota\chi$ 'make ($\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron$) a drag net ($\nu\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\lambda\beta\omega$) for me ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$) so that I keep ($\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\iota\text{-}\kappa\alpha$) something ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$) for myself ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$) from ($\gamma\eta$) your hands ($\nu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\omicron\iota\chi$)' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-24a:1), $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\tau\ \tau\alpha\rho\iota\rho\ \psi\mu\mu\omicron\ \epsilon\mu\eta\tau\alpha\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\ \nu\iota\mu$ 'such that ($\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) I, having learnt ($\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\iota\text{-}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) about this other (thing) ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\tau$), become ($\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\iota\text{-}\rho$) free (lit. alien ($\psi\mu\mu\omicron$)) from all ($\nu\iota\mu$) ignorance ($\epsilon\text{-}\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$)' (AP Chaîne no. 211, 60:5).

8.2.4.3 The validitional function of the Inferential

The Inferential can be characterised as introspective evidential, which encodes not only inference based on (non-)observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent. Consequently, the speaker takes responsibility for the truth of his assertion.

a) Assertive-promissive

The Inferential is commonly used in prescriptive contexts, where the speaker assures the addressee about the emergence of some state of affairs once his instructions are followed. In this usage, it indicates the high degree of certainty the speaker has for his assertion without actually specifying the source of knowledge or evidence type. In other words, the validity of the inference is solely based on the speaker's authority, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \nu\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\ \nu\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\ \omega\tau\mu\ \nu\varsigma\alpha\ \pi\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi\eta\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\kappa$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) most of all ($\nu\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\ \nu\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron$) listen ($\omega\tau\mu$) to ($\nu\varsigma\alpha$) God ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) and (be assured) he will save you ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\text{-}\kappa$)' (Catéch. Pach. 5:7-8), $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\ \mu\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\kappa\theta\epsilon\beta\eta\eta\gamma\ \tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\omega\ \gamma\eta\ \pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \nu\tau\alpha\ \pi\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\lambda\varphi\ \nu\alpha\kappa$ 'but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$) remain ($\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) humble ($\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\theta\epsilon\beta\eta\eta\gamma$) and (be assured) you shall remain ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega$) in ($\gamma\eta$) the glory ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$) that God ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) has given ($\nu\tau\text{-}\alpha\ \dots\ \tau\alpha\lambda\text{-}\varphi$) to you ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\kappa$)' (Catéch. Pach.

7:13-14), *ψωπε νοῦψην νρεϕτ καρπος ταρε πεсμοу нпχοεic ψωπε зixωκ* 'become (*ψωπε*) a tree (*н-οу-ψην*) which brings forth (*н-ρεϕ-τ*) fruit (*καρπος*) and (trust me) the Lord's (*н-п-χοεic*) blessing (*πε-сμοу*) will come down (*ταρε ... ψωπε*) on you (*зixω-κ*)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

b) Reported indirect speech

The Inferential may introduce indirect speech, where the speaker himself makes a report of a report and is therefore the source of knowledge, e.g. *2N οὔωμ α πχοεic χοос нан тарноуωм εβολ 2N ψηм nim εт2м пπαρδειсoc ειμηтеi пψηм ncoyn ппетнаноуq мн пπεθooy* 'concerning (*2N*) eating (*οὔωμ*), the Lord (*π-χοεic*) told (*α ... χοο-с*) us (*на-н*) that we can eat (*тар-н-οὔωм*) from (*2N*) every (*ним*) tree (*ψηм*) in (*εт-2м*) Paradise (*π-παρδειсoc*) except for (*ειμηтеi*) the tree (*π-ψηм*) of knowing (*н-coyn*) what is good (*π-пет-наноу-q*) and (*мн*) what is bad (*пπεθooy < π-п-εт-2ooy*)' (Abbatōn 237:12-14), *εтβε παι тналите нпноуτε пет2ixн оyon ним тарεqоуωн нαι нпψαхе αγω нqχορηгеi* (for *нqχωρηгеi*) *наи ннеτнаxооу* 'for (*εтβε*) this (reason) (*пαι*) I will ask (*т-на-литеi*) God (*н-п-ноуτε*), who is above (*π-εт-2ixн*) everyone (*оyon ним*) that he opens (*ταρε-q-οὔωн*) for me (*на-и*) the speech (*н-п-ψαхе*) and (*αγω*) provides (*н-q-χορηгеi*) me (*на-и*) with what I shall say (*н-н-ε-т-на-χοο-у*) (...)' (KHML II 49:3-5).

c) Purposive

As an introspective evidential, the Inferential often assumes a purposive reading, revealing the speaker's motivation for issuing a command or reflecting his view on the intended result of somebody else's action, e.g. *ca2ετηγтн ε2pai п2εθнос тнpq нне2pωмαιοс таρε нетncннy 2woy он εте нпεpcoc не ει nceco* 'withdraw yourselves (*ca2ε-τηγтн ε2pai*), oh entire (*тнp-q*) nation (*π-2εθнос*) of the Romans (*н-не-2pωмαιοс*) that your brothers (*нетн-сннy*), the Persians (*εте нпεpcoc не*), may also (*2ω-οу*) come (*ταρε ... ει*) and drink (*н-се-сω*)' (Eud. 46:23-25), *ннеуκεт теикyтн 2м пaoyoeиw таρε тоикoуменн тнpс εимε xe αγκyтн 2ε 2н ψиηт εтβε oγaпoт ннpп*

'they should not rebuild (*нне-у-κεт*) this vault (*теi-кyтн*) in (*2м*) my time (*пa-oyoeиw*) that the entire (*тнp-с*) world (*т-oикoуменн*) will come to know (*ταρε ... εимε*) that a vault (*[o]γ-кyтн*) fell down (*α ... 2ε*) in (*2н*) Shiêt because (*εтβε*) of one cup (*οу-αпoт*) of wine (*н-нpп*)' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27-28), *αqμoyn δε εβολ εqψηα 2apoc таpecoyxαι αγω α пноуτε cωтн epoq* 'he (Apa Sarapiōn) remained (*α-q-μoyn*) praying (*ε-q-ψηα*) for her sake (*2apo-с*) that she might recover (*ταρε-с-οуxαι*) and (*αγω*) God (*π-ноуτε*) hearkened (*α-q-cωтн*) him (*εpо-q*)' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5-6).

d) Inference through reasoning

The Inferential can be used to express the speaker's expectation with regard to the outcome of some event. The inferred evidence may involve mental constructs, i.e. reasoning about behaviour, based on logic, intuition, traditional wisdom or previous experience, e.g. *εpωαν οуπipacmoc* (for *οуπεipacmoc*) *тwoyn ε2pai 2ixн oγpωme ψape neθλιφic αψαι наq ncacα ним тарεqкoуi н2ит нqкpмpн* 'if a temptation (*οу-πipacmoc*) comes (*εpωαν ... тwoyn*) against (*ε2pai 2ixн*) someone (*οу-pωme*), the hardships (*не-θλιφic*) become more intense (*ψape ... αψαι*) for him (*на-q*) on every (*ним*) side (*н-сacα*) such that he becomes discouraged (lit. faint-hearted (*ταρε-q-кoуi н2ит*)) and vexed (*н-q-кpмpн*)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:18-20).

Key Terms:

Relative tenses	are anaphoric tense categories that locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. Coptic relative tenses express three different ordering relations, viz. co-occurrence, precedence and subsequence.	§8.1.1
Iconicity	is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1
Terminative aspect	is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English "until"-clauses. The Terminative depicts a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential of going on beyond that point.	§8.1.3
Topic continuity	Subject identical clauses express the sameness of the same topic throughout a series of clauses, often designating the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions.	§8.1.4.2
Switch reference	designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
Absolute-relative tenses	are mixed deictic-anaphoric tense categories that combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation.	§8.1.4
Epistemic and deontic modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2

Realis conditionals	indicate real conditions involving a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the probability of the state of affairs that is described. In Coptic, such realis conditionals are expressed by the Conditional mood $\epsilon\text{-q-}\Psi\text{AN-C}\omega\text{TM}$ 'if/when he hears'.	§8.2.3
Inferential evidentiality	encodes not only inference based on (non-) observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent.	§8.2.4

Exercises

8.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 1. The Temporal conjugation $\text{NTEP}\epsilon\text{-q-C}\omega\text{TM}$ 'when he had heard' has a single event reading.
 2. Terminative aspect $\Psi\text{ANTE-q-C}\omega\text{TM}$ 'when he had heard' occurs in main and embedded clauses.
 3. The Conjunctive $\text{N-q-C}\omega\text{TM}$ 'and he hears/heard' takes over the temporal, aspectual or modal value of the preceding verb form.
 4. The Conjunctive is the only relative tense that can be combined with the Stative stem pattern.
 5. The Relative Future $\epsilon\text{-q-NA-C}\omega\text{TM}$ 'while he will hear' cannot occur as a resultative complement of aspectual verbs of completion like λo 'to stop'.
 6. Imperative mood is restricted to second person reference.

7. **ΕΡΩΑΝ**-conditionals may describe a pattern of events, when the apodosis clause contains habitual aspect.
8. The Inferential **ΤΑΡΕΨ-Ψ-ΩΤΗ** 'and/so that he hears' has a defective pronominal paradigm.

8.2 Relative Tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g. **ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ψ-ΩΤΗ**: Temporal 3rd pers. sing. masc. 'when/after he had heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS
ΝΨΩΤΗ		ΨΑΝΤΕΨΩΤΗ	
ΝΤΕΡΕΩΤΗ		ΝΣΕΩΤΗ	
ΕΑΨΩΤΗ		ΨΑΝΤΑΨΩΤΗ	

- B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g. **ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ψ-ΕΙ** **ΕΠΕΙΜΑ**: Temporal 3rd pers. sing. masc. 'when he had come to this place'.

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS
ΑΨΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΨΩΤΗ ΕΤΒΗΝΤΨ	(V. Pach. 138:16)
ΨΑΝΤΨΡ ΠΕΖΟΥΨ ΣΝΑΨ	(Ac. A&P 196:34)
ΝΨΤΣΑΒΟΥΨ	(Test. Is. 231:12)
ΝΓΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΡΠΕ	(KHML I 1:15)
ΝΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ	(Eud. 40:9-10)
ΨΑΝΤΟΥΨΙΝΕ ΝΩΚ	(Test. Is 230:26)
ΕΑΨΖΕΠ ΖΩΨ ΕΡΟΨ	(V. Pach. 1:7)

- C. Identify the relative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- ΟΥΝ ΚΕΖΜΕ ΣΝΟΟΥΨΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΨΕΙ ΝΩΙ ΠΕΧ̄**
'forty-two other (ΚΕΖΜΕ ΣΝΟΟΥΨΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) will come (ΟΥΝ ... ΝΑ-ΟΥΕΙΝΕ) ____' (Test. Is. 231: 7-8) (ΝΩΙ marks the inverted nominal subject)
- ΜΗΝΝΣΑ ΨΟΜΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΣΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤ-ΜΗΑΨ Α ΠΧΟΕΙΣ**
ΒΕΛΠ ΠΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΧΕ ΟΥΨΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ 'after (ΜΗΝΝΣΑ) three (ΨΟΜΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) ____ in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΜΗΑΨ) place (Π-ΜΑ), the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) revealed (ΒΕΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ) this (matter) (ΠΑΙ) to Αρα (Ε-ΑΠΑ) Pambô, (namely) that (ΧΕ) she (Hilaria) (ΤΕ) (was) a woman (ΟΥ-ΨΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6: 20-22)
- ΠΤΑΛΛΙΨΩΡΟΣ ΝΤΑΚΡ ΟΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΨΑΝΤΚΠΑΖΤ<Κ> ΝΓΟΥΨΤ**
ΜΠΑΔΙΒΟΛΟΣ '(oh you) miserable person (Π-ΤΑΛΛΙΨΩΡΟΣ), what (ΟΥ) did you do (ΝΤΑΚ-Ρ) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) ____ and ____ the Devil (Μ-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ)!' (Ac. A&P 202:121-122)
- ΝΤΕΡΕΣΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΨ ΠΕΣΟΥΟΙ ΖΗ ΘΟΡΗΗ**
ΜΠΕΣΠ̄Λ '____ into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) Alexandria (Ε-ΡΑΚΟΤΕ), she (Hilaria) went forth (lit. gave (Α-Ψ-Τ) her way (ΠΕΣ-ΟΥΟΙ)) (driven) by (ΖΗ) the impulse (Τ-ΘΟΡΗΗ) of her spirit (Μ-ΠΕΣ-Π̄Λ)' (Hil. 3:26-27)
- ΣΕΝΗΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΧΩΡΑ ΝΗΜ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΕΙ ΝΣΕΟΥΨΤ ΕΠΜΑ**
ΝΤΑΝΑΣΤΑΨΙΣ ΜΨΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'they come (ΣΕ-ΝΗΨ) from (ΖΗ) every (ΝΗΜ) country (ΧΩΡΑ) ____ and ____ at the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the resurrection (Ν-Τ-ΑΝΑΣΤΑΨΙΣ) of the Son (Μ-Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 54:9-10)

- (6) ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΩΜΟΟΣ ΕΧΝ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ
 Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑϞ '_____ on (ΕΧΝ) (the throne) of the
 kingdom (ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ) of the Romans (Ν-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ), God
 (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) was (Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) with him (ΝΜΜΑ-Ϟ)' (Eud. 40:1-2)

D. Complete the translation of the following Coptic examples by translating the Conjunctive clauses.

- (1) ΕΙΒΗΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑΨΑΝΑ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ)
 to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mena (Ν-ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ) _____',
 (Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25)
- (2) ΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΓΩΨ ΖΗ ΠΕΚΜΑ ΜΑΨΑΛΚ 'rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ) and
 go (ΑΜΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) _____' (Onnophr. 207:6)
- (3) ΕΝΧΙ ΗΜΟϞ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΡΗϞ ΝϞΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑϞ
 ΜΠΤΑΛΔΟ 'we bring (Ε-Ν-ΧΙ) him (the possessed boy) (ΗΜΟ-Ϟ) to
 the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mena (Ν-ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ); perhaps
 (ΑΡΗϞ) _____' (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8)
- (4) ΠΛΕΙΩΤ ΕΙΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΚΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΙ ΝΤΑΠΩΤ ΕΤΗΠΕ
 ΝΝΕΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ 'My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (Ε-Ι-ΟΥΨ) you to
 baptize (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) me (ΗΜΟ-Ι) _____' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-
 b:4)
- (5) ҀНАΒΩК НТАР КОСМΙΚОН (Pach. 147:9) 'I will go (Ҁ-НА-ВΩК)
 _____ (КОСМΙΚОН 'man of wordly profession')
- (6) ϞΕΙ (for ϞΙ) ΝΝΕΚΒΑΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΓΝΑϞ ΕΝΚΟΛΑΣΙϞ 'open (ϞΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ)
 your eyes (Ν-ΝΕΚ-ΒΑΛ) _____' (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (ΚΟΛΑΣΙϞ
 'punishment')

E. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Relative Present.

- (1) Α ΤΗΛΛΥ ΔΕ ΗΠΝΕΕϞ ΝΑϞ ΕΠΕΣΩΗΡΕ ΕϞΝ[Η]Ϟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΕΚΡΟ
 (Ac.A&P 194:4-5)
- (2) ΝΤΕΡΕΦΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΕϞΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΙ Α ΤΑΔΟΜ ΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ (Onnophr.
 209:25-26)
- (3) ΠΛΧΟΕΙϞ ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟϞ ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ
 (Mena, Mir. 30b:8-12)
- (4) ΑϞΜΟΨΕ ΜΑΨΑΛϞ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΠΟΟΥ Ε[ΗΝ] ΛΑΛϞ ΜΟΨΕ
 ΝΗΜΑϞ (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:5)

F. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHÔMIUS FUNERAL

ΗΗΝΣΩϞ ΑΥΖΗΜΝΕΥΕ (read ΖΥΜΝΕΙΕ) ΖΑΤΕϞΖΗ ΖΗΝΟΥΝΟϞ (for ΖΗ
 ΟΥΝΟϞ) ΝΟΥΡΟΤ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤϞ ΕΠΕϞΜΑ ΝΕΜΤΟΝ ΖΩϞΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΑ
 ΝΤΑϞΜΤΟΝ ΗΜΟϞ ΝΖΗΤϞ Ρ ΖΗΜΗΗΨΕ (for ΖΕΝΗΜΗΗΨΕ) ΝΖΟΟΥ
 ΕϞΨΕΨ ϞҀΝΟΥΒΡΕ (for ϞҀΝΟΥϞΡΕ) ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΕϞΝΗϞ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΑΥΠΩΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟϞ ΕΥΡΕΙΜΕ (for ΕΥΡΙΜΕ) ΑΥΑϞΑΖΕ ΝΤΕϞΤΑΠΡΟ
 ΗΝ ΠΕϞΩΜΑ ΤΗΡϞ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΥΨ ΑΥΡ ΠΨΩΧΠ ΗΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑϞ
 ΗΝ ΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡϞ ΕΥΨ ΗΠΕϞΚΩΤΕ ΖΙΘΗ ΗΠΕΘΗϞΙΑϞΤΗΡΙΟΝ (read
 ΕΥϞΙΑϞΤΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ). ΝΤΕΡΟΥΡ ΤϞΥΝΑΖΙϞ ΔΕ ΜΠΝΑϞ ΝΨΩΡΠ ΑΥΚΩΝϞ
 (read ΑΥΚΩϞϞ) ΗΠΕϞΩΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕϞΝΗϞ ΤΗΡΟΥ (...).
 ΗΗΝΣΩϞ ΑΥΦΑΛΛΕΙ ΖΑΤΕϞΖΗ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤϞ ΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΝϞΕΤΟΝϞϞ
 ΝϞΟΥΗΝΤΗ ΗΠΕΙΕΒΟΤ ΝΟΥΨΤ ΠΑΨΟΝϞ ΕΑ ΝΕϞΝΗϞ ΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ
 ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΖΗ{ΝΟΥ}ΝΟΥΝΟϞ ΝΝΟΥΨΩϞ (for ΝΟΥΨΩϞ) ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ
 ΘΒΒΕΙΟ (for ΘΒΒΙΟ). (V. Pach. 95:9-27)

NOTES: a. ΖΗΜΝΕΥΕ 'to sing hymns' b. ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑϞΜΤΟΝ ΗΜΟϞ ΝΖΗΤϞ 'the
 place where he (Pachôm) went to rest (i.e. was buried)' (a relative clause) c.

ζωσαε 'such that' d. ψωψ εβολ 'to spread out' e. ασπασε 'to salute, to kiss'
f. σωμα 'body' g. ετογλαβ 'holy' h. εγσιαστηριον 'altar' i. σγναξικ 'service'
j. φλλαει 'to sing psalms' k. ογψωq νζητ 'affliction'.

8.3 Moods

A. Fill in the right form of the imperative by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) (ανι/εινε) πειψηρε κογι ψαροι ταψαχε νμμαq κατα πεqογωψ 'bring (sing. masc.) this little (κογι) boy (πει-ψηρε) to me (ψαρο-ι) so that I talk (τα-ψαχε) with him (νμμα-q) according to (κατα) his wish (πεq-ογωψ)!' (KHML II 32:20-21)
- (2) (αρι-/ρ-) παμεεγε σε ω παcon μμεριτ 'remember (sing. masc.) me (lit. make my remembrance (πα-μεεγε)), oh (ω) my beloved (μ-μεριτ) brother (πα-con)!' (Onnophr. 209:16)
- (3) (αμμειτν/αμογ) εζογν πx̄c νμμακ 'come (sing. masc.) inside (εζογν), (may) the Lord (π-x̄c) (be) with you (νμμα-κ)!' (Onnophr. 213:4)
- (4) (αμη/ει) ντεναγ εναδix μν παcπip 'come (sing. fem.) and look (ντε-ναγ) at my hands (ε-να-δix) and my side!' (Eud. 52:3)
- (5) (ντ-/ανι-) τεψγχη νιογλαc εζpai 'bring (sing. masc.) the soul (τε-ψγχη) of Judas (ν-ιογλαc)!' (Ac. A&P 202:113-114)
- (6) (βωκ/βηκ) νητν εβολ 2ν νζεθnoc [ν]τετνπαana μμοoy 'go (pl.) away (εβολ) under (2ν) the nations (ν-ζεθnoc) and lead them (μμο-oy) astray (ντετν-παana)!' (Ac. A&P 206:157-158)
- (7) тенxoeic (αογων/ογων) ναν 'our mistress (τεν-xoeic), open (sing. fem.) to us (να-ν)!' (Eud. 54:20)

B. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Jussive.

- (1) μαρεqтme ογzhke νοεik (Test. Is. 235:26)
- (2) μαρεq† ννογq ναν (Ac. A&P 210:211-212)
- (3) ακcетη ογψαχε μαρεqμoγν εβολ νμμακ (Test. Is. 228:9-10)
- (4) μαρογc2ai ντεqδιαθηκη νceκαac ντοotoγ (Test. Is. 235:21)
- (5) μαρεqaze παтq νqхе ψomнт νcoπ νψana επноyтe 2н παpan (Onophr. 216:26-28)

C. Translate the following conditional sentences.

- (1) εψωπε ετετνψανπακαλει μπxoeic qнаχαpize μπтаαδo νтаψεere 2итν νетнψανψα νacнγ (Hil. 8:12-13)
- (2) εcψανδωψт εζογн ε2pac ψape пecca ν2ογн βωλ εβολ ψacπα2тc εхн пка2 νcрime (Hil. 9:13-14)
- (3) εγψανενκοтк нδi νepωme νтempω †наqитq νтаноyхq εθααacca (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7)

D. Determine the contextual function of the Inferential by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) μαpнφοpeι νтmок2c таpнp eppe 2н птbbo μαpнp μαipωme таpнp ψbнp ειhcoγc пμαipωme 'let us bear (μαp-н-φοpeι) affliction (н-т-мок2c) and (believe me) we will become (таp-н-р) new (eppe) in (2н) purity (п-тbbo), let us become (μαp-н-р) map-lovers (μαi-ρωme) and (trust me) we will become (таp-н-р) friends (ψbнp) with Jesus who loves mankind (п-μαi-ρωme)' (Catéch. Pach. 20:17-19)

☐ assertive-promissive

☐ reported speech

- (2) ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΨΡΠ ΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ ΤΑΡΕΚΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΠΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ 'for (ΓΑΡ), look (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ), he already (Λ-Ο-ΨΡΠ) told (ΧΩ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) the punishment (Ν-Τ-ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ) so that you can escape (ΤΑΡΕ-Κ-Ρ ΒΟΛ) from the danger (Ε-Π-ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ)' (BHom. 21:17-18)

□ inference through reasoning □ purposive

- (3) ΟΥΛΖΜΕΩ ΝΚΕΨC ΝΚΟΥΗΠΟC (for ΚΟΜΒΟC) ΤΑΡΕ ΠΕΙΛΑΝΖΟCΙΟC ΖΡΟΚ ΜΗΟΩ ΖΝ ΤΕΩΜΗΤΖΑΖ ΝΨΑΧΕ 'let him (Απα Ptolemaios) again receive (ΟΥΛΖΜΕ-Ω) another stroke (Ν-ΚΕ-ΨC) with the girth (Ν-ΚΟΥΗΠΟC) that this impious (person) (ΠΕΙ-ΛΑΝΖΟCΙΟC) cease (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΖΡΟΚ) from (ΖΝ) his multitude (ΤΕΩ-ΜΗΤ-ΖΑΖ) of words (Ν-ΨΑΧΕ)' (KMHL II 32:1-2)

□ assertive-promissive □ purposive

- (4) ΝΤΝΩΙ ΝΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΤΑΡΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΟΩΨΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΗ ΤΕΘΥCΙΑ ΝCΕΚΑΛΑΝ ΝΤΝΕΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΑΦΟC ΜΠΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ 'and we will offer (ΝΤ-Ν-ΩΙ) the Eucharist (Ν-ΤΕ-ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) so that the angels (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) will come (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΜΟΩΨΕ) down (ΕΖΡΑΙ) with (ΜΗ) the sacrifice (ΤΕ-ΘΥCΙΑ) and allow us (Ν-CΕ-ΚΑΛ-Ν) to go (ΝΤ-Ν-ΕΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the tomb (Ε-Π-ΤΑΦΟC) of our salvation (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Eud. 72:23-25)

□ assertive-promissive □ inference through reasoning

Unit 9

Modes of negation

This Unit examines the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods discussed so far. The negative is a grammatical category used to deny the actuality of some situation or portions thereof. For the most part, negative statements are not utilised to add any new information, but rather to express denial and contradiction of a previous statement, rejecting its content either entirely or partially and convey this evaluation to the addressee. A negated clause is obtained by modifying an affirmative clause in some way. Coptic has an extensive set of negative conjugation patterns, which are formed with such diverse morphological devices as negative affixes and adverbs, auxiliary verbs, as well as specialised negative tense-aspect markers.

An overview of the negative verbal system is presented in section 9.1. The addition of a negative marker to the verb may make the entire clause negative, but it is also possible to use the same negation pattern to explicitly negate a single clausal constituent, leaving the rest of the clause outside of the scope of negation. Section 9.2 settles some general issues concerning the operation of negative scope, i.e. the different meanings associated with negative sentences. Section 9.3 deals with the double negation Ν ... ΑΝ, in which negative polarity corresponds to two distinct markers, viz. the negative prefix Ν- and the clause-internal negation adverb ΑΝ 'not'. Section 9.4 deals with negative tenses, where negative

polarity and a particular temporal, aspectual, or modal category are expressed by a single, indivisible morph. Another topic of this section concerns negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb $\tau\mu$ 'to do not'.

9.1 Basic strategies for negation

Negation interacts in complex ways with mood. Negative assertions can occur in any of the traditional sentence moods (declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives) and may be uttered with complete certainty or with some doubt. For this reason, the negative is generally not treated as a particular type of mood, but as an inflectional category in its own right. Coptic makes productive use of three morphologically distinct negation strategies, viz. (i) the double negation $\mathbf{n} \dots \mathbf{an}$, which involves two negative elements that together constitute a single instance of negation, e.g. $\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{cooyn} \mathbf{an} \mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{e} \mathbf{zn} \mathbf{t}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{l}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{c}$ 'I do not (an) know (n-t-cooyn) anybody (n-pwme) in (zn) this city (tei-polis)' (Hil. 4:23), (ii) specialised negative tenses, which are portmanteau realisations of negative polarity and a particular tense, aspect or mood. The Negative Perfect $\mathbf{mpe-}$, for instance, denies the occurrence of some event in the past, e.g. $\mathbf{mpeika} \mathbf{laay} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{n} \mathbf{e}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{ai} \mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o} \mathbf{e}\mathbf{bo}\mathbf{l}$ $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{e} \mathbf{m}\mathbf{n} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{e}$ 'I did not place (mpe-i-ka) any (laay) obstacle (n-xrop) for you (nh-tn) in front (m-p-mto ebo) of God (m-p-noyte) and (mn) mankind (n-pwme)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8), and (iii) the negative auxiliary verb $\tau\mu$ 'to do not', e.g. $\mathbf{e}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{e} \mathbf{e}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{e} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{q}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{k}$ 'not to commit (e-tm-p) a sin (nobe) against the God (e-p-noyte) who has created you (nt-a-q-tamio-k)' (V. Pach. 89:28).

The distribution of the three basic negation strategies among different verbal tenses, aspects, and moods is shown in table 9.1 below. Each negative conjugation pattern is presented with the corresponding affirmative.

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
DOUBLE NEGATION $\mathbf{n} \dots \mathbf{an}$	FIRST PRESENT $\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is hearing	NEGATIVE FIRST PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{an}$ he is not hearing
	RELATIVE PRESENT $\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is hearing	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PRESENT $\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{an}$ while he is not hearing
	SECOND PRESENT $\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ while he is hearing	NEGATIVE SECOND PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{an}$ he is not hearing
	FIRST FUTURE $\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE FIRST FUTURE $\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{an}$ he is not going to hear
	SECOND FUTURE $\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE SECOND FUTURE $\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{an}$ he is not going to hear
	PRETERIT PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he was hearing	NEGATIVE PRETERIT PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{an}$ he was not hearing
	SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{an}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
NEGATIVE TENSES	FIRST PERFECT $\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
	SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{e}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
	HABITUAL PRESENT $\mathbf{w}\mathbf{a}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{e}\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he usually does not hear

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE Α-Γ-ΟΥΩ Ε-Γ-ΩΤΗ he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ('NOT-YET') ΗΠΑΤΕ-Γ-ΩΤΗ he had not yet heard, before he heard
	THIRD FUTURE Ε-Γ-Ε-ΩΤΗ he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE ΝΝΕ-Γ-ΩΤΗ he shall not hear
	IMPERATIVE ΩΤΗ hear!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE ΗΠΡ-ΩΤΗ do not hear!
NEGATIVE AUXILIARY ΤΗ	CONJUNCTIVE Ν-Γ-ΩΤΗ and he hears	NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIVE Ν-Γ-ΤΗ-ΩΤΗ and he does not hear
	CONDITIONAL Ε-Γ-ΨΑΝ-ΩΤΗ if/when he hears	CONDITIONAL Ε-Γ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-ΩΤΗ, Ε-Γ-ΤΗ-ΩΤΗ if/when he does not hear
	TEMPORAL ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΩΤΗ after/when he had heard	NEGATIVE TEMPORAL ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΤΗ-ΩΤΗ after/when he had not heard

TABLE 9.1 The negative verbal system

The negative verbal patterns listed in table 9.1 above differ systematically with respect to the morphological marking of the negative. Although negation would appear to be a simple non-decomposable concept, the primary negation strategy in Coptic is the double negative Ν- ... ΑΝ. Negative tenses, on the other hand, represent the diametrically opposite pattern, since the negative marker and the tense-aspect-mood markers have been merged to form a portmanteau morpheme. No such form-meaning mismatches apply to negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb ΤΗ 'to do not'.

9.2 Negative scope

The primary function of negated sentences is to deny something that has been put forward tentatively or confidently. The scope of the negation is the part of the meaning that is negated. The negative marker may have scope over every constituent in a clause. As a result, the entire content of that clause is rejected. The negative may also be more limited in scope, rebutting only part of the information that is presented. The operation of negative scope can be illustrated by way of the double negative Ν ... ΑΝ, but notice that the contrast between wide scope and narrow scope negation can also be observed in negative tenses.

9.2.1 Locality conditions on negative scope

The scope of negation is reflected by syntactic structure in an obvious and elementary way. In a complex sentence construction, the subordinate clause is outside the scope of matrix clause negation (clausal embedding is indicated by brackets); e.g. ΝΕΓΟΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΟΥΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ 'he did not (ΑΝ) know (ΝΕ-Γ-ΟΟΟΥΝ) [that (ΧΕ) she (ΤΕ) (was) a woman (ΟΥ-ΖΙΜΕ)]' (Hil. 6:14-15), ΝΟΥΩΨ ΑΝ ΕΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΗΠΟΡΝΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤΓ 'he did not (ΑΝ) want (Ν-Γ-ΟΥΩΨ) [to hear (Ε-ΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) who has (lit. in whom are (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΖΗΤ-Γ)) also (ΡΩ) erotic (Η-ΠΟΡΝΙΑ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ)]]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6), ΑΡΗΥ ΗΠΣΟΝ ΤΗΤ ΝΖΗΤ ΑΝ ΕΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΝ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) the brother (Π-ΣΟΝ) does not (ΑΝ) agree (lit. be persuaded (Ν- ... ΤΗΤ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) [to talk (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) to us (ΝΗΜΑ-Ν)]' (AP Chaîne no. 238, 70:21).

Due to the clause-bound character of negative scope, negative marking must be added to the embedded clause to express its negative polarity, e.g. †ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ[ΟΒΨΓ] ΑΝ ΕΡΟΝ 'I believe (†-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) [that (ΧΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) will not (ΑΝ) forget (ΝΑ-ΟΒΨ-Γ) about us (ΕΡΟ-Ν)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14). In this example, the negative is located within the clause functioning as the complement to the matrix verb ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ 'to believe'. It is generally the case that a negative in one clause does not have scope over another clause that it is coordinated with, e.g. ΨΑΡΕ ΠΑΙ Ρ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΝΟΒΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΟΥ ΡΩΒ ΑΝ 'how many (ΟΥΗΡ) sins

(*Ν-ΝΟΒΕ*) *does this one (ΠΑΙ) commit (ΦΑΡΕ ... Ρ) and (ΟΥΔΕ) he does not (ΑΝ) (even) work (Ν-Κ-Ρ ΖΩΒ)!*' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:25-26).

9.2.2 Wide scope

When negation has wide scope over an entire clause, its function is to deny that some condition or state holds true without specifying the grounds, e.g. *ΜΝΕCΝΗΥ Ρ ΧΡΙΑ ΑΝ* 'the brothers (*ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ*) *do not (ΑΝ) need* (lit. *make (Ν- ... Ρ) need (ΧΡΙΑ)*) (it) (i.e. the money)' (AP Elanskaya 16b:6-7), *ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕΚCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΜΝΤΟΥΕΙΕΙΝΙΝ* 'the senior monk (*Π-ΖΑΛΟ*) *did not (ΑΝ) know (ΝΕ-Κ-CΟΟΥΝ)* Greek (*Μ-ΜΝΤ-ΟΥΕΙΕΙΝΙΝ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:23-24), *ΖΩC ΝΤCΡΟΒΤ ΑΝ* 'since (*ΖΩC*) *I am not (ΑΝ) at leisure (Ν-Τ-CΡΟΒΤ)*' (AP Elanskaya 24a:16).

Negative descriptions of events are generally interpreted relative to a rich context, providing some background information why a particular course of action was not taken. Against such an explanatory background, negative statements become salient and informative, e.g. *ΑΡΗΥ ΑΦΜΟΥ ΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΦΝΑΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΖΑ ΝΒΑCΑΝΟC* 'perhaps (*ΑΡΗΥ*) he (Ara Ptolemaios) died (*Α-Κ-ΜΟΥ*): since (*ΓΑΡ*) he (*ΠΕ*) (is) noble (*ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ*), *he would not (ΑΝ) be able to bear (Ν-Κ-ΝΑ-ΕΨ-ΤΩΟΥΝ)* the tortures (*Ν-ΒΑCΑΝΟC*)' (KHML II 34:6-7), [*ΝΖΟCΟ*] *Ν ΑΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΠΕΚΝΟΒΕ [ΑΝΟ]Κ [ΖΩ] ΝΤΝΑΖΟΠΤ ΕΡΟΚ [ΑΝ]* 'since (*ΝΖΟCΟΝ*) you have confessed (*Α-Κ-ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ*) your sin (*Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΝΟΒΕ*), I (*ΑΝΟΚ*), on my part (*ΖΩ*), *will not (ΑΝ) hide myself (Ν-Τ-ΝΑ-ΖΟΠ-Τ)* from you (*ΕΡΟ-Κ*)' (Mena, Mir. 16a:3-7), *ΝΚΤCΟ ΑΝ ΖΩΛΟC* (for *ΖΟΛΩC*) *qōwpe gar noyon nim* 'he (the pagan commander) *does not (ΑΝ) spare (Ν-Κ-Τ CΟ)* (anybody) at all (*ΖΩΛΟC*), as (*ΓΑΡ*) he locks up (*Κ-ΩΠΕ*) everybody (*Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ*) in prison' (KMHL II 29:13-14), *ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΑCΩΤΜ ΝCΩΚ ΕΝΕCΟΟΥΩΝ ΑΝ ΜΠΗΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΝΕCΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΦΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΜΜΑC ΝΟΥΜΕΤΜΑΙΡΩΝΕ* 'she (the woman pilgrim) (*ΝΤΟC*) listened (*ΑC-ΩΤΜ*) to him (the landlord) (*ΝCΩ-Κ*), *not (ΑΝ) knowing (Ε-ΝΕ-Κ-CΟΥΩΝ)* his intentions (lit. the thought (*Μ-Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ*) of his heart (*Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΖΗΤ*)), since (*ΓΑΡ*) she thought

(*ΝΕ-Κ-ΜΕΕΥΕ*) that (*ΧΕ*) he was doing (*Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ*) her (*ΝΜΜΑ-Κ*) a favour (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΕΤ-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ*)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:7-14).

In contradictions, negation signifies a person's mental act of denying, rejecting or rebutting a statement that is actually made or envisioned as being made by someone, e.g. *ΚCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΑΚΡ ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΡ ΚΕΟΥΗΗΡ* 'you know (*Κ-CΟΟΥΝ*) how many (*ΟΥΗΗΡ*) years (*Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ*) you lived (lit. made (*Α-Κ-Ρ*)) so far (*ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ*), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) you *do not (ΑΝ) know (Ν-Γ-CΟΟΥΝ)* how many other (years) (*ΚΕ-ΟΥΗΗΡ*) you will live (*Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ*)' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), *ΝΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ* (read *ΝΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ*) *ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ* (read *ΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ*) *ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ* 'you *shall not (ΑΝ) die (Ν-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ)*, but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) you will become (*ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ*) like (*ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ*) gods (*Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ*)' (Abbatôn 237:17-18), *ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΝΤΝΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΜΜΑΚ* 'and (*ΟΥΔΕ*) we (*ΑΝΟΝ*), too (*ΖΩΩ-Ν*), *will not (ΑΝ) run away (Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ)*, but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) (rather) die (*ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ*) together with you (*ΝΜΜΑ-Κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:9-10).

9.2.3 Narrow scope

The negative is not always semantically sentential, but may have narrow scope relative to a single constituent. In this case, negation applies to the asserted or focused portion of the sentence, leaving the presupposed or backgrounded portions outside of its scope. As a result, only specific aspects of the event in question are denied, thus tacitly allowing that some event of that kind did actually take place or will do so in the future, e.g. *ΚΥΡΕΗ* (read *ΚΥΡΙΕ*) *CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ΝΕΝΒΗΚ ΑΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ* 'Lord (*ΚΥΡΕΗ*) knight (*CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ*), *we are not (ΑΝ) on our way (Ν-Ε-Ν-ΒΗΚ)* to that (*ΕΤΜΜΑΥ*) place (*Ε-Π-ΜΑ*) (i.e. Alexandria)' (Hil. 3:22) (meaning: *we are about to leave, but not to Alexandria*).

The focus of negation corresponds to the contrastively stressed focus brought into play by the Greek conjunction *ΑΛΛΑ* 'but', *ΝΝΕΨΑΥΤΑΖΕ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΖΗ ΠΨΑΧΕ Η ΖΗ ΠΡΑΝ (...)* *ΑΛΛΑ ΖΝ ΟΥΘΟΜ ΜΠΙCΤΙC* 'since (*ΓΑΡ*) *they did not (ΑΝ) reach (Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-ΤΑΖΕ)* the heavenly (*Ν-Μ-ΠΗΥΕ*) kingdom (*Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ*) by virtue of (*ΖΗ*) talk (lit. the word (*Π-ΨΑΧΕ*)) or (*Η*) a (good) reputation (*Π-ΡΑΝ*) (...), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*)

(rather) by virtue of (2N) strong (ΟΥ-ΘΟΜ) faith (Η-ΠΙΣΤΙC)' (*Pères apost.* 35:9-12), ΝΝΕΦΜΟΚ2 ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΙCΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΛΑC ΝΑC ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΤΑΤΖΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤC 'he (Pachôm) was not (ΑΝ) *grieved* (N-NE-Φ-ΜΟΚ2) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the suffering (Π-ΖΙCΕ) that they (the brothers) caused (ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΛΑ-C) him (ΝΑ-C), but (ΑΛΛΑ) (rather) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the impudence (Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΖΟΤΕ) in which they persisted (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ)' (V. Pach. 6:12-14).

9.3 The double negation N- ... ΑΝ

The syntactically discontinuous negation N- ... ΑΝ involves the clause-initial particle N- and the clause-internal negation adverb ΑΝ 'not', both of which turn a positive clause into a negative one. Both negative markers display some degree of variation in linear order, which can be related to both the scope of negation and to syntactic constraints on enclitic function words and particles.

9.3.1 The negative scope definer N-

The clause-initial particle N- (assimilated form Η-) functions as a negative scope definer that assists in the accurate identification of negated sentences, e.g. ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΝΤΕΝΝΑΡΩΚ2 ΑΝ ΖΕΝ (for 2N) ΤΕΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΗΠ̄Ν̄ΙΚΩ̄Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΤ̄ ΚΒΟ ΝΗΨΥΧΗ 'how (lit. in what (kind) (N-ΑΨ) of manner (N-ΖΕ)) could we not (ΑΝ) *be inflamed* (N-ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΡΩΚ2) with (ΖΕΝ) this spiritual (Η-Π̄Ν̄ΙΚΩ̄Ν) desire (ΤΕΙ-ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ) for the remedies (Ε-ΝΕ-ΠΑΖΡΕ) that give (ΕΤ-†) solace (ΚΒΟ) to the souls (N-N-ΨΥΧΗ)?' (Hil. 1:20-21), ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΦΑΟ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ ΨΑ ΘΑΗ 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) does not (ΑΝ) *want* (Η- ... ΟΥΨ) it (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΑΟ) this place (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) until (ΨΑ) the end (ΘΑΗ < Τ-ΖΑΗ)' (Eud. 76:18).

In clauses containing a Preterit or Second Tense form, the negative scope definer N- is attached to the Preterit auxiliary ΝΕ(ΡΕ)- and the relative marker Ε(ΡΕ)-, e.g. ΝΝΕΦΜΟΚ2 ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΙCΕ (...) 'he (Pachôm) was not (ΑΝ) *sad* (N-NE-Φ-ΜΟΚ2) because (ΕΤΒΕ) of the

suffering (Π-ΖΙCΕ) (...) (V. Pach. 6:12-13), ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΦΙΤC ΝΖΗΤ ΖΝ ΟΥΘΟΡΟC ΝΚΡΟC ΝΕΥΝΑΦΙΤC ΝΑΚ ΑΝ 'the light (Π-ΟΥΘΕΙΝ) that will be taken (lit. that *they* will take away (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΑ-ΦΙΤ-C)) from me (ΝΖΗΤ) in (2N) a guileful (N-ΚΡΟC) ambush (ΟΥ-ΘΟΡΟC), it will not (ΑΝ) *be brought* (N-Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-C) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)' (Pist. Soph. 100:1-2).

The reverse order obtains in the context of relative embedding, where the negative prefix N- always follows the subordinating relative marker that introduces the relativised clause, e.g. ΠΠΑΝΤΥΚΙΜΕΝΟC ΕΤ̄ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΡΕΦΠΥΡΑΖΕ (for ΕΤΡΕΦΠΕΙΡΑΖΕ) ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΝΦΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΨΩ ΖΝ ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC (for ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC) 'the Adversary (Π-ΑΝΤΥΚΙΜΕΝΟC), who is fighting (ΕΤ-†) with them (the hermits) (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ) to lead them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) into temptation (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΠΥΡΑΖΕ) with them (i.e. the grievances) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), not (ΑΝ) *wishing* (Ε-Ν-Φ-ΟΥΨ) for them to stay (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-Ω) in (2N) the solitude (Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC)' (Onnophr. 211:16-18).

	NEGATIVE PARTICLE	RELATIVE MARKER	SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB	NEGATION ADVERB
NEGATIVE SECOND TENSE	N- NEG	Ε-	-Υ- <i>they</i>	ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Φ will-bring-it	ΑΝ NOT
	RELATIVE MARKER	NEGATIVE PARTICLE	SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB	NEGATION ADVERB
NEGATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE	Ε- while	N- NEG	-Φ- he	ΟΥΨ want	ΑΝ NOT

FIGURE 9.1 Variable positions of the negative scope definer N-

The negative scope definer N- may be elided. When this happens, the negation adverb ΑΝ 'not' becomes the sole carrier of negative polarity, e.g. ΦCΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ ΑΝ ΝΗΚΕΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΤΖΙΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΨΑΥΕΙ ΨΑΡΟC ΕΘΜ ΠΩΙΝΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ 'he (the abbot) did not (ΑΝ) *permit* (Φ-CΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ) the other monks (N-N-ΚΕ-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) from outside (ΕΤ-ΖΙΒΟΛ), who came (ΕΤΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-ΕΙ) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-Φ) to visit (Ε-ΘΜ Π-ΩΙΝΕ) the brothers (N-NE-CΝΗΥ)' (V. Pach. 138:16-18), ΝΤΟΚ ΚΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ 'would you (ΝΤΟΚ) not (ΑΝ) *run away* (Κ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 186, 46:6), ΝΕΦΟΥΗΥ ΑΝ

μηοq πε 'he (Pachôm's brother) was not (αν) far away (νε-q-ογηγ) from him (Pachôm) (μηο-q)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb αν

The negation adverb αν 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb αν to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. ετβε ογ †ναψεπ ριζε αν ογεω (read: νογεωη) νογος 'why (ετβε ογ) can I not (αν) suffer (lit. receive (†-να-ψεπ) suffering (ριζε)) without (ογεω) getting angry (νογος)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), ντννακαακ αν εει εζογν ετενπολις ετβε πειραν χε ιϭ 'we will not (αν) allow you (ν-τν-να-καα-κ) to come (ε-ει) into (εζογν) our city (ε-τεν-πολις) because of (ετβε) this (disgraceful) name (πει-ραν) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, αν occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ν†σοογν αν νρωμε ρν τεπολις 'I do not (αν) know (ν-†-σοογν) anybody (ν-ρωμε) in (ρν) this city (τει-πολις)' (Hil. 4:23), ντεψινε αν νκα παμαρτυριον ' (why) do you (woman) not (αν) look (ν-τε-ψινε) for (νκα) my tomb (πα-μαρτυριον)?' (Eud. 58:5).

b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb αν comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. ν†να† ρωβ ερζοσε νακ αν 'I will not (αν) burden (lit. give (ν-†-να-†)) you (να-κ) (with) a difficult (ε-ρ-ζοσε) job (ρωβ)' (KHML II 33:14-15), μηον πνογτε ννεχριςτιανος ναννεχε μηοκ αν ντειζε φαβολ 'if not (μηον), the God (π-νογτε) of the Christians (ν-νε-χριςτιανος) will not (αν) tolerate (να-αννεχε) you (μηο-κ) in this manner (ν-τει-ζε) forever (φα-βολ)' (Eud. 38:13-14), αλλα νειναγ εροογ αν πε 'but (αλλα) I could not (αν) see (νε-ι-ναγ) them (ερο-ογ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), νεqνατνναγ (read νεqνατννοογ)

φαροι αν πε 'he (Apa Poimên) would not (αν) have sent (a message) (νε-q-να-τνναγ) to me (φαρο-ι)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial αν is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. νεqσοογν δε αν χε ογρζιμε τε 'he did not (αν) know (νε-q-σοογν) that (χε) she (τε) (was) a woman (ογ-ρζιμε)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ννεψαγταζε τμντερο γαρ αν νμηπηγε ρμ πψαχε η ρμ πραν (...) 'since (γαρ) they did not (αν) reach (ν-νε-ψα-γ-ταζε) the heavenly (ν-η-πηγε) kingdom (τ-μντ-ερο) by virtue of (ρμ) talk (lit. the word (π-ψαχε)) or (η) a (good) reputation (π-ραν)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal η- or ν-. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous ν- ... αν pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb τμ 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-σΩτη he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-σΩτη he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT α-q-σΩτη he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT μηε-q-σΩτη he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT ντ-α-q-σΩτη he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ετε-μηε-q-σΩτη he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-σΩτη he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-σΩτη he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE α-q-ογω ε-q-σΩτη he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE μηατε-q-σΩτη he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ε-q-ε-σΩτη he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE νηε-q-σΩτη he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE σΩτη listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE μηπ-σΩτη do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultaneously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual με-q-σΩτη 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ψα-q-σΩτη 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ογρωμε νκοφος μεqνεx [ψαξε] νιη εβολ zιnai αλλα ψαq† zτηq ε[netσ]τη εροογ 'a wise (ν-κοφος) man (ογ-ρωμε) does not throw (με-q-νεx) away (εβολ) every (νιη) word.

(ψαξε) like that (zιnai) but (αλλα) focuses (ψα-q-†) his attention (zτη-q) towards those who listen (ε-ν-ετ-σΩτη) to them (ερο-ογ) ' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional paradigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1 st sing.	με-ι-σΩτη	ε-με-ι-σΩτη	νε-με-ι-σΩτη
2 nd sing. masc.	με-κ-σΩτη	ε-με-κ-σΩτη	νε-με-κ-σΩτη
2 nd sing. fem.	μερε-σΩτη	ε-μερε-σΩτη	νε-μερε-σΩτη
3 rd sing. masc.	με-q-σΩτη	ε-με-q-σΩτη	νε-με-q-σΩτη
3 rd sing. fem.	με-ς-σΩτη	ε-με-ς-σΩτη	νε-με-ς-σΩτη
1 st plural	με-ν-σΩτη	ε-με-ν-σΩτη	νε-με-ν-σΩτη
2 nd plural	με-τετν-σΩτη	ε-με-τετν-σΩτη	νε-με-τετν-σΩτη
3 rd plural	με-γ-σΩτη	ε-με-γ-σΩτη	νε-με-γ-σΩτη
before noun	μερε πρωμε σΩτη	ε-μερε πρωμε σΩτη	νε-μερε πρωμε σΩτη

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ερψαν ογα ναγ εροq μεqzναq επ ογω ογδε exitq εροyn ετεqρι 'whenever someone (ογα) saw (ερψαν ... ναγ) him (the brother) (ερο-q) he did not want (με-q-zνα-q) to reply (lit. to make (ε-π) reply (ογω)) and (ογδε) to take him (ε-χιτ-q) into (εροyn) his cell (ε-τεq-ρι)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:21-22), ντοq δε zωωq νεμεqτωβε ναγ λαγ αλλα νεψαqzρωz νzητ εzραι εxωογ zν

ΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ 'he (Pachôm (ΝΤΟQ), however (ΖΩΩ-Q), *did not take revenge* (ΝΕ-ΜΕ-Q-ΤΩΩΒΕ) against them (the brothers) (ΝΑ-Υ) in any way (ΛΑΛΥ), but (instead) he was patient (ΝΕ-ΦΑ-Q-ΖΡΟΦ) with them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) indulgence (Η-ΜΗΝΤ-ΖΑΡΩ-ΖΗΤ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ΕCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΙΨΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΤΟΥΟΧ ΕΨΩΝΕ ΜΕΙΧΙΤQ 'when (Ε-C-ΨΩΠΕ) I observe (Ε-Ι-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) I am cured (Τ-ΟΥΟΧ) from illness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ), *I will not accept it* (the donkey) (ΜΕ-Ι-ΧΙΤ-Q)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΛΟ ΕCΘΟΡΘ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΑ ΠΕCQΖΑΕ ΝΝΙCΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) *does not cease* (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΛΟ) waylaying (Ε-Q-ΘΟΡΘ) man (Ε-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) until (ΨΑ) his last (ΠΕCQ-ΖΑΕ) breath (Ν-ΝΙCΕ)' (KHML II 48:7-9), ΜΕΓΑΝΙΧΕ (for ΜΕΓΑΝΕΧΕ) ΡΨΑΧΕ (read ΕΨΑΧΕ) ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡQ 'they (the monks) *usually do not bear* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΑΝΙΧΕ) to speak (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) with them (women) (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ)' (Hil. 10:18).

b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ΜΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤCΩ ΜΕCQΖΑΡΖ ΕΥΨΑΧΕ Μ[ΗΥC]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the imprudent (Ν-ΑΤ-CΩ) person (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ): *he does not keep* (ΜΕ-Q-ΖΑΡΕΖ) a secret (lit. a secret (Η-ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ) word (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΛΛΑΥ ΗΠΑΘΟC ΕΝΕΖ 'he (ΠΑΙ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ) *will not manage* to ever (ΕΝΕΖ) master (ΜΕΡΕ ... (ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC) any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (ΠΑΘΟC)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9), ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥΠΕΖΤ CΘΘΝ ΕΧΝ ΤΕCΑΠΕ ΕCΖΗ ΠΕCΝΟQ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) *they do not pour* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΠΕΖΤ) ointment (CΘΘΝ) on (ΕΧΝ) her (the girl's) head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (Ε-C-ΖΗ) the blood (ΠΕ-CΝΟQ))' (Sh. Zoega 589:20-21).

c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual Ε-ΜΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ΝΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΦΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΗ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ ΕΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΟΟC ΕΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) as one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) heart (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΗΝ) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΦΥΧΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) all (ΝΙΗ) things (ΝΚΑ) were (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΨΟΟΠ) in common (ΖΙ-ΟΥ-CΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) and *no one* (ΛΑΛΥ) *said* (Ε-ΜΕΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C) about what belonged (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) »they (ΝΕ) (are) mine (ΝΟΥΙ)!« (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ ΝCΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΜΕCQΧΩΖ ΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑCΡΩΚΖ ΝΝΡΕCΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) an intelligent (Ν-CΑΒΕ) blaze (ΟΥ-ΚΩΖΤ) (is) that one (Π-ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. the burning river) *in not touching* (Ε-ΜΕ-Q-ΧΩΖ) the righteous ones (Ε-Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC), but (ΑΛΛΑ) burning (ΨΑ-Q-ΡΩΚΖ) the sinners (Ν-Ν-ΡΕC-ΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ΗΠΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect Α-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he heard', e.g. ΑCΑΑΝ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΧΝ CΘΗ ΝΙΗ ΑΥΩ ΗΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΗΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛQ 'he (Christ) made us (Α-Q-ΑΑ-Ν) masters (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) over (ΕΧΝ) all (ΝΙΗ) powers (CΘΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) (yet) *no one* (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΗΜΟ-Ν) *has dared* (ΗΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have done (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΑ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ΗΠΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect Ε-ΜΠ(Ε)-Q-ΩΤΗ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to

the reduction of the relative marker ϵ -, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as $\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$, which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing.	$\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{i}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{i}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{k}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{k}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{C}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{C}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
1 st plural	$\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
2 nd plural	$\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{tn}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{-}\mathbf{tn}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
3 rd plural	$\text{ΜΠ}\text{-}\mathbf{ou}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}\text{-}\mathbf{ou}\text{-}\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$
Before noun	$\text{ΜΠ}\epsilon\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\epsilon\text{ }\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ΜΠ}(\epsilon)\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\epsilon\text{ }\mathbf{C}\omega\text{T}\mathbf{M}$

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g. $\epsilon\text{ΤΒ}\epsilon\text{ }\mathbf{ou}\text{ }\mathbf{\Delta}\epsilon\text{ }\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{k}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{n}\text{ }\mathbf{ou}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{k}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{ou}\mathbf{v}\text{ }\mathbf{z}\mathbf{i}\text{ }\mathbf{z}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\tau}\text{ }(\dots)\text{ }\epsilon\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{s}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\sigma}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\varsigma}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\varsigma}\text{ } \text{'why } (\epsilon\text{ΤΒ}\epsilon\text{ }\mathbf{ou})\text{ do you (woman) sleep } (\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{k})\text{ on } (\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{n})\text{ a couch (lit. a sleeping } (\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{k})\text{ place } (\mathbf{ou}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\alpha}))\text{ of gold } (\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{ou}\mathbf{v})\text{ and } (\mathbf{z}\mathbf{i})\text{ silver } (\mathbf{z}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\tau})\text{ and } \underline{\text{did not look}} (\epsilon\text{-}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{-}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon})\text{ for } (\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\alpha})\text{ the place } (\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{s})\text{ of my resurrection } (\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{-}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\sigma}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\varsigma}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\varsigma})\text{'}$ (Eud. 50:23-25).

a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterexpectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g. $\text{ΜΠ}\mathbf{ou}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{ou}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{z}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{n}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{n}\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{z}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{ou}\text{ }\mathbf{t}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{s}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{s}\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\text{ } \text{'they (the Persians) } \underline{\text{did not again}}$ (lit. they did not place ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\text{-}\mathbf{ou}\text{-}\mathbf{ou}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{z}$) their hands ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{ou}$)) raise up ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{n}$) against ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{n}$) the country ($\mathbf{p}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{z}$) in all ($\mathbf{t}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{ou}$) the days ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{-}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{ou}$) of King ($\mathbf{p}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{o}$) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19), $\text{ΜΠ}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{n}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{i}\text{ }\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\lambda}\text{ }\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{ }\mathbf{m}\mathbf{n}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\epsilon\text{ } \text{'I } \underline{\text{did not place}}$ ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{-}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\alpha}$) any ($\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{y}$) obstacle ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p}$) for you ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{n}$) in front ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\lambda}$) of God ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\epsilon}$) nor ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{n}$) mankind ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).

b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by $\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\alpha}$ 'but', e.g. $\text{ΜΠ}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }(\text{for } \mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{\alpha})\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{n}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{z}\text{ }(\dots)\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{\tau}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{i}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{q}\mathbf{f}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{h}\text{ } \text{'I never } (\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{z})\text{ } \underline{\text{reprimanded}}$ ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\text{-}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{i}\text{-}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\tau}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\alpha}$) anyone ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{n}\text{-}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{\alpha}$) of you ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{n}$) (...) except ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{\tau}$) for ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{\epsilon}$) the salvation ($\mathbf{p}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{i}$) of his soul ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{q}\text{-}\mathbf{f}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{h}$)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19), $\text{ΜΠ}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{r}\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{r}\epsilon\text{ }\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{k}\text{ }\mathbf{g}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{r}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{\tau}\text{ }\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{k}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{s}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{s}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ }\mathbf{n}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{s}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{y}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{v}\text{ }\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p}\text{ }\mathbf{z}\mathbf{m}\text{ }\mathbf{p}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{ } \text{'No } (\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{r}),\text{ my son } (\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{-}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{r}\epsilon)\text{! For } (\mathbf{g}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{r})\text{ you } \underline{\text{have not been destined}}$ (lit. *they* have not destined you ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{p}\text{-}\mathbf{ou}\text{-}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{w}\text{-}\mathbf{k}$) for this career ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{-}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\alpha}$), but ($\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\alpha}$) the Lord ($\mathbf{p}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{\tau}$) has appointed you ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{\alpha}\text{ } \dots \mathbf{t}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{w}\text{-}\mathbf{k}$) as a comfort ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{-}\mathbf{y}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{s}\mathbf{\alpha}$) for the holy ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{v}$) brothers ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\text{-}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{y}$) who live ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\text{-}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{p}$) in ($\mathbf{z}\mathbf{m}$) the desert ($\mathbf{p}\mathbf{-}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{\epsilon}$)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g. $\pi\alpha\omega \ \eta\zeta\epsilon \ \lambda\sigma\sigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \eta\delta\iota \ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\varsigma \ \epsilon\mu\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'how (N- $\alpha\omega$ N- $\eta\zeta\epsilon$) did the Lord (N- $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) of the universe (N- $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$) pass by us (A-Q- $\sigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa$ -N) without us noticing (E- $\mu\pi$ -N- $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$)?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6), $\lambda\gamma\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \ \lambda\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon \ \eta\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta \ \omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega$ 'one day (N- $\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) he (the sick child) lay down (A-Q- $\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$) sick (A-Q- $\omega\eta\epsilon$) (and) did not eat (N- $\mu\pi\epsilon$ -Q- $\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$) nor drink (N- $\mu\pi\epsilon$ -Q- ω)' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a) $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$ pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g. $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma \ \chi\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\kappa \ \epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omicron\eta \ \epsilon\iota\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$ 'and I see (A- $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$) whether (X ϵ) he (the eagle) did not come (E- $\mu\pi\epsilon$ -Q- $\epsilon\iota$) down (E- $\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau$) because of you (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa$), if (E- $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$) not (N- $\mu\mu\omicron\eta$), then (E- $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) because of me (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1), $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta \ \epsilon\tau\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\kappa \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi \ \pi\omicron\sigma\eta \ \psi\omicron\sigma\eta \ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ 'thus (N- $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta$), he (the eagle) did not come (E- $\mu\pi\epsilon$ -Q- $\epsilon\iota$) down (E- $\pi\epsilon\sigma\eta\tau$) because of you (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa$), because (E- $\tau\epsilon\chi$ X ϵ) the brother (N- $\pi\text{-}\sigma\omicron\eta$) is angry (Q- $\psi\omicron\sigma\eta$) with you (E- $\rho\omicron\text{-}\kappa$)' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta\eta \ \eta\eta \ \lambda\omega \ \mu\mu\alpha$ 'in (N- $\eta\eta$) what (A- $\lambda\omega$) place (N- $\mu\alpha$) have you (woman) not been defiled (E- $\mu\pi\epsilon$ -X- $\omega\zeta\eta$)?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b) $\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu \ \alpha\eta$ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The $\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu \ \alpha\eta$ pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g. $\eta\tau\alpha \ \pi\alpha\iota \ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \ \alpha\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau \ \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \alpha\eta\gamma \ \omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi \ \tau\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\alpha \ \mu\eta \ \eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\rho\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha \ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\beta$ 'this (N- $\pi\alpha\iota$) did not (A- $\alpha\eta$) happen (N- $\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha \dots \psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) for my sake (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$), since (N- $\gamma\alpha\rho$) (as for) me (A- $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$), I (A- $\alpha\eta\gamma$) (am) a nobody (N- $\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$), but (A- $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) for the sake of (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi$) the widow (N- $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\chi\eta\rho\alpha$) and (N- $\eta\eta$) these orphans (N- $\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\rho\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) had God

(N- $\eta\tau\text{-}\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) done (A ... $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) this thing (N- $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33), $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\eta\tau\kappa \ \eta\alpha\kappa \ \alpha\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi \ \omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi \ \pi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ 'I have not (A- $\alpha\eta$) brought it (the wheat) (N- $\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa$) because of (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi$) anything (N- $\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$) but (A- $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) my salvation (N- $\pi\alpha\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect $\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$ 'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g. $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho \ \lambda\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \eta\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma$ 'you have not yet become (N- $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\rho$) worthy (A- $\lambda\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma$) to talk (N- $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to him (Jesus Christ) (N- $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$)' (KHML II 30:21-22).

9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the $\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$ 'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1 st sing.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}q\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}c\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}c\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
1 st plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}n\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}n\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}tn\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}tn\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
Before noun	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \omega\tau\mu$

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. *ἡπαῖπωρ ἐνεῖψι ντεῖδοτ ἐτραχὶ σζῖνε ἐζοῦν ἐπαμανῶππε* 'I have not yet reached (*ἡπαῖπωρ*) such (*ν-τεῖδοτ*) heights (*ε-νεῖψι*) to take (*ε-τρα-χι*) a woman (*σζῖνε*) into (*ἐζοῦν*) my residence (*ε-πα-μα-ν-ῶππε*)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. *ἀγὼ εἰς ζῆντε ἡπαῖτοῦων ἡνός παχοεῖς* 'and (*ἀγὼ*) look (*εἰς ζῆντε*), I have not yet opened (*ἡπαῖ-οῦων*) it (the sack with gold), my lord (*πα-χοεῖς*)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), *ἐνεῖπατοῦῶππε γάρ ζῆ κῆνε νόι ἡμοναστηρίον ἐτω* 'since (*γάρ*) (there) were not yet (*ε-νε-ἡπατ-οῦ-ῶππε*) many (*ε-τ-ω*) monasteries (*η-μοναστηρίον*) in (*ζῆ*) Egypt (*κῆνε*)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *ντοῦ δὲ πρρο νενπατqχὶ βαπτισμα* 'but he (*ντοῦ*), the king (*π-ρρο*), had not yet received (*νε-ἡπατ-q-χι*) baptism (*βαπτισμα*)' (Eud. 42:1), *ἐβολ χε ἡπατεκείωρζ ἡπῆτον ἐτνζεαπζε ἐροq* 'because (*ἐβολ χε*) you have not yet perceived (*ἡπατε-κ-είωρζ*) the peace (*η-π-ῆτον*) that we are hoping (*ε-τ-ν-ζεαπζε*) for (*ἐρο-q*)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the *ἡπατ(ε)-q-σῶτη* no longer holds, e.g. *εἰοῦῶῷ ἐναγ ἐτασῶνε ἡπαῖτμογ* 'I want

(*ε-ι-οῦῶῷ*) to see (*ε-ναγ*) my sister (*ε-τα-σῶνε*) before I die (*ἡπαῖτ-μογ*)' (KHML I 75:20-21), *οὔτε ννεγκῶτε ἐζοῦν ἐβολ ζῆ πῖνε ἐῖπατοῦκῶλζ* 'and (*οὔτε*) they (the brothers) shall not go (*ννε-γ-κῶτε*) in (*ἐζοῦν*) (and) out (*ἐβολ*) from (*ζῆ*) the village (*π-ῖνε*) before they ring (the bell) (*ε-ἡπατ-οῦ-κῶλζ*)' (praec. Pach. 90), *τεκζῆζαλ εγδοζια τετοῦῶῷ ἐεῖ ἐζοῦν ἐπεκασπασμος ἡπατε ππαλατιον χῶλη* 'your servant (*τεκ-ζῆζαλ*) Eudoxia wants (*ε-τ-οῦῶῷ*) to come (*ε-εῖ*) inside (*ἐζοῦν*) to your welcome (*ε-πεκ-ασπασμος*) before the palace (*π-παλατιον*) gets busy (*ἡπατε ... χῶλη*)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future *ννε-q-σῶτη* 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future *ε-q-ε-σῶτη* 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. *ἀγὼ πετεκναεπιθῶμει ἐροq ννεκοῦωμq ἐκεοῦωμ δὲ ννεντα πνοῦτε τῆνοοῦσοῦ νακ* 'and (*ἀγὼ*) (the food) that you might desire (*π-ε-τ-κ-να-επιθῶμει*) for (*ἐρο-q*), you shall not eat (*ννε-κ-οῦωμ-q*), you should (rather) eat (*ε-κε-οῦωμ*) what God has sent (*ν-νε-ντ-α ... τῆνοοῦ-σοῦ*) you (*να-κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future *ννε-q-σῶτη* 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, *ννα-* represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant *ννε-ι-* represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	NNA-CΩTM (rarely NNE-I-CΩTM)	NNE-N-CΩTM
2 nd masc.	NNE-K-CΩTM	NNE-TN-CΩTM
2 nd fem.	NNE-CΩTM	
3 rd masc.	NNE-Q-CΩTM	NNE-Y-CΩTM
3 rd fem.	NNE-C-CΩTM	
Before noun	NNE ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTM	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. *nnēkpike oyde nnēkze alla ēknamate mφwβ ntakzi tootk epoc* 'you will not go astray (nnē-k-pike) or (oyde) fall (nnē-k-ze), but (alla) you will succeed (ē-k-na-mate) in the work (mφwβ < n-π-2wβ) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (nt-a-k-zi) your hand (toot-k) on (epo-q))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. *nnē laay nρwme oym nka nteqpi* 'no man (laay nρwme) shall eat (nnē ... oywm) anything (nka) in his cell (n-teq-pi)' (praec. Pach. 114), *nnē laay φaxe mn neqerhy 2m pkake* 'no one (laay) shall talk (nnē ... φaxe) with (mn) one another (neq-erhy) in (2m) the dark (n-kake)' (praec. Pach. 94), *nnēk2wtβ ntchβε* (for ntchqe) *nnēk2wtβ on 2m πaac* 'you shall not kill (nnē-k-2wtβ) neither with the sword (n-t-chβε) nor (on) with (2m) the tongue (n-lac)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), *nnēkēt teikypn 2m παογειω*

(...) 'this vault (tei-kypn) should not be rebuilt (lit. they should not build (nnē-y-kēt)) in (2m) my time (na-oyoeiw) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27).

b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. *nnēixioye nnēip mntpe nnoyx nnēixi sol* 'I shall not steal (nnē-i-xioye), I shall not make (nnē-i-p) false (n-noyx) witness (mntpe), I shall not tell (nnē-i-xi) lies (sol)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), *anon de 2wwn nnēnoyω2 etootn ep polemoc mπnoyτε nttpe* 'and we (anon de), in our turn (2w-w), we will not again (lit. set (nnē-n-oyω2) hand (etoot-n) to) make (e-p) war (polemoc) with the God (m-π-noyτε) of heaven (n-t-pe)' (Eud. 48:13).

c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. *nioyδai aytaxpe tplyy* (read tplyn) *2n oytaxpo xekac nne nαποστολος εφωκ ε2oyn etpolis* 'the Jews (n-ioyδai) strengthened (a-y-taxpe) the gate (t-ptyy) very strongly (2n oy-taxpo) so that (xekac) the apostles (n-αποστολος) could not go (nnē ... εφ-ωκ) into (ε2oyn) the city (e-t-polis)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), *ani tēφyxh nioyδac e2rai xekac nne πιαβολος on loise exw* (read exwi) 'bring (ani) the soul (te-φyxh) of Judas up here (e2rai) so that (xekac) the devil (n-πιαβολος) won't find (nnē ... on) a pretext (loise) against me (exw-i)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), *ncenocho[y] [e]xm πεqταφoc nce2obcq xekac nne laay nρwme p πεqmeeye* 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (n-ce-nox-o[y]) on (exm) his (Jesus') tomb (πεq-ταφoc) and cover it (n-ce-2obc-q) so that (xekac) no man (laay n-ρwme) might remember it (lit. make (nnē ... p) its remembrance (πεq-meeye))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperative clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary **μη-** 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. **μηρκοτκ ερνοβε** 'do not return (**μηρ-κοτ-κ**) to sin (lit. to do (**ε-ρ**) sin (**νοβε**))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), **μηρρ ζοτε τπαρενος ετογλαβ** 'don't be (**μηρ-ρ**) afraid (**ζοτε**), holy (**ετ-ογλαβ**) virgin (**τ-παρενος**)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), **μηρκαατ νσωκ** 'don't abandon me (lit. leave me (**μηρ-καατ**) behind you (**νσω-κ**))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), **μηερτρε ααγ ειμε κε ντε ουσζιμε** 'don't let (**μηερ-τρε**) anybody (**ααγ**) know (**ειμε**) that (**κε**) you (**ντε**) (are) a woman (**ογ-ςζιμε**)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative **μη-** has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like '(oh) no, don't', e.g. **εκναδωψτ νσωι ειναδωκ επτακο μηωρ παχοεις** 'will you watch me going to perdition? Oh no (**μηωρ**), my Lord (**πα-χοεις**)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

9.4.6 The negative auxiliary **τι**

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary **τι** 'to do not'. The auxiliary **τι** is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. **ααα κε αφταμ ννεφβαλ ετηδωψτ εροφ επτηρφ** 'but (**ααα**) because (**κε**) he closed (**αφ-φταμ**) his eyes (**ν-νεφ-βαλ**) not to see (**ε-τη-δωψτ**) it (the sun) (**ερο-φ**) at all (**επτηρφ**)' (Zen. 200:27-28), **α ταδμε ει εροι ζωστε ετητρααιθανε επτηρφ κε †ζκοειτ η †οβε** 'my strength (**τα-δμε**) came (back) (**α ... ει**) to me (**εροι**) so that (**ζωστε**) I did not notice (**ε-τη-τρα-αιθανε**) at all (**επτηρφ**) that (**κε**) I was hungry (**†-ζκοειτ**) or (**η**) thirsty (**†-οβε**)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of **τι** are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. **παζο μημοναχος πε τηχπε ααγ νζγλη ναφ** 'the treasure (**πα-ζο**) of the monk (**μη-πι-μοναχος**) (is) not to acquire (**τη-χπε**) any (**ααγ**) property (**ν-ζγλη**) for himself (**να-φ**)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), **[ζωστε] ντ[ετ]η [ααγ] ε[ψοη]δωμ ε[ναζ]μ[ε]φ εβολ [ζν να]οιχ** 'so that (**ζωστε**) nobody (**ααγ**) will be able (**ντε-τη ... εψ-δωδωμ**) to save himself (**ε-ναζμε-φ**) from (**εβολ ζν**) my hands (**να-οιχ**)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

9.4.1.1 Two different clausal positions

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary **τι** occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker **φαν** and before the epistemic modal verb (**ε**)φ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. **ενψαντηζαρεζ δε πτοπος ναψωφ** 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (**ε-ν-φαν-τη-ζαρεζ**), the place (**π-τοπος**) will be deserted (**να-ψωφ**)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker **φαν** and the negative auxiliary **τι** to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker **ερε** and preceding the subject nominal: **ερε NP_{subject} φαν-τι → ερ-φαν-τι NP_{subject}**, e.g. **ερψαντη πρωμε αποτασσε νενκα νιη ετζη πκοσμος νφναψωφπε αν μημοναχος** 'if a man (**π-ρωμε**) does not give up (**ερ-φαν-τι ... αποτασσε**) everything (**ν-ενκα νιη**) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (**ετ-ζη**)) the world (**π-κοσμος**), he will not (**αν**) be able to become (**ν-φ-να-ψωφπε**) a monk (**μη-μοναχος**)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

9.4.1.2 Negative conjugation patterns with **τι**

The negative auxiliary verb **τι** has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal **ντερε-φ-τι-σωτι**

e.g. **επζαε δε ντερεφτηεψοηδωμ νοι πεδρακων εταγο επεσχη νναντωνιος** (for **ναντωνιος**) **αφδωντ εροφ νιην νμοφ (...)** 'finally

(ε-π-ζαε), *when* the dragon (πε-δρακων) *had not been able* (ντερε-q-τη-εψ-δμοδμ) to cast (ε-ταγο) down (επεснт) Antony (nn-αντωνιος) he became angry (α-q-δωνт) about himself (ερο-q mmn mmo-q)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψαντε-q-τη-сωτη

e.g. αγω αυζιογε nсωoy ψαντογтmka λaay επαzoy ετρεqoyxai 'and (αγω) they smote (α-γ-ζιογε) them (ncω-oy) until they did not leave (ψανт-oy-тm-ka) anyone (λaay) behind (επαzoy) to survive (ε-тρε-q-oyxai)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ε-q-ψαν-тm-сωτη and the Negative Relative Present ε-q-тm-сωτη 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ενψανтmζαρεz δε πτοпoc nαψωq 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ε-n-ψαν-тm-ζαρεz), the place (π-τοпoc) will be deserted (nα-ψωq)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. εψωπε εтетнтmδεπн εειρε nπai zн oγнoy тетнaмoy (read тетн-na-мoy) 'if you do not hasten (ε-тетн-тm-δεπн) to do (ε-ειpe) this (n-πai), you will surely die (lit. in (zн) a dying (oy-мoy) you will die (тетн-na-мoy))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive n-q-тm-сωτη

e.g. нтетн пzηke zωωq kωte zн пeqнi н zн netzitoγωq ψανтqze eoγнoc нtaio 'and would the poor (man) (n-zηke), in his turn (zωω-q), not seek (ntε-тm ... kωte), in (zн) his (own) house (пeq-нi) or (н) in (zн) (that) of his neighbours (n-εт-zitoγω-q) until he finds (ψανт-q-ze) a great (ε-oy-нoc) gift (n-тaio)' (Eud. 72:13-14), ннm пe пpωne εqнаδωт nca пeqψнpe εqвнk нeнтω nqтмвонθeи epoq 'who (ннm) (is) the man (n-pωme) who will watch (ε-q-na-δωт) his son (пeq-ψнpe) drowning (lit. go (ε-q-внk) to the depths (n-εнтω)) and would not help (n-q-тm-вонθeи) him (epo-q)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary тm is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. α πενειωт παzωм zωн εтоотн εтнp πai 'our father (πen-ειωт) Pachôm ordered us (εтоот-н) not to do (ε-тm-p) this (πai)' (V. Pach. 139:31), мωνων (for нонон) ζαpeз epok εтнp нoвe επноyте нтаqтaиok 'but (монων) be careful (ζαpeз) not to sin (lit. commit (ε-тm-p) sin (нoвe)) against the God (ε-п-ноyте) who has created you (нт-α-q-таиo-к)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer n- and the negation adverb an 'not'.	§9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The mпат(ε)-q-сωтm pattern carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out.	§9.4.3

Exercises

9.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle *n-*.
 - The negation adverb *an* 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
 - Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
 - The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying *alla* ('BUT')-clause.
 - The Negative Third Future *nne-q-cwtm* 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
 - tm*-negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

9.2 Double negation

- A. The placement of the negation adverb *an* 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker *an* in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.

- (1) *ncenaw* __ *omom* __ *ebel neichoy exn iakwb* 'they will not (*an*) be able (*n-ce-na-ew-omom*) to nullify (*e-bel*) these blessings (*nei-choy*) upon (*exn*) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

- (2) *ntnazep* __ *laay epwn* __ 'I will not (*an*) hide (*n-t-na-zep*) anything (*laay*) from you (*epw-tn*)' (Abbaton 231:19)
- (3) *alla nczapēz* __ *epibbo* __ *ntmntmonaxh* 'but (*alla*) she (the possessed girl) does not (*an*) watch (*n-c-zapēz*) the purity (*e-pi-tbbo*) of the monastic life-style (*n-t-mnt-monaxh*)' (V. Pach. 141:13-14)
- (4) *anok de ntallo* __ *eimowē* __ *nmmhtn wa epai etcunteia* (for *etcunteia*) *mpeiaion* 'I (*anok*) will not (*an*) cease (*n-t-na-lo*) walking (*e-i-mowē*) with you (*nmmh-tn*) until (*wa epai*) the completion (*e-t-cunteia*) of this era (*m-pai-aion*)' (Abbaton 230:13-15)

- B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.

- (1) *nqnaew twoy n an za nbacanoc* (KHML II 34:6-7)
- (3) *ntcooy n an xe nta oy wope mmoc* (Hil. 7:30-31)
- (4) *ntnanay an epogoein pantoywne ncwi* (Test. Is. 230:15)
- (5) *tnnacwtm ncwk an* (V. Pach. 5:17)

9.3 Negative tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
<i>nnacwtm</i>		
<i>mpecwtm</i>		
<i>nempatoycwtm</i>		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
ΗΠΕΡΘΕΝ ΟΕΙΚ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
ΝΝΕΚΟΥΟΜΙ	(AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
ΝΕΜΕΡΤΩΒΕ ΝΑΥ	(V. Pach. 5:18)
ΝΕΤΗΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
ΗΠΡΡ ΖΟΤΕ	(Eud. 50:21)
ΕΤΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- (1) ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΖΗΟΟΣ ΕΤΟΗ ΕΤΕ[ΤΝ]Ρ ΣΝΑΥ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) ___ on a mat (Ε-ΤΟΗ) with the two of you (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-Ρ ΣΝΑΥ)' (praec. Pach. 95)
- (2) ΝΝΕΤΝΧΙ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΣΑ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΗΠΙΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΙC '___ (it) (the garbage) to any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) place (Ν-ΤΟΠΟΣ) (else) than (ΝΣΑ) to the place (Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of that Nazarene (Η-ΠΙ-ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ) Jesus (ΙC)' (Eud. 52:27-28)
- (3) ΕΦΩΡΕΙ ΝΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ (for ΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ) ΕΒΟΟΥΝΕ (read ΝΒΟΟΥΝΕ) ΗΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΤΗΡΦ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΗ ΛΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΜΟΥ ΜΑΤΕ 'he was wearing (Ε-ΦΩΡΕΙ) a garment (ΝΝ-ΟΥ-ΨΤΗΝ) of sackcloth (Ν-ΒΟΟΥΝΕ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) his time (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) ___ anything (ΛΑΥ) but (ΝΣΑ) bread (ΟΕΙΚ) and (ΖΙ) salt (ΖΜΟΥ) alone (ΜΑΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

- (4) ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΗΠΕΦΤΗΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑΦ ΗΝ ΤΕΦΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΖΩΒ 'as for the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (Α-Φ-ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) them (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ) to the people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) of his village (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΤΗΜΕ) so that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) ___ him (ΝΑ-Φ) and (ΗΝ) his sister (ΤΕΦΩΝΕ) in (ΖΝ) any respect (ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΖΩΒ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΑΥΣΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΨΑ ΑΠΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ (read ΑΠΑ ΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ) ΝΟΙ^a ΨΟΗΝΤ ΝΖΛΛΟ. ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΗΜΟΟΥ ΟΥΝΤΑ^b ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΦΣΗΨ.^c ΠΕΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΗΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ^d ΤΑΡΙΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΗΠΕΚΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΩΝΗ.^e ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ (for ΝΤΣΡΟΦΤ) ΑΝ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΝΑΦ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤ^f ΠΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΟΥ^g ΧΕ ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΤΑΡΙΚΑ ΟΥΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΚΩΙΧ. ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΑΥΧΝΟΥΦ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ^h ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΣΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΤΣΩΠΚ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΗΠΕΚΟΥΨ ΕΛΑΣ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΧΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΗΠΕΤΝΑΥΠΕΙⁱ ΖΩC^j ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ ΑΝ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΤΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΝΟΒΕ ΗΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΕΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΥΨ ΠΗ^k ΝΑΣΩΛΠ ΗΠΝΟΥΖ^l ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΠΟΥΝΕC ΤΕΦΦΥΧΗ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΩΚΗ^m ΗΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΛΥΠΕΙ (for ΟΥΛΥΠΗ) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. ΝΟΙ subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ 'he had' c. Ε-Φ-ΣΗΨ 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. ΑΒΩ 'drag-net' e. ΜΩΝΗ 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝΤ-Φ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. ΕΘΟΟΥ (< ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ 'apart, in private' i. ΑΥΠΕΙ 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ΖΩC 'since' k. ΠΗ 'that one' (see above, section

4.1.1 of Unit 4) I. $\sigma\omega\lambda\pi$ $\mu\pi\pi\sigma\gamma\zeta$ 'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off ($\sigma\omega\lambda\pi$) the rope ($\mu\pi\pi\sigma\gamma\zeta$))' m. $\omega\kappa\eta$ 'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

- (1) $\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ (for $\sigma\gamma\delta\epsilon$) $\sigma\eta$ $\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\psi\beta$ $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\sigma\sigma$ 'and ($\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$) also ($\sigma\eta$) *no one* ($\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$) *shall shave* ($\eta\eta\epsilon$... $\psi\beta$) anyone ($\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$) sitting ($\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\sigma\sigma$)' (praec. Pach. 97).

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

- (2) $\eta\epsilon\gamma\rho$ $\pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\rho\omega$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\sigma\gamma\eta$ $\kappa\sigma\chi\mu\sigma$ $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi$ 'they (the hermits) usually do not even ($\rho\omega$) remember (lit. make ($\eta\epsilon\gamma\rho$) thought ($\pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)) that ($\chi\epsilon$) a world ($\kappa\sigma\chi\mu\sigma$) exists ($\sigma\gamma\eta$... $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi$)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V-S and V-S-O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO_{SU} 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S-V-O)	<p>ΗΝΝCΑ †ΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΥ Α ΠΑΙΔΑΚΟΝΟΣ † ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ 'after (ΗΝΝCΑ) five (†ΟΥ) days (ΝΖΟΥΥ) <u>the deacon</u> (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) went (lit. gave (Α-†-†) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΕ) priest (Ε-ΠΕ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) Apa Pambô' (Hil. 5:31-32)</p>
LEFT-DISLOCATION (TOPIC _{SU} -PRO _{SU} -V-O).	<p>ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΔΕ Α†† ΠΕ[†]ΟΥΟΙ '(as for) <u>Andrew</u>, <u>he</u> went forth (lit. gave (Α-†-†) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153)</p>
SUBJECT INVERSION (V-PRO _{SU} -O-S)	<p>ΕΤΕΙ ΕΝΖΗΟΟC Α†† ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΝΖΑΛΟ (...) 'when (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΗΟΟC), <u>a</u> <u>venerable</u> (Ν-ΖΑΛΟ) <u>priest</u> (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) came (lit. gave (Α-†-†) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) (...) (Abbatôn 228:13-14)</p>

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic,

representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

10.1.1 S-V-O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S-V-O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

a) Precedence relations

S-V-O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. Α ΟΥCON ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ CΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'a brother (ΟΥ-CON) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion (...) (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
Α PERFECT	ΟΥ-CON a brother	ΧΝΕ ask	ΑΠΑ CΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ Apa Sarapion

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S-V-O surface order

b) Markedness

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S-V-O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker *νοι*. Compare, then: (S-V-O) *α νηλλο χοος χε (...)* 'the senior (monks) (N-2λλο) said (α ... χοο-с) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC_{SU}-PRO_{SU}-V-O) *ντοϛ ον λϛχοος χε (...)* '(as for him (Apa Isaac) (ντοϛ), he also (ον) said (α-ϛ-χοο-с) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V-PRO_{SU}-O-S) *λϛχοος νοι νενειοτε ετβε ογα χε (...)* 'Our fathers (νεν-ειοτε) said (α-ϛ-χοο-с) about (ετβε) someone (ογα) that (χε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) Pragmatically neutral contexts

S-V-O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. *α τεϛϛωνε δε ωλ ννεϛρεεс 'his* (Apa Mena's) *sister* (τεϛ-ϛωνε) gathered (α ... ωλ) his bones (N-νεϛ-ρεεс)' (Mena, Martyrd: 4a:1-2); *πχοεис να βει* (for ϛι) *ννοϛνοδ* (for νοϛνοδ) *νεϛϛια* *2η πεκνι* *2η πε2οοϛ* *ηπϛα* 'the Lord (π-χοεис) will require (να-βει) a big (νν-οϛ-νοδ) sacrifice (N-ϛϛια) from (2η) your house (πεκ-νι) on (2η) the day (πε-2οοϛ) of the feast (η-π-ϛα)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), *2η τεϛνοϛ* *δε α πεϛλαс* *με2 ρωϛ λϛϛϛντ λϛμοϛ* 'suddenly (2η τενοϛ), his (Diocletian's) *longue* (πεϛ-λαс) filled (α ... με2) his mouth (ρω-ϛ), he was eaten by (lit. he became (α-ϛ-ρ)) worms (ϛντ) (and) died (α-ϛ-μοϛ)' (Eud. 38:27).

S-V-O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or

truisms, e.g. *ϛαρε τειβννε ταϛε νντсноοϛс* *ηλοοϛ* *νβνнε* *κατα* *ρομπε* 'this date-palm (τει-βннε) yields (ϛαρε ... ταϛε) twelve (νнт-сноοϛс) bunches (N-λοοϛ) of dates (N-βннε) per (κατα) year (ρομπε)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), *νερε* *διοκλн* *†* *ναϛ* *η2ενλϛρον* *τερομπε* *ετβε* *πεοοϛ* *ννεϛνοϛτε* 'Diocletian (διοκλн) gave (νερε ... †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (N-2εν-λорон) annually (τε-ρομπε) for (ετβε) the glorification (π-εοοϛ) of their gods (N-νεϛ-νοϛτε)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S-V-O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. *εϛϛαν ογα ετι* (read *λτεи*) *ημοκ* *νοϛ2ϛβ* (...) 'if anyone (ογα) asks (εϛϛαν ... ετι) you (ημο-κ) something (N-οϛ-2ϛβ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 161, 36:14), *α οϛον* *2η* *νετοϛααβ* *ρ* *2ηε* *η2οοϛ* *νατοϛϛη* *νατсω* 'one (οϛον) of (2η) the holy ones (N-ετοϛααβ) spent (αρ) forty (2ηε) days (N-2οοϛ) without eating (N-ατ-οϛϛη) (and) drinking (N-ατ-сω)' (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 Constituent order in the postverbal domain

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist "scrambling", i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 The canonical V > DO > IO > ADV order

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. *сοϛν* *ππετнаноϛϛ* *ηн* *ππεθooϛ* 'to know (сοϛν) what is good (π-π-ετ-наноϛ-ϛ) and (ηн) what is bad (ππεθooϛ < π-π-ετ-2οοϛ)' (Abbaton 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. *καи* *γαρ* *тетнсooϛн* *ηтаанастрофн* *тнρс* 'since (και γαρ) you know (тетн-сooϛн) my entire (тнρ-с) mode of life (N-та-анастрофн)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), *тетнсooϛн* *γαρ* *χε* *ηειϛεиε* (for *ηειϛиε*) *ηсα* *пантон* 'since (γαρ) you know (тетн-сooϛн) [that (χε) I did not

look (HE-I-ΨΕΙΝΕ) for (NCA) my own peace (ΠΑ-ΗΤΟΝ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like † 'to give' and χαρίζε 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the transferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ψαρε πνούτε † οὐζμοτ ννετναπιστεύε 'God (π-νούτε) will grant (ψαρε ... †) a favour (οὐζ-μοτ) to those who will believe (ν-ν-ετ-να-πιστεύε)' (Test. Is. 228:11), φναχαρίζε μπταλδο νταψερε ζιτη νετνψαλα νασνhy 'he (the Lord) will grant (φ-να-χαρίζε) healing (ν-π-ταλδο) to my daughter (ν-τα-ψερε) through (ζιτη) your prayers (νετν-ψαλα), my brothers (να-σνhy)' (Hil. 8:12-13), μαρεφ† ννουφ ναν 'he should give (μαρε-φ-†) us (να-ν) what is his (ννου-φ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. λψ αφπωψ εβολ ννεφδix εζραι επνούτε ζν ουριμε ντεψη τηρc xin ροϋζε ψα ζτοοϋε 'and (λψ) he (Pachôm) lifted (α-φ-πωψ) his hands (ν-νεφ-δix) up (εζραι) to God (ε-π-νούτε) weeping (ζν ουριμε) the entire (τηρ-с) night (ν-τε-ψη) from (xin) evening (ροϋζε) till (ψα) dawn (ζτοοϋε)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP_{DO}) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scrambled" order of dative shift constructions is V_{AS} > DAT-CL > PP_{DO} order, e.g. αφ† νας νουρι ζιτοϋωφ μπρhc ντεκκλhcia 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (α-φ-†) her (Hilaria) (να-с) a cell (ν-οу-ρι) next to him (ζιτοϋω-φ), south (ν-π-рhc) of the church (ν-т-εκκλhcia)' (Hil 6:15), επζαε δε λψ† ναφ ζωωφ νζντνζ (for νζενтнζ) 'finally (ε-π-ζαε), they gave (α-γ-†) him (να-φ) wings (ν-зен-тнζ), too (ζωω-φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), νγψαλα εχωc ψαντε πχοεic χαρίζε νας μπταλδο

'and you shall pray (ν-γ-ψαλα) on her behalf (εχω-с) until the Lord (π-χοεic) will grant (ψαντε ... χαρίζε) her (να-с) healing (ν-π-ταλδο)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. αφκατεχε ννεσну ζατηφ ωομнт νεβοτ εтве τεφψερε 'he (the king) kept (α-φ-κατεχε) the brothers (ν-νε-сну) with him (ζατη-φ) (for) three (ωομнт) months (ν-εβοτ) because of (εтве) his daughter (τεφ-ψερε)' (Hil. 12:8-9), α κεογα δε он εινε мπεφψηре ψαροφ 'somebody else (κε-ογα) brought (α ... εινε) his son (ν-πεφ-ψηре) to him (Pachôm) (ψαρο-φ)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. ανδρεαc δε αφ† πε[φ]οϋοι '[TOPIC Andrew (ανδρεαc δε), [COMMENT he went forth (lit. he gave (α-φ-†) his way (πεφ-οϋοι))]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclausal topic and the intraclausal resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ (As for) <i>Andrew</i>	Α- PERFECT	-q- <i>he</i>	† give	ΠΕq-ΟΥΟΙ his way

FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker ΔΕ is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

a) Embedded left-dislocation

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝΣΕqΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΖΟΥ ΠΑΙ 'and (ΑΥΩ) (concerning) *the churches* (Ν-ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ) they shall rebuild *them* (Ν-ΣΕ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) and celebrate (Ν-ΣΕ-qΙ) in *them* (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) on (ΖΗ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙ-ΖΟΥ)' (Eud. 40:9-10), ΑΥΩ ΠΟΜΠΩΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΟΜΠΩΕΙΝΕ) ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΛqΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΝΣΟΥΖC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC 'and (ΑΥΩ) *that* (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) *affliction* (Π-ΘΗ-Π-ΩΕΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-q-ΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-ΣΟΥΖC) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) through (ΖΗ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕΖ-CΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12), ΑΛΛΑ ΠΚΕΑΡΙΟC ΜΠΑΤΕqΧΕΚ ΟΥΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑqΜΟΥ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *also Arios* (Π-ΚΕ-ΑΡΙΟC) died (Α-q-ΜΟΥ) before finishing (ΜΠΑΤΕ-q-ΧΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) one year (ΟΥ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (as a bishop)' (KHML II 50:6-7), ΧΕΚΑC ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ) ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΝΟC ΝΖΙΝΗC 'so that (ΧΕΚΑC), (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned) you would awake (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΕΖCΕ) *us* (ΜΜΟ-Ν) from (ΖΗ) the deep (Π-ΝΟC) sleep (Ν-ΖΙΝΗC)' (Zen. 199:17-18).

b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΠΠΛΗ ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) blocked (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΠΛΗ) solidly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΜΗΝCΩC ΕΙC ΖΗΒΛΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΦΕΤ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'after that (ΜΗΝCΩ-C) *blind people* (ΖΗ-ΒΛΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking for (Ε-Υ-ΦΕΤ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML I 6:11), ΤΩΕΕΡΕ ΔΕ ΦΗΜ ΝΕCΖΕΝ (for ΝΕCΖΕΝ) ΑΜΗΤΦΗΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'the little (ΦΗΜ) girl (Τ-ΦΕΕΡΕ) was (ΝΕ-C-ΖΕΝ) about eighteen (Α-ΜΗΤ-ΦΗΗΝΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25), ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΑqΟΥ[Ο]ΝΖq ΕΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC 'the angel (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-q-ΟΥΟΝΖ-q) to the archbishop (Ε-Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕqΤΩC ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ ΕΤΗΕ ΗΜΟq ΖΗ ΠΕqΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) also (ΟΝ) encourages (Ε-q-ΤΩC) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ) who loves (ΕΤ-ΗΕ) him (ΗΜΟ-q) through (ΖΗ) the Gospel (Π-ΕqΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ΠΕΝΤΑΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟq ΑΙΛΑq 'what I had thought (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΗΕΕΥΕ) of (ΕΡΟ-q) I have done (it) (Α-Ι-ΑΑ-q)' (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΝΖΑΚ ΦΑΥ† ΚΛΟΜ ΕΧΩq ΖΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'the prudent (Ν-ΖΑΚ) monk (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) is given (lit. they give (ΦΑ-Υ-†)) a crown (ΚΛΟΜ) on him (ΕΧΩ-q) on (ΖΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΦΩ[ΝΕ] ΖΗ ΤΕCΑΠΕ 'as for *this* (woman) (ΤΑΙ), (there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a severe (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) illness (Ν-ΦΩΝΕ) in (ΖΗ) *her* head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

c) Unbounded dependencies

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΔΕ ΑqΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΩΩ ΑqΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤC ΜΠΝΟΜΙCΙΑ ΑΥΟΩΜΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the deacon (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) [s₁ fulfilled (Α-q-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria's) wish (Μ-ΠΕC-ΟΥΩΩ)], '[s₂ took (Α-q-ΧΙ) the solidus (a golden coin) (Μ-Π-ΝΟΜΙCΙΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-C)], '[s₃ (and) they ate (Α-Υ-ΟΥΩΜ)

together (MN NEY-EPHY) on that (ETMMA) day (M-Π-200Y) (Hil. 5:1-4), ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΡΑΦΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΓΗΜΟΦΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΦ2Μ2ΑΛ ΦΑΝΤΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠ2ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ' (as for) *Eutropius*, [s₁ he was very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) happy (Α-Γ-ΡΑΦΕ)] [s₂ (and) travelled (Α-Γ-ΜΟΦΕ) with (MN) his servant (ΠΕΦ-2Μ2ΑΛ)] [s₃ until *he* reached (ΦΑΝΤΕ-Γ-ΒΩΚ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (M-Π-2ΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΝΝΑΚΑΤΗΥΤΝ ΑΝ ΕΟΥΩΜ (read ΕΟΥΩΝ) ΜΜΟΣ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as far as) *this city* (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (is concerned), [s₁ we will not (ΑΝ) allow you (N-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ-ΤΗΥΤΝ) [s₂ to open (Ε-ΟΥΩΝ) *it* (ΜΜΟ-С)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΥ '[Topic₁ (as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (rules) (ΝΑΙ)], [Topic₂ *he who will neglect* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (Ε-Γ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) punishment (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΥΑΛΝ '[Topic₁ (as for) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ)] [Topic₂ *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *our sins* (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΟΠΤ-Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ΟΥ2ΑΛΟ ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΦCΟΡΗ 2Ν ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΓ 2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤΓ ΧΕ (...) 'a (certain) *old* (ΟΥ-2ΑΛΟ) *hermit* (N-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) got lost (Ε-Γ-CΟΡΗ) in (2Ν) the desert (Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Γ) to himself (2ΡΑΙ Ν2ΗΤ-Γ) that (ΧΕ) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝCΟΦΟΣ ΜΕΦΝΕΧ [ΦΑΧΕ] ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑΓΓ 2ΤΗΓ Ε[ΝΕΤCΩ]ΤΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'a *wise* (N-CΟΦΟΣ) *man* (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) does not throw (ΜΕ-Γ-ΝΕΧ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) every (ΝΙΜ) word (ΦΑΧΕ) like that (2ΙΝΑΙ) but (ΑΛΛΑ) focuses (ΦΑ-Γ-Γ) his attention (2ΤΗ-Γ) towards those who listen (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), CΟΝ CΝΑΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'two (CΝΑΥ) *brothers* (CΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ) went (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) to a monastery (Ε-Υ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΓΤΟΠΟΣ ΦΑΥΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΤΑΛCΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *every* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ) who will go (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to his (Απα Μena's) shrine (Ε-ΠΕΓ-ΤΟΠΟΣ) will obtain (ΦΑ-Υ-ΜΑΤΕ) recovery (M-Π-ΤΑΛCΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative ΕΙC 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC [ΑΦ]ΥΩΝ2 ΝΑΓ ΕΒΟΛ 'behold (ΕΙC), *an angel* (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-Γ-ΟΥΩΝ2) to him (ΝΑ-Γ)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΝ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΥΟΥΩΦ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (ΕΙC), *a knight* (ΟΥ-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Γ-ΕΙ) together with (MN) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΩΦ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extracausal topic does not correspond to any placeholding expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ΤΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΝΗCΤΕΙΑ ΕΦΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ 2Η ΠΕΦΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ 2Η ΠΗ ΜΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ '(as for) *the instruction* (Τ-ΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ) of fast (N-Τ-ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Γ-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (2Η) his house (ΠΕΦ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (2Η) his colleagues' (M-ΠΕΦ-ΩΒΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition *εἰς* 'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic, e.g. *εἰς τὴν [μά] νοῦ[ψ]μ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΕΥΟΥΨΜ ΖΙ ΡΟΥΖΕ* 'as for (*εἰς*) the kneading (*Ν-ΟΥΨΜ*) place (*Π-ΜΑ*), no one (*ΡΩΜΕ*) shall speak (*ΝΝΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ*) when they are kneading (*Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨΜ*) at (*ΖΙ*) night (*ΡΟΥΖΕ*)' (praec. Pach. 116), *εἰς ΝΕΧΗΥ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΝΕΕΦ ΚΑ ΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΕΜΡΩ ΛΧΜ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΣΟΟΥΖΣ (...)* 'as for (*εἰς*) the ships (*Ν-ΕΧΗΥ*), no (*ΛΑΛΥ*) sailor (*Ν-ΝΕΕΦ*) shall set loose (*ΝΝΕ ... ΚΑ ΕΒΟΛ*) a ship (*ΧΟΙ*) at (*ΖΙ*) the landing stage (*ΤΕ-ΜΡΩ*) without the man (i.e. the prior) (*Π-ΡΩΜΕ*) of the congregation (*Ν-Τ-ΣΟΟΥΖΣ*)' (praec. Pach. 118).

c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. *α ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΑΥΟΥΕΖ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ [ΕΠΕΣ]ΗΤ ΖΜ ΠΔΑΜΟΥΑ* 'the people (*ΝΕ-ΡΩΜΕ*) of that (*ΕΤΗΜΑΥ*) place (*Μ-Π-ΜΑ*) let (*α ... Α-Υ-ΟΥΕΖ*) the body (*Π-ΣΩΜΑ*) of the blessed (*Μ-Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ*) Apa Mena down (*ΕΠΕΣΗΤ*) from (*ΖΜ*) the camel (*Π-ΔΑΜΟΥΑ*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), *αΥΩ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΨΑΦΑΙΣΘΑΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ* 'and (*αΥΩ*) each one (*Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ*) of them (*ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ*) perceives (*ΨΑΡΕ ... ΨΑ-Φ-ΑΙΣΘΑΝΕ*) according to (*ΚΑΤΑ*) his nature (*ΤΕΦ-ΦΥΣΙΣ*)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), *αΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΕΦΟ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ* 'and (*αΥΩ*) the light (*Π-ΟΥΟΕΙΝ*) was (*ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΕ-Φ-Ο*) of diverse sorts (*Μ-ΜΙΝΕ ΜΙΝΕ*)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. *αΥΩ ΕΙΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΦΤΟΟΥ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΑΥΕΙ ΜΠΟΥΕ* 'and (*αΥΩ*) while I was looking (*Ε-Ι-ΘΕΩΡΕΙ*) at them (the trees) (*ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ*) and (*ΜΝ*) their fruits (*ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ*), look (*ΕΙΣ*), four (*ΦΤΟΟΥ*) young (*ΨΗΜ*) fellows (*Ν-ΨΗΡΕ*) came (*Α-Υ-ΕΙ*) from a distance (*Μ-Π-ΟΥΕ*)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), *αΣΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ Α ΠΡΡΟ ΕΩΚ ΕΤΣΥΝΑΖΙΣ ΜΝ ΤΡΡΩ ΜΝ ΤΕΦΨΕΡΕ ΣΕΝΤΕ ΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΑΣΦΙ ΝΝΕΣΒΑΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ (...)* 'it happened (*Α-Σ-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ*) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (*Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ*) of Sunday (*Ν-Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ*)) (that) the king (*Π-ΡΡΟ*) went (*α ... ΕΩΚ*) to the Eucharist (*Ε-Τ-ΣΥΝΑΖΙΣ*) together with (*ΜΝ*) the queen (*Τ-ΡΡΩ*) and (*ΜΝ*) his two (*ΣΕΝΤΕ*) daughters (*ΤΕΦ-ΨΕΡΕ*). The blessed (*Τ-ΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ*) Hilaria (*ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ*) looked (lit. carried (*Α-Σ-ΦΙ*) her eyes (*Ν-ΝΕΣ-ΒΑΛ*)) up (*ΕΖΡΑΙ*) to heaven (*Ε-Τ-ΠΕ*) and said (*Ε-Σ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ*) that (*ΧΕ*)(...)' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. *α ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΙ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΖΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΣ ΦΑ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΕΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΦΕΤΑΛΒΟΦ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΚΩΡΨ ΕΡΟΦ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΜΠΑΙΜΩΝ ΧΕ (...)* 'some people (*ΖΟΙΝΕ*) came (*α ... ΕΙ*) once (*Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΨ*) from (*ΖΝ*) the Thebais (*ΘΗΒΑΙΣ*) to (*ΦΑ*) an old monk (*ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΟ*) and they had (*Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Υ*) someone (*Ν-ΟΥΑ*) (with them) who was possessed (*Ε-Φ-Ο*) by a demon (*Ν-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ*) in order that (*ΧΕΚΑ-Σ*) he would heal him (*Ε-Φ-Ε-ΤΑΛΒΟ-Φ*). The old monk (*Π-ΖΑΛΟ*), when they beseeched (*ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΡΨ*) him (*ΕΡΟ-Φ*) very much (*ΜΜΑΤΕ*) said (*ΠΕΧΑ-Φ*) to the demon (*Μ-Π-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ*) that (*ΧΕ*)(...)' (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12).

b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΗΟΟΣ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΛΦΟΥΩΦ
 ΝΝΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΗΝΤΑΦΕΒΗΣ 'but when this one (ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ) (Zēnō)
 had occupied (lit. had sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΖΗΟΟΣ) on (ΖΙΧΗ)) the
 throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΕΡΟ), he
 annulled (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΦ) the sinful (Μ-ΜΗΤ-ΑΦΕΒΗΣ) ordinances
 (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΝΗΦ ΦΑΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ
 ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΤΗΕ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ '(as for) him (Pachōm)
 (ΝΤΟΦ), occasionally people (ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ) came (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΗΦ) to him
 (ΦΑΡΟ-Φ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the villages (Ν-ΤΗΕ) in the neighbourhood
 (ΕΤ-Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΚΩΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes.
 The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two
 active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g.
 ΠΧΑΧΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΖΕΝΗΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΧΑΖΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΦ ΦΑΦΒΟΟΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΨΛΗ 'the enemy (Π-ΧΑΧΕ)
 (i.e. the devil) insinuated (Ε-Φ-ΝΟΥΧΕ) filthy (Ε-Υ-ΧΑΖΗ) thoughts
 (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ). Anthony, on his part (ΖΩΦ-Φ),
 (managed to) repel them (ΦΑ-Φ-ΒΟΟΡ-ΟΥ) through (ΖΙΤΗ) prayers
 (ΝΕ-ΨΛΗ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ΖΗ [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΦ ΔΕ [ΕΙΦ] ΝΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ
 ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΦ [ΕΧ]Ι[Φ] ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟ[ΡΟ]ΗΑ 'when (ΖΗ) he dozed off
 (Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΦ) look (ΕΙΦ), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna stood
 (Α-Φ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Φ) before him (ΕΧΦ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)
 (Mēna, Mir. 12a:2-7), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the former
 (ΝΑΙ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom
 (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ) from the latter (Numerian) (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Mēna,
 Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to
 avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument
 position, e.g. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ † [ΝΑ]Φ ΝΝΕΦ[ΔΑ]ΜΟΥΑ
 [ΝΕΟ]ΥΝΤΑΦ [ΗΜΑΥ] ΝΟΥΔΑΜΑΥΕ [ΝΑΦ]ΡΗΝ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to
 whom (ΝΑ-Φ) Apa Mēna had given (ΝΤ-Α ... †) his camels
 (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΔΑΜΟΥΑ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a barren (Ν-ΑΦΡΗΝ) she-camel
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΔΑΜΑΥΕ)' (Mēna, Mir. 10b:10-14), ΠΕΤΗΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ

ΕΝΦΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΦΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he who will come (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) to believe
 (Ε-Φ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΦΑΧΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΜΗ)
 his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ), he will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) heir
 (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ) to God's (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ)
 (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-
 taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g.
 ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΑΦΦΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΠΕΠΡΕΦΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ
 ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ †ΟΥΦΦ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΚΑΑΤ ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ (...)
 ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΦΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΦΩ
 ΖΑΘΗΝ (...) ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΦΟΥΦΦ (for ΑΦΟΥΦΦΕ)
 ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ
 ΔΕ ΑΦΡ ΦΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΦΕΕΡΕ 'the blessed
 (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) Hilaria (ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ) spoke (Α-Φ-ΦΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the
 priest (ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΦΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Apa Pambō, saying (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-Φ) »My
 Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (†-ΟΥΦΦ) you to make me (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΑΑ-Τ) a
 monk (Μ-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΔΕ) said
 (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to her (ΝΑ-Φ) »My son (ΠΑ-ΦΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is
 no (ΜΗ) possibility (ΦΒΟΜ) for you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)) to stay (Ε-ΦΩ) with us
 (ΖΑΘΗΝ) (...)». The blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) virgin (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)
 answered (Α-Φ-ΟΥΦΦ) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I
 have come (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) with (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) my
 heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΔΕ) was impressed
 (Α-Φ-Ρ ΦΠΗΡΕ) by the speech (Ν-Τ-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ) of the little (Ν-Τ-ΚΟΥΙ)
 girl (Ν-ΦΕΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for
 instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the
 main storyline, e.g. ΑΦΦΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΒΟΜ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ Ζ[ΡΑΙ]
 ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ †[ΟΥΦΦ] ΖΩ ΕΒΟΚ [ΕΠ]ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ [ΜΗ]ΝΑ ΝΤ[Α]ΦΛΗΑ
 (...) ΑΡΗΦ ΦΝΑΕΡ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΦΙ ΜΜΑΛΕ ΝΦΕ
 ΝΝΟΜΙΦΑ ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΜΟΦΦΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ (...) 'he (the rich
 Alexandrian) heard (Α-Φ-ΦΩΤΗ) of the wonders (Ε-ΝΕ-ΦΟΜ) of Apa
Mēna (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) »I, too (ΖΩ), want

(τ-ογωφ) to go (ε-βωκ) to the shrine (ε-τ-τοπος) of Apa Mēna and pray (ντα-ψαηα) (...). Maybe (αρηγ) he will remember me (lit. will make (q-να-ερ) my remembrance (πα-μεεγε))». *He* (ντοα) stood up (α-α-τωογν), took (α-α-α) three thousand (ν-μααβ ν-ψε) *solidi* (ν-νομιχα) and went (α-α-ει) out (εβολ), travelling (α-α-μοοψε) (all) by himself (μαγαα-α) (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), *anon* δε *zōwn* [μαρενσκο]γδαζε ερ αναα *mnōyete* *zētn* *zēnpaξic* (for *zēnpaξic*) *enanoyoy* 'let *us* (*anon* δε), in our turn (*zōwn*), be zealous (μαρε-ν-σπογδαζε) to please (ε-ρ ανα-α) God (ν-π-πογτε) through (*zētn*) good (ε-*nanoyoy*) deeds (*zēnpaξic*)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. παειωτ ετβε ογ ανοκ παζητ ναωτ 'My father (πα-ειωτ), *why* (ετβε ογ) is, (as far as) *I* (ανοκ) (am concerned), my heart (πα-ζητ) (so) bold (ναωτ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. *anon* δε ετβε *nennobe* μαρνοπτη εζογν *magaan* '(as for) *us* (*anon* δε)] *because of* (ετβε) *our sins* (*nennobe*), let us lock up ourselves (μαρ-ν-οπτη-ν εζογν) alone (μαγαα-ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: *noyoyw nim neqoyw an exi eoyy ebol zētn nrowe* '*at no* (αν) *time* (nim *n-oyoyw*) did he (Pachôm) want (νε-α-ογωφ) to be praised (lit. to get (ε-χι) praise (εοογ)) by (*zētn*) people (ν-ρωμε)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. ετβε ογ *terime nnaγ nim* 'why (ετβε ογ) do you (woman) weep (τε-ριμε) *all* (nim) *the time* (ν-ναγ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225,

65:22), *zaz* δε *ncop* ψακνιμ εγορη '(on) *many* (*zaz*) *occasions* (ν-κοπ) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (ψα-α-κνιμ) towards anger (ε-γ-ορη)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. *zōcte nte zaz nte netzm pime tmyōmōm etwmnt epoq nza2 ncop* 'such that (*zōcte*) *many* (*zaz*) who were in (ν-ετ-zm) the village (π-ime) could not (ντε ... *tm-ōm-ōm*) meet (ε-τωμντ) him (επο-α) *on many* (ν-*zaz*) *occasions* (ν-κοπ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. *oyzoy* δε εβολ *zn* *oyzoy* α *tsamale mice* *noywepe nczime* '*one day* (ογ-ζοογ δε εβολ *zn* ογ-ζοογ), the she-camel (τ-σαμαλε) delivered (α ... *mice*) a daughter (ν-ογ-ψερε ν-*czime*)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), *zn* *oycwe* δε ες (for ες) *pagios mercurios* *aqei ezoyn* '*all of a sudden* (*zn* ογ-*cwe*), the holy (π-*pagios*) *Mercurius* came (α-α-ει) in (εζογν)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. *mpetracte aqzmooc epbhma nobi zarmenios zm peθeapron* '*on the* (lit. *his*) *next day* (ν-πετ-ρατε) Armenius sat down (α-α-ζμοοc) on the tribune (ε-π-βhma) in (*zm*) the theatre (πε-θεαπρον)' (KHML I 76:8-9), *ztooye* δε *zahn* *npyoyein* α *teszime ncamarithc* [ne]z[ce] *nne2[io]me etnmmac* *peχac naγ xe* (...) '(at) *dawn* (*ztooye*) *before* (*zahn*) (*sun*)light (ν-π-ογoyein), the Samaritan (ν-*camarithc*) woman (τε-*czime*) woke up (α ... *ne2ce*) the women (ν-νε-*zime*) in her company (ετ-*nmmac*-c) (and) said (πεχα-c) to them (να-γ) that (*xe*) (...) (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as “as for”, they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. *κοι μεν φαγουωz εχην πεβω ευφανοντq κοι δε φαγουωz εχην ποεικ* ‘some time (κοι μεν) they (flies) will sit (φα-γ-ουωz) on (εχην) honey (π-εβω), if they can find it (ε-γ-φαν-οντ-q), some other time (κοι δε) they will sit (φα-γ-ουωz) on (εχην) bread (π-οεικ)’ (Sh. III 48:6-8), *αγω εις σε ηρομπε τωοοπ zη τιερημια* ‘and (αγω), look (εις), for sixty (σε) years (η-ρομπε) I have been living (τ-ωοοπ) in (zη) this desert (τι-ερημια)’ (Onnophr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like *μηννωc* ‘after that’ and *ετβε παι* ‘because of that’ have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. *μηννωc αφοωνz ναq [εβολ] νοι πzαγιoc απα μηνα [zη ουzορομα]* ‘after this (μηννω-c) the holy (π-zαγιoc) Apa Mēna revealed (himself) (α-φ-ουωνz εβολ) to him (να-q) in (zη) a vision (ου-zορομα)’ (Mena, Mir. 32a:11-14), *ετβε παι εκεψωπε zη νταρταροc φα πεzοoy ηπzαπ* ‘because of (ετβε) this (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-ψωπε) in (zη) the Tartaros (η-ταρταροc) until (φα) the day (πε-zοoy) of the Judgement (η-π-zαπ)’ (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O–S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle *νοι*. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like *ντερεqxe ναι δε νοι παγγελoc (...)* ‘when the angel (π-αγγελoc) had said (ντερε-qe) these (ναι) (words) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ντερε- TEMPORAL	-q- <i>he</i>	xe say	ναι these	νοι FOCUS MARKER	π-αγγελoc <i>the angel</i>

FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) *αqβωκ νοι ουcon φα απα χιxωι επιτοoy ναπα αντωνιος* ‘a brother (ου-con) came (α-q-βωκ) to (φα) Apa Čičōi in the monastery (ε-π-τοoy) of Apa Antony’ (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), *αγει εψιητ νοι zημοναχοc* (for zēmonaxoc) *εβολ zη κημε* ‘(there) came (α-γ-ει) to Shiēt (ε-ψιητ) monks (zē-monaxoc) from (εβολ zη) Egypt (κημε)’ (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) *μηννα zενκεκοyι ηzοoy αqηηφε νοι πcon ετημαy* ‘after (μηννα) a few days (η-zοoy) more (zēn-ke-ko-yi) that (ετημαy) (disobedient) brother (π-con) cooled down (α-q-ηηφε)’ (V. Pach. 140:30), *εψανειμε γαρ νοι νενταyναy εροq τηροy cεναπιcτεye εροq* (Eud. 52:21-22) ‘because (γαρ) if all (τηρ-oy) those (people) who saw (η-ε-π-α-γ-ναy) him (Jesus Christ) (ερο-q) come to know (ε-γ-ψαν-ειμε) (about it), they will believe (ce-na-pi-c-te-ye) in him (ερο-q)’ (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) *ηπεqραcτε αqzμοoc επιβηνα νοι zαρμενιοc zη πεθεαδρον* ‘on the (lit. his) next day (η-πεq-ραcτε) Armenius (zαρμενιοc) sat down (α-q-zμοoc) on the tribune (ε-π-βηνα) in (zη) the theatre (πε-θεαδρον)’ (KHML I 76:8-9), (demonstratives) *ντεyνοy αqzποκ νοι παι εβολ zη πεqωντ* ‘suddenly (ντεyνοy) this one (the ill-tempered brother) (παι) calmed down (α-q-zποκ) from (εβολ zη) his rage (πεq-ωντ)’ (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) *αγω ηceει εzραι εxωoy νοι ηεcηoy τηροy ετχηz* ‘and (αγω) all (τηρ-oy) the blessings (η-ε-χοy) written down (ετ-χηz) (in the Scriptures) will come (η-ce-ει) upon them (εxω-oy)’ (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) *ενεηπατοyψωπε γαρ zη κημε νοι ημοναcτηριον ετω* ‘as (γαρ) (there) were not yet (ε-η-ε-ηπατ-oy-ψωπε)

many (ΕΤ-ΩΦ) *monasteries* (Η-ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) in (2N) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *αὐτὸς* ΝΕΦΜΕΖ ΝΗΣΑΖ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΙΟΡ ΕΤΗΝΑΥ 'and (αὐτὸς) *that* (ΕΤ-ΗΝΑΥ) *canal* (Π-ΕΙΟΡ) was full (ΝΕ-Φ-ΜΕΖ) of crocodiles (Ν-ΜΣΑΖ)' (V. Ant. 21:8).

10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle ΝΟΙ

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker ΝΟΙ to the right of the locative question word ΤΩΝ 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. ΕΓΤΩΝ ΠΤΑΦΟΣ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ 'where (ΤΩΝ) (is) *the tomb* (Π-ΤΑΦΟΣ) of my lord (Μ-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)?' (Eud. 58:25), ΕΓΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΤΑΛΗΥ ΕΠΧΟΙ ΝΗ[Μ]ΑΚ 'where (is) (ΤΩΝ) *the man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) who was on board (ΕΤ-ΤΑΛΗΥ) of the ship (Ε-Π-ΧΟΙ) with you (ΝΗΜΑΚ)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle ΝΟΙ, e.g. ΜΗ ΕΙΤΑΛΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ 'am I (ΑΝΟΚ) then more (ΕΖΟΥΕ) honoured (Ε-Ι-ΤΑΕΙΝΥ) than my Lord (Ε-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), ΤΕΡΖΟΤΕ ΝΤΟ ΖΗΤΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'you (woman) (ΝΤΟ) fear (ΤΕ-Ρ-ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤ-Ω) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 64:23), ΦΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΗΟΣ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ (...) 'for (ΓΑΡ) *he* (ΝΤΟΦ), *the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ), says (Φ-ΧΩ) that (ΧΕ) (...) (Sh. III 60:4-5).

10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΝ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΘΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ '(as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (things) (ΝΑΙ), *he who has* (Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝ) *power* (ΘΟΝ) over (ΖΝ) *everything* (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ) is doing (Ε-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) them (ΜΜΟΥ) because of us (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Ν)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΩ ΝΟΥΦΑΧΕ ΝΑΖΡΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΜΟΣ ΠΕΤΦΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ '(as for) *the latter* (ΠΑΙ ΔΕ), *Basimos* (ΒΑΣΙΜΟΣ), who is (Π-ΕΤ-ΦΟΟΠ) amongst (ΖΝ) *the saints* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) said (Α-Φ-ΧΩ) a word (Ν-ΟΥ-ΦΑΧΕ) to him (ΝΑΖΡΑ-Φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΜΑΖΣΑΦΩ (for ΜΠΜΕΖΣΑΦΩ) ΑΣΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΝΟΙ

ΤΡΡΩ ΕΩΠΠΕ ΝΑΣ ΝΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΤΦΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΘΙΛΗΗ ΜΝ ΣΙΩΝ '(on the) *morning* (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) of *the seventh* (day) (Η-Π-ΜΑΖ-ΣΑΦΩ), *the queen* (Τ-ΡΡΩ) ordered (lit. placed (Α-Σ-ΟΥΕΖ) an order (ΣΑΖΝΕ)) to arrest (Ε-ΩΠΠΕ) for her (ΝΑ-Σ) the Jews (Ν-Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) who were living (ΕΤ-ΦΟΟΠ) in (ΖΝ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΗ) and (ΜΝ) Zion (ΣΙΩΝ)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V-O-S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕΦΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ (...) 'when *the angel* (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) had said (ΝΤΕΡΕ-ΧΕ) these (ΝΑΙ) (words) (...) (Test. Is. 230:12), ΣΕΝΑΤΣΑΒΟ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΑΦΥΛΗ (...) '*the people* (Ν-ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΝ) *my tribe* (ΤΑ-ΦΥΛΗ) will inform you (woman) (ΣΕ-ΝΑ-ΤΣΑΒΟ) about it (ΕΡΟ-Φ) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), ΕΥΦΑΝΚΡΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤΖΗΠΗ (...) 'if *the residents* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ-Π-Η) judge (Ε-Υ-ΦΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ) him (ΜΜΟ-Φ) (...) (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), αὐτὸς ΑΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟC ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΦ 'and (αὐτὸς) *the chariots* (Ν-ΖΑΡΜΑ) of *the Persians* (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡΣΟC) surrounded (Α-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) him (Constantine) (ΕΡΟ-Φ) to kill (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ) him (ΜΜΟ-Φ)' (Eud. 42:25). V-O-S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. αὐτὸς ΑΥΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC 'and (αὐτὸς) *the name* (Π-ΡΑΝ) of our Lord (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC) received (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) glory (ΕΟΟΥ)' (Eud. 40:27-28), ΝΤΕΡΕΦ[Ρ] ΖΝΑΦ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ (...) 'when it pleased (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-Ρ ΖΝΑ-Φ) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

b) Verbs of saying and reporting

Subject inversion is also possible with *verbs of saying and reporting* that introduce reported speech, e.g. $\alpha\chi\omega\omega\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$ '*Our fathers* ($\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$) *said* ($\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\omega\omega\text{-}\varsigma$) about ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) someone ($\omicron\upsilon\alpha$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3), $\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\omega\varsigma \ (\text{for } \alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\epsilon) \ \nu\alpha\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$ '*the deacon* ($\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$) *answered* ($\alpha\text{-}\phi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\omega\varsigma$) her ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (...)' (Hil. 4:28-29), $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\varsigma \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron \ \mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$ '*the blessed* ($\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$) *old man* ($\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron$) *said* ($\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$) to me ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (...)' (Onnophr. 213:27-28).

c) Motion verbs

When combined with verbs of inherently directed motion, subject-inverted clauses assume a presentative meaning and function, signalling the appearance of a referent in the realm of discourse, e.g. $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu \ \nu\tau\tau\pi\gamma\lambda\eta \ \nu\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \omicron\text{'open'}$ ($\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu$) the gate ($\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\pi\gamma\lambda\eta$) (that) *Matthew* ($\mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$) *can come* ($\nu\text{-}\phi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) in ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu$)' (KHML II 21:6-7), $\lambda\gamma\beta\omega\kappa \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\gamma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma \ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \tau\omicron\omicron\mu \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ '*the generals* ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$) *of* ($\nu\tau\epsilon$) *the army* ($\tau\text{-}\omicron\omicron\mu$) *went* ($\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$) immediately ($\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\gamma$) to fetch him (Constantine) ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\nu\tau\text{-}\phi$)' (Eud. 38:5-6), $\phi\eta\eta\gamma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\phi\varsigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omicron\iota \ \mu\pi\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau\text{.}\nu \ \mu\eta \ \tau\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$ '*an angel* ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) *of* ($\nu\tau\epsilon$) *God* ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) *comes* ($\phi\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$) and administers (the Eucharist) ($\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\varsigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon$) to me ($\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\iota$) on Saturday ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau\text{.}\nu$) and ($\mu\eta$) Sunday ($\tau\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$)' (Onnophr. 214:22-23).

d) Statives

Subject-inverted Stative sentences are not so much presentational constructions, but rather emphatic assertions: they emphasise the truth or correctness of the statement being made, e.g. $\phi\omicron\nu\tau\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omega\kappa\tau\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ '(as) *God* ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) *Almighty* ($\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omega\kappa\tau\alpha\tau\omega\rho$) *lives* ($\phi\text{-}\omicron\nu\tau\iota$)' (Onnophr. 215:27), $\lambda\gamma\omega \ \phi\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\tau \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\tau\omega\beta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\eta\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) *the good* ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi$) *plant* ($\pi\text{-}\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$) *is blessed* ($\phi\text{-}\varsigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\tau$)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), $\phi\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\kappa\alpha\tau \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \tau\eta \ \nu\epsilon\kappa\tau\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ '*cursed* ($\phi\text{-}\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau$) *be* *the earth* ($\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\tau$) *because of* ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \tau\eta$) *your deeds* ($\nu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\tau\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon$)' (Abbatôn 238:29).

10.1.5.5 Semantic types of focus

Subject inversion represents an ex-situ focusing strategy in which the subject is placed in a postverbal focus position where it can be assigned nuclear (sentence) stress.

a) Presentational focus

In the unmarked case inverted subjects correspond to presentational (new information) focus, which introduces new referents into the discourse. In placing the focused subject at the end of the clause, it is one of the last sentence elements to be mentioned and hence available for later recall in the subsequent discourse. There is a strong tendency for presentational foci to be hearer-new, which results in the frequent occurrence of specific indefinite noun phrases in subject-inverted clauses, e.g. $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\gamma \ \lambda\phi\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon \ \nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon \ \kappa\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma \ \mu\omicron\omicron\omega\psi\epsilon \ \nu\mu\mu\alpha\phi$ (...) '*suddenly* ($\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\gamma$), *a luminous* ($\nu\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu$) *man* ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) *came* ($\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\iota$) with two others ($\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$) walking ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon \dots \mu\omicron\omicron\omega\psi\epsilon$) *besides him* ($\nu\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\phi$)' (Mena, Mir. 21b:10-14), $\lambda\gamma\beta\omega\kappa \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi \ \psi\alpha \ \alpha\pi\alpha\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ (read $\alpha\pi\alpha \ \lambda\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$) $\nu\omicron\iota \ \psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau \ \nu\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron$ '*once* ($\nu\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi$) *three* ($\psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau$) *senior* (*monks*) ($\nu\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron$) *approached* ($\alpha\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$) *Apa Archillas*' (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-21).

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. $\mu\eta\nu\varsigma\alpha \ \pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \delta\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma} \ \lambda\phi\epsilon\iota \ \psi\alpha\rho\phi \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda \ \pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \ \epsilon\lambda\phi\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi$ (...) '*after* ($\mu\eta\nu\varsigma\alpha$) *the glorification* ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$) *of Christ* ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\bar{\varsigma}$), *Michael* ($\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$), *the Archangel* ($\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) *of heaven* ($\nu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$), *came* ($\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) to him (Constantine) ($\psi\alpha\rho\phi$) and instructed him ($\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi$) (...) (Eud. 42:1-2), $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\mu\rho\omega \ \dagger\eta\alpha\phi\iota\tau\phi \ \nu\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\phi \ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ '*when* *the people* ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) *of the harbour* ($\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\mu\rho\omega$) *go to sleep* ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\nu\text{-}\epsilon\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$), *I will take it* (the corpse) ($\dagger\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\phi\iota\tau\text{-}\phi$) and throw it ($\nu\tau\alpha\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\text{-}\phi$) into the sea ($\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7), $\lambda\varsigma\omega\psi\pi\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \mu\pi\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\kappa \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \tau\eta \ \varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ '*it happened* ($\lambda\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$) *when* *the days* ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$) *of the patriarch* ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$) *Isaac* had come near

(ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΖΩΝ) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΕΙ) out of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) the body (CΩΜΑ))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), ΛΦΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΘΒΒΙΕ ΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) wanted (Α-Φ-ΟΥΨ) to make his mind (ΠΕΦ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) humble (Ε-ΘΒΒΙΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), ΛΦΩ ΕΦΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΖΩΒ 'Our father (Pachôm) (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) kept (Α-Φ-Ω) asking (Ε-Φ-ΑΙΤΕΙ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) this matter (ΠΕΙ-ΖΩΒ)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΜΠΕΡCOC ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠ ΠΕΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙC ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΦΜΗΝΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΜΜΑΤΟΙ 'the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡCOC) kings (ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ) arose (Α-Υ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), gathered (Α-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) together with (ΜΠ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) their multitude (ΠΕΥ-ΜΗΝΨΕ) (and) went (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) to (ΕΧΜ) the river (Π-ΙΕΡΟ) Tigris (ΤΙΓΡΙC). (King) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC) arose (Α-Φ-ΤΩΟΥΝ) (and) gathered (Α-Φ-CΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) his troops (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΜΗΝΨΕ) of soldiers (Μ-ΜΑΤΟΙ) (...) ' (Eud. 42:18-20), ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΑΗΔΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC 'it happened (Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had overthrown (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΠΩΩΝΕ) the unlawful (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Diocletian (Ν-ΔΙΟΚΑΗΔΙΑΝΟC) (that) the lawful (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC) became (Α-Φ-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) in his place (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), ΦCΟΤΠ ΝΟΙ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΤΑΙ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of that (daughter) (Ν-ΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ) is better (Φ-CΟΤΠ) than (ΠΑΡΑ) the life (Π-ΟΝΖ) of this one (Ν-ΤΑΙ)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. ΤΜΕΖCΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΝCΑΛΠΙΞ ΨΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΝΟΙ ΝΚΟΜΕC ΜΠ ΝΕΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC ΜΠ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΑΥΗ ΜΠΡΡΟ 'on the blast of) the second (Τ-ΜΕΖ-CΝΤΕ) trumpet (Ν-CΑΛΠΙΞ), the courtiers (Ν-ΚΟΜΕC) and (ΜΠ) tribunes (ΝΕ-ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC) and (ΜΠ) chief officials (Ν-ΑΡΧΩΝ) of the royal (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) court (Ν-Τ-ΑΥΛΗ) would gather (ΨΑ-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ)' (Eud. 60:16-18), ΧΕΚΑC ΕΥΕΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΤΝ ΝΟΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΧΠΙΟ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΝΟΩΝΕC ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ CΝΟΦ ΝΙΜ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC (...) 'so that (ΧΕΚΑC) all (ΝΙΜ) judgement (ΖΑΠ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) blame (ΧΠΙΟ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) reproach (ΝΟΩΝΕC) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) grief (ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) blood (CΝΟΦ) (...) will come (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΕΙ) down (ΕΖΡΑΙ) upon you (ΕΧΩ-ΤΝ)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), ΕΑΦΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΕΠΤΑΚΟ ΘΕΠΗ ΕΕΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΕΤΡΕΥΤΗΜΕΦ ΟΕΙΚ ΝΘΑΙΦΙC ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC (...) 'and an unlawful (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (ΟΥ-ΡΡΟ) whom perdition (Π-ΤΑΚΟ) would soon (Ε ... ΘΕΠΗ) overcome (Ε-ΕΙ ΕΧΩ-Φ) gave (Ε-Α-Φ-ΟΥΕΖ) order (CΑΖΝΕ) to make the prophet (Μ-ΠΕ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC) eat (lit. that they feed him (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΤΗΜΕ-Φ)) the bread (ΟΕΙΚ) of affliction (Ν-ΘΑΙΦΙC) (...) ' (Sh. III 106:16-19).

10.2 Residual V-S(-O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V-S-O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V-S-O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V-S-O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. ΝΑΝΟΥ- 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V-S	ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ 'your eagerness (ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΡΟΤ) is excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ)' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS ΟΥΝ, ΜΗ '(there)is, (there) is no'	V-S	ΟΥΕΝ ΖΗΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΕΛΑΛΛΥ ΝΟΙ ΙC '(there) are (ΟΥΕΝ) numerous (Ε-ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ) other works (ΖΗΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ) that Jesus (ΙC) did (Ε-Α-Γ-ΑΑ-Υ)' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS ΟΥΝΤΕ-/ΟΥΝΤΑ= ΜΝΤΕ-/ΜΝΤΑ= 'to have/not have'	V-S-O	ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ 'although you (woman) have (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ) your husband (ΠΟΥ-ΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V-S(-O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. **ΝΑΦΕ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΤΑΥΝΤΟΥ ΝΑC** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) the gold (**Π-ΝΟΥΒ**) and (**ΜΗ**) silver (**ΠΖΑΤ**) that was brought (**ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ**) to her (**ΝΑ-C**) was much (**ΝΑΦΕ**)' (Eud. 64:2-3), **ΜΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΦΩΝΕ ΕΦΩΝΕ** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) (there) is no (**ΜΗ**) difference (**ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ**) of one sickness (**Ν-ΦΩΝΕ**) over the (other) sickness (**Ε-ΦΩΝΕ**)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like **ΟΥΒΑΩ**, **ΟΥΟΒΩ**[†] 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
ΝΑΑ-	ΝΑΑ=	to be great
	ΝΑ(Ε)ΙΑΤ=	to be blessed
ΝΑΝΟΥ- (var. ΝΑΝΕ-)	ΝΑΝΟΥ=	to be good
ΝΑΦΕ-	ΝΑΦΩ=	to be numerous
ΝΕCΕ-	ΝΕCΩ=	to be beautiful
	ΝΕCΒΩΩ=	to be intelligent
	ΝΕCΩ(Ω)=	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord **Ν-** ... **ΑΝ** (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker **Ν-**), e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC** (for **ΜΠΕΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC**) 'but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) I am not (**ΑΝ**) excellent (**ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ι**) as (**ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ**) a Christian (**Μ-ΠΕ-ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC**)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. **ΚΑΛΩC ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΩΛΕC ΝΤΑΚΧΟΟQ** 'how very (**ΚΑΛΩC**) fair is (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**) the word (**Π-ΩΛΕC**) that you have spoken (**ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Q**)' (Hil. 4:35), **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'the matter (**Π-ΖΩΒ**) (i.e. buying books) is excellent (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**), but (**ΑΛΛΑ**) poverty (**Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΖΗΚΕ**) is better (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**) than all (**ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ**) of these (**ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-ΟΥ**)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), **ΝΤΟ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕCΕ ΖΡΑ[C]** 'you (**ΝΤΟ**) (are) a woman (**ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ**) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (**ΖΡΑ-C**) is beautiful (**Ε-ΝΕCΕ**))' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom **ΝΑΙΑΤ-** 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb **ΝΑΑ-** 'to be great' and the body-part expression **ΕΙΑΤ-Q** 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. **ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕCΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟQ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** 'more (**ΝΖΟΥΟ**) blessed (**ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Q**) is he who will always (**Ν-ΟΥΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ**) see (**Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ**) his own (**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Q**) sins (**Ε-ΝΕC-ΝΟΒΕ**)' (AP Chaïne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΕΙC ΝΑΕΙΑΤΝ ΖΩΩΝ** 'then (**ΕΙC**) (how) blessed

are we (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Ν) ourselves (ΖΩΩ-Ν)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΡΓΟC 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) the lazy ones (Ν-ΑΡΓΟC) are numerous (ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ), too (ΟΝ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ΧΕ ΕΝΕCΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΓΚΑΡΠΟC 'since (ΧΕ) its fruit (ΝΕΓ-ΚΑΡΠΟC) are fine-looking (Ε-ΝΕCΩ-ΟΥ)' (Abbatōn 237:10-11).

10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ΟΥΝ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ΜΗ '(there) is no', e.g. ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ 'is (there) (ΟΥΝ) anybody (ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ΜΗ CΟΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ '(there) is no (ΜΗ) brother (CΟΝ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ΟΥΝ and ΜΗ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥCΟΝ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a brother (ΟΥ-CΟΝ) in (ΖΗ) a monastery (ΟΥ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕC[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ (...) '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) other brothers (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-CΝΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΤΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ '(there) is no (ΜΗ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) you (ΝΤΟΚ), Apollōn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ΕΩΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΒΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ Η ΖΜΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΩΙΚΖ {ΠΩΙΚΖ}_{sic} ΝΑΡ ΟΥΗΡ 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) thirty (ΜΑΛΒΕ) or (Η) forty (ΖΜΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) (heaped) on (ΖΙΧΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ), how large (ΟΥΗΡ) must the pit (Π-ΩΙΚΖ) be (ΕΡΕ ...

ΝΑ-Ρ)?' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΕCΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC '(there) was (ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΟΝ) who did (Ε-C-ΕΙΡΕ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-C)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΖΗ ΚΗΜΕ ΕΟΥΝΤΑC ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕCΧΟ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΑ) in (ΖΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) who had (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-C) a paralysed (Ε-C-ΧΟ) son (Ν-ΟΥ-ΩΗΡΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ΕΝΕΜΗΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΖΗΤC ΝCΑ ΠΚΑC ΜΗ ΠΩΑΡ 'without (there) being (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΗΝ) anything (ΑΛΑΥ) on her (ΝΖΗΤ-C) except (ΝCΑ) bone (Π-ΚΑC) and (ΜΗ) skin (Π-ΩΑΡ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ΝΑΦ ΝΖΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΜΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ (for ΜΠΟΛΤΕΙΑ) ΑΥΩ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝCΕΧΙ ΖΗΟΤ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΗΑΡΧΕΟC (for ΝΗΑΡΧΑΙΟC) 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ), how (Ν-ΑΦ Ν-ΖΕ) are (there) (ΟΥΝ) some (people) (ΖΟΙΝΕ) who toil (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΗ) ascetic labours (Μ-ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ), and (ΑΥΩ) at present (ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ) do not (ΑΝ) obtain (Ν-CΕ-ΧΙ) grace (ΖΗΟΤ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) the ancient ones (Ν-Ν-ΑΡΧΕΟC)?' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ΟΥΝ and ΜΗ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΠΙΝΑ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) a resurrection (ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) angels (ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a spirit (ΠΙΝΑ)' (Acts 23:8), ΜΗ ΛΑΑΥ '(there) isn't (ΜΗ) anyone (ΛΑΑΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ΜΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΩΩΝΕ ΕΩΩΝΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΩΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΩΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ΜΝ ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΕΡCOC '(there) is no (ΜΝ) king (ΡΡΟ) as powerful (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) as (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-2Ε) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡCOC) empire (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΠΕΧC ΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ΟΥΝ CΟΝ ΗΜΟΝΟΧOC (ΗΜΟΝΑΧOC) ΜΠΑΖΟΥ '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (CΟΝ) monk (Η-ΜΟΝΟΧOC) further on (ΜΠΑΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΗ ΖΙΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΡΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥ) courtyard (Ν-ΑΥΗ) at (ΖΙΡΗ) the entrance (Π-ΡΟ) of the cell (Ν-Τ-ΡΙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC (for ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC) ΗΜΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '(there) was no (ΝΕ-ΜΝ ... ΑΝ) interpreter (ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC) there (ΗΜΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ '(there) is (ΜΝ) nobody (ΛΑΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΜΗΝΤΑΤCΟΜ ΖΑΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) impossibility (ΛΑΑΥ Μ-ΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-CΟΜ) with (ΖΑΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚOC '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the shrine (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna whose name (was) (Ε-ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ) Marcus' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΕΦΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙOC ΕΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΘΙΑΪΗ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) one (ΟΥΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) who was called (lit. whom (ΕΡΟ-Q) they called (Ε-ΦΑ-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ)) Philagrios, who lived (Ε-Q-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΑΪΗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕQΗΝΤΚΟΥΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) also (ΟΝ) a (certain) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) who was possessed by a demon (lit. a demon (ΟΥ-ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ) was with him (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΗΜΑ-Q)) from (ΝΧΙΝ) his childhood (ΤΕQ-ΗΝΤ-ΚΟΥΙ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativised existential verb ϋοοπ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΜΕ ΜΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a big (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) heat (Ν-ΖΗΜΕ) down (ΜΠΕCΗΤ) in that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Μ-Π-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ΝΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟ[Q] ΓΑΡ ΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΜΝ ΖΗΝΟC (for ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ ϋΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΗΝΤΡΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕΡΕ ... ϋΟΟΠ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) peace (Ν-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) and (ΜΝ) a lot (ΖΗ-ΝΟC) of good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) in (ΖΗ) their kingdom

(ΤΕΥ-ΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)' (Mena, Enc. 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. *ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΤΗΠΕΙΝΑ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ* '(as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (am) in this place (Τ-Η-ΠΕΙ-ΝΑ) from (ΧΙΝ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences are formed with the possessive predicates *ΟΥΝΤΑ-* and *ΗΝΤΑ-*, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. *ΟΥΝ* or *ΗΝ*, and a locative-committative preposition *ΝΤΑ-* 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. *ΝΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ ΣΝΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΝΧΑΖΧΖ* 'the King (Π-ΡΡΟ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΕ) two (ΣΝΤΕ) trumpets (ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ) of refined (Ν-ΧΑΖΧΖ) gold (Ν-ΝΟΥΒ)' (Eud. 60:13), *ΗΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΩΤ ΗΜΑΥ Η ΜΑΑΥ* 'I don't have (ΗΝΤΑ-Ι) father (ΕΙΩΤ) or (Η) mother (ΜΑΑΥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial *ΗΜΑΥ* 'there', e.g. *ΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΧΟΟQ ΕΡΟΟΥ* 'I have (ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι) a word (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) to say (Ε-ΧΟΟ-Q) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), *ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑQ ΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΗΗΩΕ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ* 'he (the rich man) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q) a lot (Ν-ΟΥ-ΗΗΩΕ) of money (Ν-ΧΡΗΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), *ΕΗΝΤΑQ ΕΧΟΥCΙΑ ΗΜΑΥ ΕΕΡ ΠΒΟΛ ΗΠΩΗΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ* 'without having (Ε-ΗΝΤΑ-Q) the strength (ΕΧΟΥCΙΑ) to come out (Ε-ΕΡ Π-ΒΟΛ) of that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) tree (Η-Π-ΩΗΝ)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: *ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q* /wəntaf/ → *ΟΥΝΤ-Q* /wəntəf/ 'he has', *ΗΝΤΑ-Q* /məntaf/ → *ΗΝΤ-Q* /məntəf/ 'he does not have'.

	ΟΥΝΤΑ- 'HAVE'	ΗΝΤΑ- 'NOT HAVE'
1 st sing.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι (ΟΥΝΤ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Ι (ΗΝΤ)
2 nd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Κ (ΟΥΝΤ-Κ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Κ (ΗΝΤ-Κ)
2 nd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΕ	ΗΝΤΕ
3 rd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q (ΟΥΝΤ-Q)	ΗΝΤΑ-Q (ΗΝΤ-Q)
3 rd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-С (ΟΥΝΤ-С)	ΗΝΤΑ-С (ΗΝΤ-С)
1 st plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ν (ΟΥΝΤ-Ν)	ΗΝΤΑ-Ν (ΗΝΤ-Ν)
2 nd plural	ΟΥΝΤΗ-ΤΗ	ΗΝΤΗ-ΤΗ
3 rd plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Υ (ΟΥΝΤ-ΟΥ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Υ (ΗΝΤ-ΟΥ)
Before noun	ΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ	ΗΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSED NP)
NE- PRETERIT	ΟΥΝΤΕ 'HAVE'	Π-ΡΡΟ the king	ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ ΣΝΤΕ trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates *ΟΥΝΤΑ-* and *ΗΝΤΑ-* appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. *ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ* '(although) you (woman) have (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ) your husband (ΠΟΥΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9), *ΕΗΝΤQ ΚΕΡΟΟΥΨ ΗΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡQ ΝCΑ* 'had no (Ε-ΗΝΤ-Q) other concern (ΚΕ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ) than (ΝCΑ) prayer (ΠΕ-ΨΑΗ) and the critical evaluation (Τ-ΔΙΑΚΡΙCΙC) of what he was reading (Ν-ΕΤ-Q-ΨΩ)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΗΝΤΑΝ ΝΑΑΑΥ ΝCΟΛCΑ ΗΜΑΥ*

NCΩMATIKON 'and (αγω) we don't have (MNTA-N) any (N-ΛΑΑΥ) physical (N-CΩMATIKON) comfort (N-COΛCA)' (Hil. 5:23), ΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΦΟΜΝΤ ΝΧΩΜΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ 'I have (ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι) three (N-ΦΟΜΝΤ) beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-ΟΥ) books (N-ΧΩΜΕ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), ΕΦΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΗΤΝ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΦΟΝΖ 'if (ΕΦΧΕ) you have (ΟΥΝΤΗ-ΤΝ) a living (Ε-Φ-ΟΝΖ) God (N-ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [ΝΕΥ]ΝΤΕ ΠΡΡΟ [ΚΩ]ΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΟΥCΩΝΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΧΙΑ 'King (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had (ΝΕ-ΥΝΤΕ) a virgin (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) sister (ΟΥ-CΩΝΕ) whose name (was) (Ε-ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ ΠΕ) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), ΝΕΜΝΤΩ ΨΗΡΕ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ ΝCΑ ΨΕΕΡΕ CΕΝΤΕ ΝCΖΙΜΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ 'he had no (ΝΕ-ΜΝΤ-Ω) son (ΨΗΡΕ Ν-ΖΟΟΥΤ) besides (ΝCΑ) two (Ν-ΖΟΟΥΤ) daughters (ΨΕΕΡΕ Ν-CΖΙΜΕ) only (ΜΜΑΤΕ)' (Hil. 2:5), ΕΟΥΝΤΑC ΖΝ ΝΕΤΚΑ ΜΑ ΝΑΩ 'he has it (i.e. place) (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ω-C) among (ΖΝ) those who make (Ν-ΕΤ-ΚΑ) a place (ΜΑ) for him (ΝΑ-Ω)' (Sh. III 85:14), ΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΑΚΩ ΕΡΟΩ 'what (claim) (ΟΥ) (is it) that you have (ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Κ-Ω) against him (ΕΡΟ-Ω)' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

a) Dative possession

Instead of normal ΟΥΝΤΑ- and ΜΝΤΑ- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative ΨΟΟΠ 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. ΕΠΙΔΗ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΜΗΚΑΖΝΖΤ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΩΨΕΕΡΕ 'since (ΕΠΙΔΗ) he had (lit. was (ΟΥΝ ... ΨΟΟΠ) to him (ΝΑ-Ω)) a lot (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) of grief (Ν-ΜΚΑΖ-Ν-ΖΗΤ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) his daughter (ΤΕΩ-ΨΕΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 7:12-13), ΕΜΝ ΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑC 'while she had no (lit. (there)

was no (Ε-ΜΝ ... ΨΟΟΠ) for her (ΝΑ-C)) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction ΟΥΝ (ΜΝ) – (Ψ)CΩΜ – ΜΜΟ-Ω – Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (Ψ)CΩΜ 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ΜΝ CΩΜ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΩ ΕΜΟΟΨΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ΜΝ) power (CΩΜ) in him ((ΜΜΟ-Ω)) to walk (Ε-ΜΟΟΨΕ)' (Eud. 66:9), ΑΓΩ ΜΝ ΨCΩΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΟΥΟΝΖC ΕΒΟΛ 'and (ΑΓΩ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ΜΝ) power (ΨCΩΜ CΩΜ) in me (ΜΜΟ-Ι)) to reveal it (Ε-ΟΥΟΝΖ-C ΕΒΟΛ)' (Hil. 3:21).

Key Terms:

Basic word order	is the fully productive constituent order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S–V–O can be identified as the basic word order. §10.1.1
Scrambling	is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling. §10.1.2
Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse. §10.1.3

Information-packaging constructions

represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence.

§10.1.3

Subject inversion

involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.

§10.1.5

Presentational (new information) focus

corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse.

§10.1.5.5

Indefiniteness restriction

Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.

§10.2.3.1

Exercises

10.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 1. Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
 2. The direct object must precede the indirect object.
 3. Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

4. The focus marker *noi* is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
5. Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
6. Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

10.2 Subject order and information structure

- A. Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.
 - (1) *τῷερε δε ὡνι νεσζεν* (for *νεσζεν*) *ἀντιφωμινε νρονπε* 'as for the little (*ὡνι*) girl (*τ-ῷερε*) she was (*νε-ε-ζεν*) about eighteen (*λ-*) *μντ-ῷμινε* years (*ν-ρονπε*) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)
 - (2) *παειωτ ετβε ου ανοκ παζητ ναφτ* 'my father (*πα-ειωτ*), why (*ετβε ου*) is, (as far as) *ι* (*ανοκ*) (am concerned), my heart (*πα-ζητ*) (so) bold (*ναφτ*)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7)
 - (3) *αγω νψαχε μπινουτε ετεψαφςοτμοϋ ντοοτq* *νεψαφχοοϋ ζωωq πε ενεφμοναχοc* 'and (*αγω*) the words (*ν-ψαχε*) of God (*μ-π-νουτε*) which he (the abbot) heard (*ετε-ψα-φ-ςοτμ-οϋ*) from him (*ν-τοοτ-q*) (Pachôm), he in turn (*ζωω-q*) told them (*νε-ψα-φ-χοο-ϋ*) to his monks (*ε-νεφ-μοναχοc*)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)
 - (4) *πε[τ]ερε παχοι [να] χποq κατa ρονπε φαιααq νφοντε ντο* 'what my boat (*πα-χοι*) will (*π-ετ-ερε ... να*) bring in (*χπο-q*) each (*κατa*) year (*ρονπε*), I will split (*ψα-ι-αα-q*) into three (*ν-φοντε*) parts (*ν-το*)' (KHML II 17:4-5)
 - (5) *ναι δε εφxω μμοοϋ νερε θεωδωροc ζμοοc μποϋε νοϋκοϋι ερ* (for *ερε*) *πq2o μπεcнт* 'when he (Pachôm) was saying (*ε-φ-xω*) these (words) (*ναι*), Theodore was sitting (*νερε ... ζμοοc*) at a little (*ν-οϋ-κοϋι*) distance (*μ-π-οϋε*), his face (*πq-2o*) (turned down) to the ground (*ερε ... μ-π-εcнт*)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) 2η [πτρ]εφωβω δε [εic] π2αγιoc απ2α μ2ηνα αqα2ε πατq [εx]ω[q] 2η ογ2ο[ρο]μα 'when (2η) he dozed off (π-τρ-ε-φ-ωβω), look (εic), the holy (π-2αγιoc) Απα Μ2ενα stood (α-φ-α2ε πατ-φ) before him (εxω-φ) in (2η) a vision (ογ-2ορομα)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)
☐ indefinite topic ☐ contrastive topic

- (2) αγω ντοφ πρρο κωcτaντιnoc νεφειρε εροογ η2ενnoc η2οπ ηρρο 'and (αγω) he (ντοφ), king (π-ρρο) Constantine, made (νε-φ-ειρε) for them (the Persians) (ερο-ογ) great (η-2εν-noc) royal (η-ρρο) feasts (η-2οπ)' (Eud. 48:27)
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

- (3) ετβε νεxηγ δε nνε ααγ nνεεφ κα xoi εβολ 2ι τεμρω αxη πρωμε ντcoογ2c (...) 'as for (ετβε) the ships (η-εxηγ), no (ααγ) sailor (η-νεεφ) shall set loose (nνε ... κα εβολ) a ship (xoi) at (2ι) the landing stage (τε-μρω) without the man (i.e. the prior) (π-ρωμε) of the congregation (η-τ-coογ2c)' (praec. Pach. 118).
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

- (4) εic ογcπαθαριoc ντε ρακοτε αφει ην ογδιακονoc εγογωφ εαπαντα εροκ 'look (εic), a knight (ογ-cπαθαριoc) from (ντε) Alexandria (ρακοτε) came (α-φ-ει) together with (ην) a deacon (ογ-διακονoc), wishing (ε-γ-όγωφ) to meet (ε-απαντα) you (ερο-κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9)
☐ resumed topic ☐ new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

- (1) κωcτaντιnoc δε ντερεφ2μοoc εxη τ2ηντρεο ηνε2ρωμαιοc α πνογτε φωπε ημ2αφ (Eud. 40:1-2)

- (2) αqογωφβ νοi ic πεχαφ ηιογΔαc xε (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)
- (3) ογν κε2ηεcноοογce ηΓεηεα ηαογεινε φαντεφει νοi πεxε (Test. Is. 231:7-8)
- (4) [η]τεγνογ δε ετ2ημαγ αφει εβολ 2η τπε νοi ηιxαηα παρχιcτpaτηγoc ντcoη ημ2ηγε (Eud. 34:27-36:1)
- (5) φγci ηacηηγ αηoc ηπιηαγ επ2ο ηαααγ ηρωμε ηca παρχιεπickoπoc μαγaaφ (AP Chafine no.19, 4:7-8)
- (6) φcμαμαατ νοi πxoe[ic] [πno]γτε ηπρρο [κωc]τaντιnoc [η]xoeic ητπε ηη πκα2 ηη θαλλαc (Eud. 48:9-10)
- (7) 2η τεγωη ετ2ημαγ αqογωη2 εροφ νοi 2ραφαεα παγγελοc (KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL

ητερογμοοη[ε] [δε] ηπxoi ε[η]κρο αqτ[ω]ογν νοi αηδρε[αc] ηη πα[γ][α]oc ηη [α]πολλω[η]ιoc πνεεφ αγ[τ] [πε][γ]ογoi ετπγλη^a ητ[πο]λιc^b αγβωκ xε εγνα (read εγναεi) ε2ογν ηιογΔαi αγταxρε τπγλγ (for τπγλη) 2η ογταxρο xεκααc ηνε ηαποcτολοc^c εφβωκ ε2ογν ετπολιc. αηδρεαc δε αqτ πε[φ]ογoi αqμογτε ε2ογν ετπολιc πεχαφ ηαγ xε αογωη ηαν ητ2οη πωηε ηπεηταqμογ^d xε αηρ ηητρε πεφειωτ xε τ2ηηγ ητ2ητογνcφ ηακ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. πγλη 'gate' b. πολιc 'city' c. αποcτολοc 'apostle' d. πε-ητ-α-φ-μογ 'the deceased (lit. the one who died)', a free relative clause

WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE PERSIAN ARMY

ΑΥΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡСОС
 ΝΚΑΝΟΠΟС^a ΠΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟС^b ΝΤΟΟ[М] ΝΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡСОС
 ΕΤΡΕΥ[СΩΟΥ]Ζ ΝΝΕQΖΑΡΜΑ^c ΜΗ ΝΕQΖΙ[Π]ΠΕΥС^d ΜΗ ΠΜΗΗΨΕ
 ΝΡΜΗΡΑΤΟ[Υ]^e [ΕΤ]ΡΕΥΜΟ[Ο]ΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ [Ε]ΤΕΖΡΩΜΑΝΙΑ
 ΝΣΕΧΙΟΟΥΡ ΝΠΙΕΡΟ ΠΓΡΙС ΝΣΕΖΜΟОС ΕΧΗ ΝΤΩΨ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟС. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙΟΟΡ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟС. ΝΤΕΡΕQСΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΙΝΟС
 ΑQСΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕQΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑQΧΙ ΗΠΕ ΗΜΟΟΥ.
 ΝΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΕ ΧΟΥΩΤ ΝΤΒΑ (1.200.000). ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ (read ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ) ΝСΗQΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΠΕ (...)
 ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟС^f. ΑΥΩ ΗΠΖΟТ^g ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΨΟΗΝТ
 ΝΕВОТ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. ΚΑΝΟΠΟС (proper name) b. ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟС 'commander-in-chief' c. ΖΑΡΜΑ 'chariot' d. ΖΠΠΕΥС 'cavalry man' e. Ν-ΡΜΗ-ΡΑТ=ΟΥ 'the footmen, infantry' f. ΕРΗМОС 'desert' g. ΖОТ 'opposite'

10.3 Residual V-S(-O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) ΕΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΧΛΗΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ '(there) was (ΕΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a sycamore (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΖΕ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) desert (Π-ΧΛΗΗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)
☐ comparative extension ☐ locative extension

- (2) ΟΥΝ СΖΙМЕ ΔΕ ΕΨΑΡΕ ΠΕCΖΑΙ ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ ΕРОС ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΕΙΚ ΤΕ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) (a kind of) woman (СΖΙМЕ) whom (ΕΡΟ-С) her husband (ΠΕC-ΖΑΙ) suspects (ΕΨΑΡΕ ... ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ) of (ΧΕ) (being) adulterous (ΟΥ-ΝΟΕΙΚ)' (Sh. Or. 44, 159b:42-46)
☐ locative extension ☐ relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

- (1) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΛΛΟ ΝΡΕQΨΠΖΙCΕ ΖΗ ΨΗТ ΕQΗМОКΖ ΜΕΝ ΗΜΟQ ΖΗ ΠΕQСΩΜΑ ΝQO ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΑΚΡΙΒΗC ΖΗ ΝΕQΜΕΕΥΕ (AP Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)
- (2) ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΝТОК ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (KMHL II 33:16-17)
- (3) ΜΗ ΔΟМ ΓΑΡ ΗΜΟQ ΕΜΟΟΨΕ (Eud. 66:9)
- (4) ΠΟΥΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ НОРТ ΗΜΟQ (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΝΕΥΝ CΟN CΝΑΥ ΖΗ ΝРІ^a. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΖΗТΟΥ ΝΖΛΛΟ ΑΥΩ ΑQΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ^b ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΗ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ. ΝТОQ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΑΝΟК ΟΥΡΕQНОВЕ ΑΥΩ ΜΗ ΨΔΟМ ΗΜΟΙ ΕΟΥΩΖ ΝΗΜΑК ΑΠΑ. ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΑQΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΗΜΟQ ΧΕ CΕ^c ΟΥΝ ΨΔΟМ ΗΜΟК. ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΚΛΕΑРОC^d ΠΕ ΝQΟΥΨΩ ΑΝ ΕCΩТΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑХОC ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΗΠОРНІА^e (for ПОРНЕІА) ΝΖΗТQ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΧΕ ΚΑΑΝ ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑС^f (for ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔОМАС) ΑΥΩ ОН ΝТНΨΑХЕ. ΑQΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΑΥΩ ΕQΟΥΨΩ ΕΔΟΚІМАЗЕ^g ΗΜΟQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΑΙΖΕ ΕΥНОВ ΜΠΙPАСМОС^h (for ΜΠΕΙPАСМОС) ΖΗ ΤΕΙΖΕΒΔΩΜΑС ΠΑΕΙΩТ. ΑΙΒΩК ΓΑΡ ΕΥΔІАКОНІАⁱ ΨΑ ΠΐМЕ ΑΙΖΕ ΜΗ ΟΥCΖΙМЕ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΤΑΝΟІА^j ΨΟΟП; ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΧΕ CΕ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΑΝΟК †ΝΑТΨΟΥΝ ΝΗΜΑК ΖΑ ТПАΨЕ ΗΠНОВЕ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΧΕ ТННАΨΟМДОМ ΕΟΥΩΖ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩ ΗΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥМОУ. (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. ΝРІ 'Kellia' b. ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ 'to summon, appeal' c. CΕ 'yes' d. ΚΑΕΑΡΟС 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. ПОРНІА 'fornication' f. ΖΕΒΔΩМАС 'week' g. ΔΟΚІМАЗЕ 'to test' h. ΠΙPАСМОС 'temptation' i. ΔІАКОНІА 'service' j. ΜΕΤΑΝΟІА 'repentance'

Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. *ⲛⲉⲡⲁⲁⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲕⲅⲟ ⲛⲛⲫⲩⲭⲏ* 'the remedies (ⲛⲉⲡⲁⲁⲣⲉ) [which (ⲉⲧ __) give (ⲧ) solace (ⲕⲅⲟ) to the souls (ⲛⲛⲫⲩⲭⲏ)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. *ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲛⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ* 'I ate (ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲛ) [what was left (ⲛⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ) of the bread (ⲛⲡⲟⲉⲓⲕ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. *ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲛ ⲣⲛⲧⲕ* '(it is) the governor (ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲏⲟⲩ) [who (ⲉⲧ __) is asking (ⲭⲏⲟⲩ) you (ⲛⲓⲛ) your name (ⲣⲛⲧⲕ) (is)]' (KMHL II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who*, *whom*, *which*, *what*, e.g. $\text{OY-ZWB } \epsilon\text{PE } \Pi\text{-NOYTE } \text{HOCTE } \text{MMOQ}$ 'a thing (OY-ZWB) [that (EP) God (Π-NOYTE) hates (HOCTE)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), $\Pi\text{MA } \epsilon\text{TEPE } \Pi\epsilon\text{Q-} \epsilon\text{IOT } \epsilon\text{NKOTK } \text{N}^2\text{HTQ}$ 'the place (Π-MA) [that (ET-EP) his father (ΠEQ-εIOT) was sleeping (ENKOTK) in (N^2HT-Q)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMPREL for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMPREL	EMBEDDED CLAUSE]
OY-ZWB_i a thing _i	[EP that	$\Pi\text{-NOYTE } \text{HOCTE } \text{MMO-Q}_i$] God hates (it _i)
$\Pi\text{-MA}_i$ the place _i	[ET-EP that	$\Pi\text{EQ-} \epsilon\text{IOT } \epsilon\text{NKOTK } \text{N}^2\text{HT-Q}_i$] his father was sleeping in-(it _i)

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g. $\Pi\text{A-XPC } \text{ANOK } \epsilon\text{TICTEYE } \epsilon\text{POQ}$ 'my Christ (ΠA-XPC) [in whom (EP-O-Q) I (ANOK) believe (E-T-ICTEYE)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g. $\text{POME } \text{GAP } \text{NIM } \epsilon\text{OYNTAQ } \text{ZAZ } \text{NNOYTE}$ 'for (GAP) every (NIM) man (POME) [who has (E-OYNTA-Q) many (ZAZ) gods (N-NOYTE)]' (Eud. 36:11),

$\text{MPINAY } \text{AE } \text{NPAQBOPOY } \text{ZI } \text{POYZE } \text{MMHNE}$ 'at the hour (Π-Π-NAAY) [that he (Apa Mena) loosened them (the camels) (N-PA-Q-BOPO-Y) daily (MMHNE) at (ZI) night (POYZE)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g. $\text{OYMA } \epsilon\text{QO } \text{NPAPEA}$ 'a place (OY-MA) [that was (E-Q-O) in (a state of) scorching heat (N-PAPEA)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g. $\text{AQXICE } \text{NTEQAPTE } \epsilon\text{ZPAI } \epsilon\text{XWI } \epsilon\text{PE } \text{PQ } \text{OYWN}$ 'he (the devil) raised (A-Q-XICE) his head (N-TEQ-APTE) above (EZPAI) me (EXWI-I), [while his mouth (PQ-Q) was (wide) open (EP ... OYWN)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g. $\text{EKNAOQYT } \text{NCWI } \epsilon\text{INABOK } \epsilon\text{PTAKO}$ 'will you watch (E-K-NA-OQYT) me (NCWI-I) [rushing (E-I-NA-BOK) to perdition (E-Π-TAKO)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g. $\text{EKWONE } \epsilon\text{OY } - \text{PX} \epsilon\text{IOWNE } \epsilon\text{PAZHAP}$ 'from what (E-OY) do you suffer (E-K-WONE)? - Lord (Π-X), I am suffering (E-I-WONE) from my liver (E-PA-ZHAP)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative environments (e.g. $\Pi\text{MA } \text{NTAKONTQ } \text{N}^2\text{HTQ}$ 'the place (Π-MA) [where (N^2HT-Q) you have found it (the boat) (NT-A-K-ONT-Q)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g. $\text{NTA } \text{OY } \text{WOPTE } \text{NMOK } \text{PENXOEIC } \text{PPPO}$ 'what (OY) has happened (NT-A ... WOPTE) to you (NMO-K), our lord (PEN-XOEIC) (and) king (Π-PPPO)?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers **ερε** and **ε-** introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, compare: **ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟСТΕ ΜΗΟQ** 'a thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [*that* (ερε) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *hates* (ΜΟСТΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. **ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΝΑΧΟΟΥCΕ ΕΡΟQ** 'every (ΝΙΜ) place (ΜΑ) [*that they* (the brothers) *will be sent* (lit. that *they* will send them (ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟΥ-CΕ)) to (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (praec. Pach. 129).

11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet **ετ**, **ετερε**, and **ετ(ε)-**. The allomorphs **ετερε** and **ετ(ε)-** are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme **ετ-** and the relative markers **ερε** and **ε-** that also introduce virtual relative clauses: **ετ-ερε**, **ετ-ε**.

a) The "bare" relative complementiser **ετ**

The "bare" complementiser **ετ** is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or "gap" (indicated as '___' in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. **ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ** 'the angel (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) [*who* (ετ ___) *serves* (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) *your father* (ε-ΠΕΚ-ΕΙΩΤ) *Abraham*]' (Test. Is 229:18-19).

b) The internally complex relative complementisers **ετερε**, **ετε**

The morphologically derived relative complementisers **ετερε** and **ετε**, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. **ΠΩΛΧΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΡΗΝΗΙ ΝΑΧΟΟQ** 'the word (Π-ΩΛΧΕ) [*that* (ετ-ερε) *the superintendent* (Π-ΡΗΝ-ΗΙ) *will say* (ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-С)]' (praec. Pach. 122) vs. **ΠΜΑ ΕΤΚΩΦΩΝΕ ΕΡΟQ** 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [*where* (ερο-Q) *you are sick* (ετ-Κ-ΩΦΩΝΕ)]' (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρΩμε _i [RC ετ__ _i CΩΤΗ]	
	<u>The man</u> _i [RC who __ _i is listening]	
NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρΩμε _i [RC ετ(ε)-q-CΩΤΗ ΝCΩ-q]	
	<u>The man</u> _i [RC that he is listening to (him) _i]	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ε-†-CΩΤΗ	ΕΤ-Ν-CΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	ΕΤ(ε)-Κ-CΩΤΗ	ΕΤΕ-ΤΝ-CΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΕΤΕ-CΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	ΕΤ(ε)-q-CΩΤΗ	ΕΤ-ΟΥ-CΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	ΕΤ(ε)-C-CΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ΕΤΕΡΕ π-ρΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: (ετ plus subject gap) **ΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟQ** 'the grace (τε-χαριC) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [*which* (ετ ___) *surrounded* (κωτε) *him* (ερο-Q)]' (KMHL II 35:12-13), **ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΝΕΧ ΕΙΤΝ ΜΠΕQΗΙ ΕΒΟΛ** 'everybody (ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ) [*who* (ετ ___) *will throw* (ΝΑ-ΝΕΧ) *garbage* (ΕΙΤΝ) *out* (ΕΒΟΛ) of his house (Μ-ΠΕQ-ΗΙ)]' (Eud. 52:26-27), (ετερε plus subject NP) **ΠΗΙ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ ΜΟΟΥΤ ΝΖΗΤQ** 'the house (Π-ΗΙ) [*where* (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) *this little* (ΩΗΜ) *boy* (ΠΕΙ-ΩΗΡΕ) *died* (ετερε ... ΜΟΟΥΤ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), (ετ(ε)- plus subject

pronoun) ΘΕ ΕΤΣΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΑΣΩΒ ΝΟΙΧ 'the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-2Ε) [*in which*] I was diligent (Ε-Τ-ΣΟΥΔΑΖΕ < ΕΤ-Τ-ΣΟΥΔΑΖΕ) at my manual (Ν-ΟΙΧ) labour (Ε-ΠΑ-ΣΩΒ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑ ΑΖΕΡΑΤΚ ΕΡΟQ 'the hour (Π-ΝΑΥ) [*when* you will stand up (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Κ)]' (Test. Is. 232:19), ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΓΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟQ 'everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ) [*that he* did (ΕΤΕ-Γ-ΕΙΡΕ)]' (KHML II 19:8-9), ΝΘΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΓΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟQ ΜΝ ΠΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC 'the mighty deeds (Ν-ΘΟΜ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [*that he* did (ΕΤ-Γ-ΕΙΡΕ) to (ΜΝ) King (Π-ΠΡΟ) Constantine]' (Eud. 50:1), ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΩΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΟC ΝΩQ 'everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ) [*which she* (ΝΤΟC) is looking (ΕΤ-Γ-ΩΠΙΝΕ) for (ΝΩ-Q)]' (Eud. 64:19).

11.1.2.3 Complementiser-TAM agreement

A different set of complementiser allomorphs is selected when the relative complementiser precedes a tense-aspect-mood marker rather than the embedded subject position of the relative clause.

TAM	COMPREL	TAM	COMPREL
PRETERIT NE-	Ε-	NEGATIVE SCOPE DEFINER N-	Ε-
PERFECT Α-	(Ε)ΝΤ-	NEGATIVE PERFECT ΜΠΕ-	ΕΤ(Ε)-
HABITUAL ΨΑ-	Ε-, (Ε)Ν-, ΕΤΕ-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL ΜΕ-	ΕΤ(Ε)-
VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES	ΕΤ(Ε)-	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ΜΠΑΤ(Ε)-	ΕΤΕ-

TABLE 11.2 Complementiser-tense/aspect/mood agreement

Examples: (relativised Preterit) ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝΕQO ΜΜΟC 'in (ΚΑΤΑ) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-2Ε) [*that it* (the sun) *is* (Ε-ΝΕ-Γ-Q)]' (Zen. 200:27), (relativised Habitual) ΝΘΕ ΕΨΑΥΑC ΜΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ 'in the manner (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-2Ε) [*that they* used to do it (Ε-ΨΑ-Υ-ΑΛ-Γ) to the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) martyrs (Ν-Μ-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC)]' (V. Pach. 94:8-9), ΑΛΛΥ ΝΩΠΗΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΨΑΥΧΟQ 'every (single) (ΝΙΜ) one (ΑΛΛΥ) of the trees (Ν-ΩΠΗΝ) [*that he* (Apa Matthew) *planted* (ΕΝ-ΨΑ-Υ-ΧΟ-Q)]' (KHML II 19:6-7), ΜΠΝΑΥ ΔΕ

ΝΨΑΥΒΩQ 'at the hour (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened* them (the camels) (Ν-ΨΑ-Υ-ΒΩ-Q)] daily (ΜΜΗΝΕ) at (Ζ1) night (ΡΟΥΖΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12)], ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΠΩC ΕΡΟQ 'also (ΟΝ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΝΩΕ) of [*those* [*whose* minds (lit. hearts) (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ) *had left* (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΠΩC) them (ΕΡΟ-Q)]]]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause), (relativised Perfect) ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΤΑΚΖΩΝ ΜΜΟQ ΕΤΟQΤ 'everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ) [*which you* ordered (ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΖΩΝ) me (ΕΤΟQΤ) (to do)]' (Eud. 34:14), ΠΗΑ ΝΤΑΚΟΝΤQ ΝΖΗΤQ 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [*where* (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) *you have found it* (the boat) (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΟΝΤ-Q)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), (relativised Negative Perfect), ΠΕΚΕQΥΑ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΕΤΝΗΤΕ ΕΤΠΕΙΝΨΑ ΝQΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΗΑ 'this other person (ΠΕΙ-ΚΕ-QΥΑ) [who (is) (ΕΤ _)] in (ΖΝ) your midst (ΤΕΤΝ-ΗΤΕ) [*that I am not worthy* (ΕΤ-ΜΠΕ-Ι-ΜΨΑ) (that) he talks (Ν-Γ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΜΗΑ-Ι)]' (KHML II 30:18-19), (relativised Unexpected Negative Perfective) ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΖΑΛΟ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕΜΠΑΤQΨΚ ΧΙΝΤΑΨΩΚ ΕΡΑΤQ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'our senior (Ν-ΖΑΛΟ) holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ), he (ΠΑΙ) [*who had not long ago* (ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-Γ-ΨΚ) gone (ΧΙ(Ν)-ΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΨΩΚ) towards (Ε-ΡΑΤ-Γ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Sh. III 142:5-7), (relativised Negative Habitual) ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕΜΕΡΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΧΝΤQ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [he (ΠΑΙ) [without whom (ΕΧΝΤ-Γ) nothing (ΑΛΛΥ) *happens* (ΕΤΕ-ΜΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ)]]' (Zen. 202:3) (a free relative clause), ΝΕΤΕΜΕΥCΕΙ ΝΤΩΡΠ ΑΥΩ ΝQΙ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΟΥQΥ ΑΝ ΜΕ '[those [*who do not get enough* (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΜΕ-Υ-ΣΕΙ) of robbing (Ν-ΤΩΡΠ) and stealing (Ν-QΙ) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (ΑΝ) theirs (Ν-Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΝΟΥ-QΥ)]]]]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24) (a free relative clause), (relativised negative concord) Ν-ΕΤΕ-Ν-ΣΕ-ΨΟQΠ ΑΝ '[*what was non-existent*]' (V. Pach. 7:14) (a free relative clause), (fronted adjectival verb) ΝΕΙΜΗΝΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΨΕ ΝΕΤΑΨΑΖΟΜ ΕΡΟQ 'these kinds (ΝΕΙ-ΜΗΝΕ) of people (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) [against whom (ΕΡΟ-QΥ) the ones who complain (Ν-ΕΤ-ΑΨ-ΑΖΟΜ) *are numerous* (ΕΤΕ ... ΝΑΨΕ)]' (Sh. IV 99:19).

11.1.3 The grammatical role of the relative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause plays a role in two different clauses. On the one hand, it has a particular grammatical role (subject, direct or indirect object, adjunct) in the matrix clause, but it also has a particular grammatical role in the attributive relative clause. Coptic relative constructions have within their structure an anaphoric element that recovers the pivot's internal role. The placeholder may take the form of a resumptive pronoun, as in ΠΗΑ ΕΝΕQΝΖΗΤQ 'the place;

(π-μα) [where he was (lit. that he was *in it* ((ε-νε-q-ν2HT-q))' (KHML II 20:9), but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in ΤΕΥΜΙΣΤΙC ΕΤΑΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ 'their *faith*' (ΤΕΥ-ΜΙΣΤΙC) [that (ετ __i) perfect (αΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ)]' (Test. Is. 233:19).

11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) ΟΥΜΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΨΑΡΒΑ 'a *place*_i (ΟΥ-ΜΑ) [that was (lit. while *it*_i was (ε-q-ο)) in (a state of) scorching heat (Ν-ΨΑΡΒΑ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΖΙΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'every (ΝΙΜ) *man*_i (ΡΩΜΕ) [who (lives) on (lit. while *he*_i lives on (ε-q-ζΙΧΗ)) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)]' (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) ΛΑΛΥ [N]ΨΗΝ ΝΙ[Μ] ΕΑΧΧΟΟΥ 'every (single) (ΝΙΜ) one (ΛΑΛΥ) of the *trees*_i (Ν-ΨΗΝ) [that he (Apa Matthew) planted (*them*_i) (ε-α-q-χο-οΥ)]' (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) ΕΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΤΗC 'to a *bird*_i (ε-Υ-ΖΑΛΗΤ) [which is called (lit. while they say (ε-ψα-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) about *it*_i (εΡΟ-q) »truth« (Τ-ΗC)]' (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) ΖΕΝΝΟC ΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΕΡΟΝΟC ΕΥΖΜΟΟC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΖΕΝΝΟC ΜΗΗΨΕ ΜΩΝΑΧΟC (for ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟC) ΕΥΖΑ ΕΟΟΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ 'great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) multitudes (Μ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of *thrones*_i (Ν-ΕΡΟΝΟC) [on which great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) multitudes (Μ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) of highly (ΜΜΑΤΕ) venerable (lit. who were under (ε-Υ-ΖΑ) glory (ΕΟΟΥ)) monks (Μ-ΜΩΝΑΧΟC) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ε-Υ-ΖΜΟΟC)) on (*them*_i) (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ)]' (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ΟΥCΩΝΕ (...) ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ 'a virgin (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) *sister*_i (ΟΥ-CΩΝΕ) [whose name (lit. while *her*_i name (ε-ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) (was) (ΠΕ)) Eudoxia (ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ)]' (Eud. 50:3-4).

11.1.3.2 The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΦΑC ΜΑΙCΤΑ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΜΠΩΝΤ 'the *monks*_i (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) [*who* (ετ __i) does not (ΑΝ) restrain (ΑΜΑΖΤΕ) *his*_i tongue (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΛΑC), especially (ΜΑΙCΤΑ) in the hour (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) of anger (Μ-Π-ΩΝΤ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:8-9), ΕΠΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ ΜΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC 'at the idle (lit. *which is idle* (ετ __i) *you*_i (ετ) *praise*_i (ε-Π-ΕΟΟΥ) of this world (Μ-ΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 28:4-5), ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤCΗΖ 'according to (ΚΑΤΑ) the *manner*_i (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [that (ετ __i) is written (CΗΖ)]' (V. Pach. 4:20), ΓΕΝΟC ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΑΜΗΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΜ) human (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) *race*_i (ΓΕΝΟC) [that (ετ __i) lives (ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ΤΡΗΝΗ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΑQΤΑC ΝΑΙ 'the *peace*_i (ΤΡΗΝΗ < Τ-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) of *my lord*_i (Μ-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC) [*which he*_i has given (*it*_i) (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΑΑ-C) to me (ΝΑ-Ι)]' (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ΝΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ 'your *words*_i (ΝΕΚ-ΨΑΧΕ) [that you spoke (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΧΩ) (*them*_i) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΤΕΝΟΥ 'this *man*_i (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you are looking (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ) at (*him*_i) (ΕΡΟ-q) right now (ΤΕΝΟΥ)]' (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤQ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΗ 'the *man*_i (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you were talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΜΜΑ-Ι) about (*him*_i) (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-q), (namely) Apa Pachôm]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠCΑΜΟΥΛ ΝΑΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤQ 'the *place*_i (Π-ΜΑ) [where the camel (Π-CΑΜΟΥΛ) will rest (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) (in *it*_i) (ΝΖΗΤ-q))] (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ΟΥΜΗΨΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΠΩΨC ΕΡΟΟΥ 'also (ΟΝ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΨΕ) of (ΖΗ) *those*_i [whose

minds, (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ) *had left* (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΠΩΨ) *them*, (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause).

11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker *Ν-*, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subject tense-aspect-mood marker) ΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΕΝ (for ΜΗ) ΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΗΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΥΤΙ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ '*the mighty deeds*, (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *and* (ΜΕΝ) *miracles*, (ΝΕ-ΨΗΡΕ) [*that (they)* happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΗΠΕ) *through* (ΖΗ-ΤΟΥΤ-Ι) *our father* (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Αρα Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16), ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΣΟΥΩΝΓ ΜΗ ΝΕΚΜΑΓΙΑ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *all*, (those) (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [*that (they)* have not yet known you (ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΣΟΥΩΝ-Γ) *and* (ΜΗ) your magical tricks (ΝΕΚ-ΜΑΓΙΑ)]' (Sh. III 77:26), ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΚΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*who*, (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that (he)* will not (ΑΝ) believe (ΕΤ-Ν-Φ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) *in the mighty deeds* (Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (KMHL II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) ΜΑΡΕΝΤΑΥΕ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ 'let us bring forth (ΜΑΡΕ-Ν-ΤΑΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ) *fruit*, (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) [*that (it)* is good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)]' (KHML II 19:15).

11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ 'the blessed (Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) Αρα Zenobius, [*that is* (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ), *our father* (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ)]' (Zen. 199:9), ΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΜΠΣΩΤΗ 'those who believe (Ν-ΕΤ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ), [*which (is)* (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) the utmost degree (Π-ΧΩΚ) of obedience (Μ-Π-ΣΩΤΗ)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ΖΗ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΑΠΩΖ ΨΑΡΩΤΗ '*at (ΖΗ) the moment* (ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [(when) this order (ΠΕΙ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ) will reach (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΠΩΖ) you (ΨΑΡΩ-ΤΗ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ΜΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΤΑΥΠΩΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΖΑΡΟΙ ΜΠΜΕΖΣΕΠCΝΑΥ '*for (ΓΑΡ) in the hour* (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) [that my throne (Μ-ΠΑ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) was turned down (lit. they turned down (ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΩΝΕ)) under me (ΖΑΡΟ-Ι) for a second time (Μ-Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΕΠ-CΝΑΥ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΚ ΝΖΗΤΙ '*the day*, (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) [*when*, (ΝΖΗΤ-Ι) you were born (lit. they gave birth to you (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΧΠΟ-Κ))]' (KHML II 30:13).

b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun ΘΕ (< Τ-ΖΕ) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑC ΝΧΙΝ Π[Ω]ΝΖ '*in (ΚΑΤΑ) the manner*, (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [that he (Αρα Μena) had told (it) (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΧΟΟ-C) her (ΝΑ-C) while (he was) still (ΝΧΙΝ) alive (Π-ΩΝΖ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), ΘΕ ΕΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ '*the manner*, (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [that he (Pachôm) behaved (lit. made (Ε-ΝΕ-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) (it) (ΜΜΟ-C)) towards them (the brothers) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) all (ΝΙΜ) the time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ)]' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g. ΘΕ ΕΤCΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΑΖΩΒ ΝΟΙΧ '*the manner* (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [(in which) I was diligent (Ε-Τ-CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ < ΕΤ-Τ-CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) at my manual (Ν-ΟΙΧ) labour (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΩΒ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΛΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Ρ ΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΘΟΥ '*this (ΤΑΙ) (was) the manner* (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [(in which) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) demon (Π-ΔΛΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ) carried out (ΝΤ-Α ... Ρ) many (ΖΑΖ) evil (things) (Μ-ΠΕΘΟΥ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g. $\text{2N-KE-}\psi\text{HN}$ $\epsilon\gamma\text{OPT}$ N-KAPPOC $\epsilon\text{NA}\psi\text{OY}$ ϵMATE 'other trees ($\text{2N-KE-}\psi\text{HN}$) [$\text{RC1 while (they)}_i$ were loaded ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-OPT}$) with fruit (N-KAPPOC) [$\text{RC2 while (they)}_i$ were plenty ($\epsilon\text{-NA}\psi\text{OY}$)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT ₁	[RC1	ANTECEDENT ₂	[RC2]]
$\text{2N-KE-}\psi\text{HN}_i$ <i>other trees</i>	[$\text{RC1 } \epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-OPT}$ while (<i>they</i> _i) were loaded	N-KAPPOC_j with <i>fruit</i> _j	[$\text{RC2 } \epsilon\text{-NA}\psi\text{OY-OY}$]] while (<i>they</i> _j) were plenty

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g. NEYN $\text{OY}\psi\text{HPE}$ ψHM $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{PE}\phi\text{PAN}$ PE BHCAMON $\epsilon\text{P}\psi\text{HPE}$ PE NOYCTPATYATHC (for NOYCTPATYATHC) $\epsilon\text{PE}\phi\text{PAN}$ PE BACILITHC '(there) was (NE-YN) a young (ψHM) lad_i ($\text{OY-}\psi\text{HPE}$) [RC1 whose name (lit. while *his*_i name (was) ($\epsilon\text{-PE}\phi\text{-PAN}$... PE)) $\text{B}\epsilon\text{sam}\phi\text{n}$ (BHCAMON), [RC2 who (was) (lit. while *he*_i (PE) (was)) the son ($\epsilon\text{-P-}\psi\text{HPE}$) of a general_j (N-OY-CTPATYATHC), [$\text{RC3 whose name (was)}$ (lit. while *his*_j name (was) ($\epsilon\text{-PE}\phi\text{-PAN}$... PE)) $\text{Basilit}\epsilon\text{s}$ (BACILITHC)]]]' (KHML I 43:5-6), ZENNOB MMHHPE $\text{N}\epsilon\text{RONOC}$ $\epsilon\gamma\text{2MOOC}$ ϵ2PAI ϵXWOY $\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}$ ZENNOB MMHHPE MMONAXOC (for MMONAXOC) $\epsilon\gamma\text{2A}$ ϵOOY MMATE 'great (ZEN-NOB) multitudes (M-MMHHPE) of thrones_i ($\text{N-}\epsilon\text{RONOC}$), [RC1 on which _i (ϵXWOY) were seated ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-2MOOC}$) great (ZEN-NOB) multitudes (M-MMHHPE) of monks_j (M-MMONAXOC) [$\text{RC2 that were highly}$ (MMATE) venerable (lit. while *they*_j were under ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-2A}$) glory (ϵOOY)]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g. NECNHY $\epsilon\text{TOYAAAB}$ ϵTPWOOT 2M $\text{PXAI}\epsilon$ 'the holy brothers_i (NE-CNHY) (lit. [$\text{RC1 who (}\epsilon\text{T } _\text{)}_i$ are holy (OYAAAB)] [$\text{RC2 who (}\epsilon\text{T } _\text{)}_i$ live (TPWOOT) in (2M) the desert ($\text{PXAI}\epsilon$)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC1	[RC2]]
NE-CNHY_i <i>the brothers</i>	[$\text{RC1 } \epsilon\text{T } _\text{}$ OYAAAB <i>who are holy</i>	[$\text{RC2 } \epsilon\text{T } _\text{}$ $\text{TPWOOT } \text{2M}$ $\text{PXAI}\epsilon$]] <i>who live in the desert</i>

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g. PEIPWME DE $\epsilon\text{TOYAAAB}$ $\epsilon\text{TEYN}\tau\alpha\phi$ MMAY MPEIMHHPE NAPETH 'this man_i (PEI-PWME) [$\text{RC1 who (}\epsilon\text{T } _\text{)}_i$ is holy (OYAAAB) [RC2 that (he)_i possessed ($\epsilon\text{TE-YN}\tau\alpha\phi$) such a multitude (M-PEI-MHHPE) of virtues (N-APETH)]]' (BHom. 2:1-2), PEIKEOYA ϵT2N TETNMHTE $\epsilon\text{TMPEIMPHA}$ $\text{N}\phi\psi\text{AXE}$ NMMAI 'this other person_i (PEI-KE-OYA) [$\text{RC1 who (}\epsilon\text{T } _\text{)}_i$ (is) in (2N) your midst (TETNMHTE) [$\text{RC2 that I am not worthy (}\epsilon\text{T-MPE-I-MPHA}$) (that) *he*_i talks ($\text{N-Q-}\psi\text{AXE}$) to me (NMMA-I)]]' (KHML II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g. NEKCBOOYE $\epsilon\text{TNAOY}\phi\text{Y}$ NTAKTCABOI ϵPOOY 'your teachings_i (NEK-CBOOYE) [RC1 that (they)_i are beneficent ($\epsilon\text{T-NAOY-OY}$) [$\text{RC2 that you have taught me (NT-A-K-TCABO-I) (them)}_i$ ($\epsilon\text{PO-OY}$)]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-ordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g. PWME NIM ϵTNAEP PWME ϵTMMAI $\text{N}\phi\text{PTCTEYE}$ ϵPOQ 'everybody

(*ρῶμε* *νῆν*) [who (*ἐτ* ...) will perform (*να-ερ*) that (*ἐτ* *ἡμα*)] worship (*π-φῆε*) and believe (*ν-φ-πιστεγε*) in him (Jesus Christ) (*ε-ρο-φ*)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), *πνοῦτε* *νταφωπε* *μν* *νγενεα* *νταφωπε* *ελγοεινε* *ετβε* *τεμντακαρεος* (for *τεμντακεραιος*) *μν* *τεμνντιστος* *εζογν* *επνουτε* 'God (*π-νουτε*) [who has been (*ντ-α-φωπε*) with (*μν*) the generations (*ν-γενεα*) [that existed (*ντ-α-γ-ωπε*) and passed by (*ε-α-γ-ογεινε*) because of (*ετβε*) their guilelessness (*τεμνντ-ακαρεος*) and (*μν*) their faith (*τεμνντ-πιστος*) in God (*ε-π-νουτε*)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), *τμνταγαθος* *μπαχοεις* *πεχς* *παι* *ντατετνςρογ* *μμοφ* *εατετνκααφ* *ζν* *ογταφος* 'the goodness (*τ-μνντ-αγαθος*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεις*) Christ (*πε-χς*), [he (*παι*) [whom you crucified (*ντ-α-τετν-ςρογ*) and put (*ε-α-τετν-καα-φ*) into (*ζν*) a tomb (*ογ-ταφος*)]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: *νεγεν* *ογρῶμε* *δε* *ον* *ζν* *ππολις* *ρακοτε* *ερε* *ογδαμονιον* *μμιαφ* *νχιν* *τεφμνντκογ* '(there) was (*νε-γεν*) also (*ον*) a (certain) man (*ογ-ρῶμε*) in (*ζν*) the city (*τ-πολις*) Alexandria (*ρακοτε*) [who was possessed by a demon (*ογ-δαμονιον*) (lit. while (there) (was) with him (*ερε ... μμια-φ*)) since (*νχιν*) his childhood (*τεφ-μνντ-κογ*)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. *πρῶμε* *δε* *ντα* *απα* *μμια* *†* [*να*]*φ* *ννεφ[δα]μογ* 'the man (*π-ρῶμε*) [whom (*να-φ*) *Απα* *Μενα* had given (*ντ-α ... †*) his camels (*ν-νεφ-δαμογ*)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), *ογμα* *εφο* *νφαρβα* 'a place (*ογ-μα*) [*that* was (lit. while it was (*ε-φ-ο*)) in (a state of) scorching heat (*ν-φαρβα*)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

vs. *πμα* *ντα* *παγλος* *νοχφ* *επιμογ* 'the place (*π-μα*) [(where) Paul (*παγλος*) threw himself (*ντ-α ... νοχ-φ*) into the water (*ε-π-μογ*)]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

a) Specific indefinite antecedents

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. *α* *ογον* *ζν* *νετογλαβ* *ρ* *ζμε* *νζοογ* *νατογωμ* *νατσω* *ετε* *πρῶμε* *πε* *μπνουτε* *μωγςης* *παρχηπροφητης* 'one (*ογον*) amongst (*ζν*) the holy ones (*ν-ετογλαβ*) spent (*α ... ρ*) forty (*ζμε*) days (*ν-ζοογ*) without eating (*ν-ατ-ογωμ*) (and) drinking (*ν-ατ-σω*)', [*to wit* (*ετε ... πε*) the (*π-ρῶμε*) of God (*μ-π-νουτε*) Moses (*μωγςης*), the archprophet (*π-αρχηπροφητης*)]' (KHM L II 35:18-21), *ερε* *πρῶμε* *μνρῶμε* *ετῶμε* *νασω* *επαζογ* *μμοογ* *ετβε* *ογcon* *ετναῶμε* 'the man (*π-ρῶμε*) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (*ετ* ...) are sick (*ῶμε*)) people (*ν-π-ρῶμε*) shall stay (*ερε ... να-σω*) behind them (the fellow monks) (*επαζογ* *μμο-ογ*) for (*ετβε*) a brother (*ογ-con*) [who (*ετ* ...) will fall sick (*να-ῶμε*)]' (praec. Pach.).

b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. *νοε* *νειεσοογ* *εφαγβι* (for *εφαγφι*) *ντοοτογ* *μπεγῶς* 'like (*νοε*) sheep (*νει-εσοογ*) [from which (*ντοοτ-ογ*) their shepherd (*μ-πεγ-ῶς*) is taken away (lit. they take away (*ε-φα-γ-βι*)]' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g. $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\omega\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\pi\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\omega\omega\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 'other trees ($\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\omega\eta\eta$) [while (they_i) were loaded ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$) with fruit, ($\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$) [while (they_i) were plenty ($\epsilon\lambda\alpha\omega\omega\upsilon\gamma$)]' (KHML II 21:14-15) vs. $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ 'let us bring forth ($\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$) good fruit (lit. fruit, ($\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$) [which, is good ($\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$)]' (KHML II 19:15).

c) Quantified antecedents

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with quantified relative antecedents and provide information that makes it possible to narrow down the set of potential referents of quantified antecedents. When the pivot is an indefinite pronoun, such as $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ 'one' or $\kappa\epsilon$ 'other', the selection of either relativisation pattern depends on its definite or indefinite determination, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\upsilon\alpha\epsilon\omega\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\omicron\delta\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota\epsilon\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\mu\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 'with the exception ($\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$) of some, (people) ($\zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\upsilon\alpha$) [who, come ($\epsilon\omega\lambda\epsilon\iota$) to visit ($\epsilon\delta\mu$) us ($\pi\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota\epsilon$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the love ($\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$) of God ($\mu\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$)]' (Hil. 5:21-22) vs. $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha\epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ (...) 'this other person, ($\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha$) [who ($\epsilon\tau$ __) (is) in ($\zeta\eta$) your midst ($\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$) [that I am not worthy ($\epsilon\tau\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\pi\omega\lambda$) (that) he, talks ($\eta\kappa\epsilon\omega\lambda\epsilon$) to me ($\eta\mu\mu\alpha\iota$)]]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), $\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$ 'others, (i.e. monsters) ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$) [which, had ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron$) one single ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$) eye ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$)]' (Test. Is. 234:4) vs. $\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\tau\pi\omicron\omega\omega\zeta$ 'the others, ($\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$) [who, ($\epsilon\tau$ __) are in (lit. make (p)) need ($\omicron\pi\omega\omega\zeta$)]' (Onnophr. 207:17).

The definiteness opposition is not applicable to the distributive universal quantifier $\eta\mu$ 'all, each', which must be construed with "bare" nouns (see above, section 4.3.1 of Unit 4). It looks as if the selection of a non-virtual relative clause imposes a more specific or topical interpretation on the universally quantified antecedent than its non-virtual counterpart. Thus, consider: $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omega\varsigma$) $\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ [η] $\omega\eta\eta\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ 'briefly ($\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omicron\varsigma$), every ($\eta\mu$) single ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$) tree, ($\eta\omega\eta\eta\eta$) [that he had planted (them), ($\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$)]' (KHML II 18:23-24) vs. $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omega\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\eta\eta\mu$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ 'briefly ($\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omega\varsigma$) everyone, ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$) [who, ($\epsilon\tau$ __) was imprisoned ($\zeta\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the name ($\pi\alpha\lambda\eta\eta\mu$) of Jesus ($\eta\mu\epsilon\chi$) Christ ($\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$)]' (Eud. 40:24-25); (new discourse topic) $\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\alpha$ $\zeta\eta$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\eta\eta\mu$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$

'blessed are ($\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon$) everybody, ($\eta\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\mu$) [who, will perform ($\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$) an act of mercy ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\alpha$) in ($\zeta\eta$) the name ($\pi\alpha\lambda\eta\eta\mu$) of these patriarchs ($\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$)]' (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning) $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu\tau\eta\alpha$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ 'everyone, ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$) [who, ($\epsilon\tau$ __) will perform ($\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$) an act of mercy ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu\tau\eta\alpha$) on the day ($\eta\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$) of their (the patriarchs') remembrance ($\eta\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\pi\eta\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)]' (Test. Is. 237:24).

d) The set interpretation of definite antecedents

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g. $\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\lambda\omicron\kappa\epsilon\tau\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\pi\omicron\epsilon$ 'my Christ, ($\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma$) [in whom, ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\epsilon$) I ($\lambda\omicron\kappa\epsilon$) believe ($\epsilon\tau\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16), $\pi\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\lambda\pi\alpha\eta\alpha\zeta\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon$ 'the death ($\pi\mu\omicron\upsilon$) [that ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$) my Father ($\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) Apa Nahrow is going to die ($\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon$) (in it) ($\eta\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon$)]' (KHML I 7:27), $\eta\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\zeta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\eta\zeta\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ 'the (pavement) stones, ($\eta\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\zeta$) [on which, ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\epsilon$) his blood ($\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\eta\zeta$) has been smeared out ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$... $\chi\eta\zeta$)]' (KHML I 6:28).

11.1.5.3 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

a) Restrictive relatives

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g. $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\beta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\epsilon$ 'a thing, ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\beta$) [that God ($\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) hates ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$... $\mu\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon$) (it) ($\mu\mu\omicron\epsilon$)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), $\eta\omicron\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\pi\eta$ 'like ($\eta\omicron\epsilon$) a sheep, ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma$)

[*which_i* has gone astray (ε-φ-ορμ)]' (Test. Is. 232:34), οὐ γὰρ πε πρῶς νῆενδαιμων ἐγὶ νῆμαν νῆαζρν νῆαγτελός ἐμῶς ἐχῶν 'for (γὰρ) what (οὐ) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing (π-ρῶς)) of *the demons*; (ν-ῆεν-δαιμων) [*who_i* fight (lit. give (ε-γ-τ)) with us (νῆμα-ν)] compared to (νῆαζρν) *the angels*; *who_i* fight (ε-γ-μῶς) for us (ἐχῶ-ν)]?' (KHML II 11:14-16). In extended existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. νῆν οὐρῶμε δε γῆ πῆατῦριον ἡγῆγιος ἀπᾶ ἡνᾶ ἐπεφῆν πε ἡαρκός '(there) was (νῆ-γῆ) *a* (certain) *man_i*; (οὐ-ρῶμε) in (γῆ) the memorial chapel (π-ἡατῦριον) of the holy (π-ἡ-ῆγιος) Ἀπᾶ Μῆνα [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his_i* name (was) (ε-πεφ-ῆν ... πε)) Mark (ἡαρκός)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. ἀγῶ ντοφ πε πρρο ἐφῆρατκ 'and (ἀγῶ) he (Constantine) (ντοφ) (is) *the king_i*; (π-πρρο) [*who_i* is under you (ε-φ-ῆ-ρατ-κ)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), νῆν πε πρῶμε ἐφῆαδῶφτ νῆα πεφῶρε ἐφῆνκ νῆντῶ νῆτῆβονῆει ἐροφ 'who (νῆν) (is) *the man_i*; (π-ρῶμε) [*who_i* will watch (ε-φ-ῆ-αδῶφτ) his son (νῆα πεφῶρε) drowning (lit. going (ε-φ-βῆκ) to the depths (of the sea) (ν-ῆντῶ))] and (*he_i*) would not help (ν-φ-τῆβονῆει) him (ἐρο-φ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. ἀγῶ νῆφᾶξε νῆφᾶρε πῆετογᾶαβ ἀπᾶ πᾶμβῶ χοοφ ἡας 'and (ἀγῶ) *the words_i*; (νῆ-φᾶξε) [*that* the holy (π-πῆετογᾶαβ) Ἀπᾶ Πᾶμβῶ *used to say* (*them_i*) (ν-φᾶρε ... χοο-φ) to her (Hilaria) (ἡ-α-ς)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), ντῶφ ντᾶ πῆοφτε ἀγ 'the *rules_i*; (ν-τῶφ) [*that* God (π-πῆοφτε) *has made* (*them_i*) (ντ-α ... ἀ-γ)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: γῆνσιος νρῶζε ἡν γῆνσιος νῆτοοφ ἐγὶ ἡᾶειν ἐνῆνῶοφ νῆγῶφ 'the evening (ν-ρῶζε) and (ἡν) morning (ν-ῆτοοφ) *stars_i*; (γῆν-σιος) [*which_i* indicate (lit. give (ε-γ-τ) sign (ἡᾶειν)) the hours

(ε-νῆ-γῆνῶοφ) of the night (ν-τῆ-γῶφ)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), γῆνσιος ἡν νῆρῆμος ἐμῆ ἀγῶ νῆντοφ 'the *streets_i*; (γῆν-σιος) in (γῆ) Hell (ἡν) [*which_i* are (ε-γ-ο) (in a) deserted (ν-ῆρῆμος) (state) [*without* (ε-μῆ) anyone (ἀγῶ) on *them_i*; (νῆντ-οφ)]]' (Ac. A&P 204:132) vs. ἐᾶν[ν]τε ἐτε παῖ πε πᾶ ἡπῆρῆς ἡν πῶαζῶς νῆνῶζε 'to *Hell_i*; (ε-ἡν) [*which_i* is (ἐτε παῖ πε) the place (π-ᾶ) of weeping (π-πῆρῆς) and (ἡν) gnashing (π-ῶαζῶς) of teeth (ν-ν-ῶαζῶς)]' (Ac. A&P 204:142), περῶοφ ἡπῆρῆς ἐτερε πῶοφς ἡτ γᾶπ ἐροφ 'the *day_i*; (πε-ρῶοφ) of the *judgement* (π-πῆρῆς) [(when) the Lord (π-ῶοφς) will judge (lit. will give (ἐτερε ... ἡ-τ) law (γᾶπ) you (ἐρο-κ)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. οὐον νῆν ἐφῆρῆ πῶαξ ἐπῶλῶτεφς ἐτε πῆοφτε ἀγῶ ἐτῆνᾶφ ἐρῶμε 'everyone_i; (οὐον νῆν) [RC1 *who_i* (is) in (ε-φ-ῆ) the desert (π-ῶαξ) [RC2 *who_i* (ἐτ ...) leads an ascetic life (πῶλῶτεφς) for (ἐτεφς) God (π-πῆοφτε) and (ἀγῶ) in order not to see (ε-τῆ-νᾶφ) anybody (ε-ρῶμε)]]' (Onnophr. 214:24-25).

11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers π- 'for' and ε- 'to', e.g. οὐβαπτιςῆα νῶχᾶι ἡπῆρῆς τῆρῆ ἡᾶαμ 'a baptism (οὐ-βαπτιςῆα) [*to save* (ν-οὐχᾶι) the entire (τῆρ-φ) race (π-πῆρῆς) of Adam (ν-ᾶαμ)]' (Eud. 34:13), οὐφᾶξε ἐχοοφ ἐροοφ 'a word (οὐ-φᾶξε) [*to be spoken* (ε-χοο-φ) to them (ἐρο-οφ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), ἐγσκεφός ἐοφῶμῆ 'for a vessel (ε-γ-σκεφός) [*to eat from* (ε-οφῶμ-φ)]' (Onnophr. 211:8).

11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. πρρο δε νῆτερεφῆνᾶφ ἐπῆντᾶ πῆοφτε ἀγῶ νῆᾶαφ (...) 'when the King (π-πρρο) saw (νῆτερε-φ-ᾶφ) [*what* God (π-πῆοφτε) *had done* (ε-πῆ-ντ-α ... ἀ-γ)

for him (NHMA-q)]' (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as Ø_{NOUN}). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
πε- that	Ø _{NOUNi}	[RC NT-Α Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑ-qi (...)] what God had done (iti)

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article Π-, Τ-, Ν- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΥ 'he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (the instructions) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΩQ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΕΧΡΕΙΣΤΙΑΝΟC (for ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟC) † ΕΟΥ ΝΑQ 'this one (ΠΑΙ), however (ΖΩΩ-q), [whom the Christians give (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... †) praise (ΕΟΥ) to (ΝΑ-q)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΑΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ 'this one (ΠΑΙ) [in whom (ΝΖΗΤ-q) the spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ)

of the devil (Η-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) has branched out (lit. has taken (NT-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ)]]' (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΑΤ 'the land of the Mariôtês, the one they call (Τ-ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) »Pajat« (Τ-ΠΑΕΙΑΤ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΗΑΤΕΛΟC ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'she (ΤΑΙ) [who is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟΕΙC) her (ΕΡΟ-C)) by (ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (Ν-Ν-ΑΤΕΛΟC) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) [who is (ΕΤ _) in (ΖΝ) heaven (Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]]' (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΕΤΤΗΩ ΜΗΑΤΕ 'except (ΕΙΜΗΤΙ) only (ΜΗΑΤΕ) those who have been ordered (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΤΗΩ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ΝΕΤCΟΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) those who gathered (Ν-ΕΤ-CΟΟΥΖ) with him (ΕΡΟ-q)' (Test. Is. 228:5), ΝΑΙ ΝΨΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΜΗΟΥ ΨΑΡΟQ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΒΙ (for qi) ΛΩΓΟC (for ΛΟΓΟC) 'those (ΝΑΙ) [who are brought (lit. they have brought (Ν-ΨΑ-Υ-ΕΙΝΕ) them (ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ)) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-q) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) of justification (lit. taking (Ν-ΒΙ) account (ΛΩΓΟC)]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΦΙC ΤΑΖΟΥ Η ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕCΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will [those who live (Ν-ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)] find (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ), when they get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΦΙC) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)), or (Η) when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); if they suffer from thirst (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extracausal positions of vocative and appositional phrases.

Examples: (subject FRC) α $\text{NETHOOCHE NHHAC COCOY NCAOYCA}$ '[those who went (N-ET-HOOCHE) with him (NHHAC-q)] withdrew themselves (α ... COCOY) on each side (NCAOY-CA)' (Test. Is. 234:6-7), $\chi\text{IN PEZOY ETIMAY } \alpha$ $\text{NETHPACA NZOYN THPOY OYXAI}$ 'since (χIN) that (ETIMAY) day (PE-ZOY) [all (THP-OY) which is inside me (lit. which is in my inner (N-ZOYN) side (N-ET-H-PA-CA))] has become healthy (α ... OYXAI)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) $\text{NTE POYA POYA TAYE PETQCOOYN HMOQ EBOA 2N NEΓPAΦH}$ 'and each one (Π-OYA Π-OYA) told (NTE ... TAYE) [what he knew (Π-ET-Q-COOYN HMOQ) from (2N) the Scriptures (NE-ΓPAΦH)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), $\text{AIOWH HΠENTAQCEPE HΠOEIK}$ 'I ate (α -I-OYWH) [what was left (H-ΠE-NT-A-Q-CEPE) of the bread (H-Π-OEIK)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) $\text{ΦAPE ΠNOYTE † OY2HOT NNETHACTETEY}$ 'God (ΠNOYTE) shows (lit. give (ΦAPE ... †)) favour (OY-2HOT) [to those who will believe (N-ET-NA-ΠCTEY)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), $\text{HNNCWC AIMEEYE EBOA 2N ΠAZHT EΠENTAIAAQ}$ 'after that (HNNCWC-C) I reflected (α -I-MEEYE) by myself (lit. in (2N) my heart (ΠAZHT)) [about what I had done (E-ΠE-NT-A-I-AA-Q)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) $\text{ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟC NNETOYMOYTE EP0OY XE ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ}$ 'the regiment (ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟC) [of those whom (EP0-OY) they call (N-N-ET-OY-MOYTE) »Luduriakon« (ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), $\text{XECAC EYNAΩ N2HTQ EY2HY HN OYTAHPOΦOPIA}$ (for OYTAHPOΦOPIA) $\text{NNETNAΩ N2HTQ HN PETHACΩTH EP0Q 2N OY† 2THQ}$ 'in order that (XECAC) they shall read (E-Y-NA-Ω) from it (the book) (N2HT-Q) for the benefit (E-Y-2HY) and (HN) satisfaction (OY-ΠAΓPOΦOPIA) [of those who will read (N-N-ET-NA-Ω) from it (N2HT-Q)] and (HN) [of him who will listen (Π-ET-NA-CΩTH) to it (EP0-Q) with (2N) attention (lit. giving (OY-†)) one's attention (2TH-Q)]' (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) $\text{EIBHK QA ΠENTAQTINOOT}$ 'I am on my way (E-I-BHK) [to (QA) the one who has sent me (ΠE-NT-A-Q-TINOOT-T)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) $\text{CMOY EΠNOYTE NETP 2OTE 2HTQ HΠECPAN}$ 'praise (CMOY) God (E-Π-NOYTE), [you who fear (N-ET-P 2OTE 2HTQ) his name (H-ΠECPAN)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) $\text{ΠAΧOEIC IC ΠEXC ΠENTAIAΠOTACCE HΠH HΠAEIΩT ETBHHTQ}$ 'My Lord (ΠA-XOEIC) Jesus (IC) Christ (ΠE-XC), [he because of whom (ETBHHT-Q) I renounced (ΠE-NT-A-I-APOTACCE) my father's (H-ΠA-EIΩT) house (H-Π-H)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) PETHAANΔIAΓE (for PETHAANΔIAΓE) EYEDIMΩPEI (for EYETIMΩPEI) HMOQ '[he who will protest (Π-ET-NA-ANΔIAΓE)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (E-Y-E-DIMΩPEI) him (HMO-Q)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

$\text{PETHAOYEOI OYNKA HBAXE (...) EYNAXI EΠITIMIA 2H PETCOOY NCOI}$ '[he who will break (Π-ET-NA-OYEOI) a piece (OY-NA) of pottery (H-BAXE) (...)] shall be (E-Q-NA-XI) reprimanded (EΠITIMIA) at (2H) the (lit. his) sixth (PET-COOY) occurrence (N-COI)' (praec. Pach. 125).

d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) $\text{PET† CBW ΓAP 2N TTAΠPO}$ 'for (ΓAP) he/who (Π-ET ...) teaches (lit. give (†) teaching (CBW)) with (2N) the mouth (T-TAΠPO)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) $\text{EKEOYWH ΔE HNTA ΠNOYTE TINOYCOY NAK}$ 'you should eat (E-K-E-OYWH) [what God (Π-NOYTE) has sent (it) (N-N-ENT-A ... TINOY-COY) to you (NA-K)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), $\text{PETKNAITEI HMOQ NTH ΠNOYTE 'what; you will ask (Π-ET-K-NA-AITEI) (it) (HMO-Q) from (NTH) God (Π-NOYTE)' (Onnophr. 216:25), $\text{NENTAKNAY EP0OY 'what; you have seen (NE-NT-A-K-NA-Y) (it) (EP0-OY)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) $\text{PETEMN AAY 2HT EP0Q 'he; (π-ETE) before whom; (EP0-Q) nothing (AAY) is hidden (HN ... 2HT)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), $\text{ETHNTTEΛIOC 2N NENTAQAPXEI N2HTOY}$ 'towards perfection (E-T-HNT-TEΛIOC) in (2N) [what; he had started (NE-NT-A-Q-APXEI) (in it) (N2HT-OY)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) $\text{NOYMEPIANOC ΠAI NTAP PPO 2ATEY2H}$ 'Numerian (NOYMEPIANOC) he; (ΠAI) [who; had been (NT-A-Q-P) king (PPO) before them (2A-TEY-2H)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), $\text{NETEMEYCEI NTWPPI AYΩ NQI NNETENOYOY AN NE 'those; who; do not get enough (N-ETE-HE-Y-CEI) of robbing (N-TWPPI) and stealing (N-QI) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (AN) theirs (N-N-ETE-NOY-OY))]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24).$$$$

11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g. $\mu\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\iota\chi\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma$ 'blessed is [he who will do ($\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) the will ($\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi$) of God ($\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) on ($\gamma\iota\chi\mu$) earth ($\pi\kappa\alpha\gamma$)]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9), $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma\mu\pi\pi\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma\eta\alpha\omega\psi\pi\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\eta\eta\varsigma\omega\eta\mu\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ 'may the blessings ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma$) of the patriarch ($\mu\pi\pi\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$) be ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon$... $\eta\alpha\text{-}\omega\psi\pi\epsilon$) with ($\mu\eta$) [those who come ($\mu\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$) after us ($\mu\eta\eta\eta\varsigma\omega\eta$)] and ($\mu\eta$) [those who listen ($\mu\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$) to these words ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$)]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7), $\lambda\iota\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\gamma\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\pi\gamma\omicron\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 'I looked ($\lambda\text{-}\iota\eta\alpha\gamma$) at your face ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\gamma\omicron$) like ($\eta\theta\epsilon$ < $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\gamma\epsilon$) [someone who had seen ($\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma$) the face ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\gamma\omicron$) of God ($\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$)]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9), $\pi\epsilon[\tau]\epsilon\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\iota[\eta\alpha]\chi\pi\omicron\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon\psi\alpha\iota\alpha\alpha\epsilon\eta\omega\mu\tau\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron$ '[what my boat ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\iota$) will bring in ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\rho\epsilon$... $\eta\alpha\text{-}\chi\pi\omicron\epsilon$) each ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$) year ($\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$)]', I will split (lit. make) ($\psi\alpha\text{-}\iota\text{-}\lambda\alpha\text{-}\epsilon$) into three ($\eta\omega\mu\tau\epsilon$) parts ($\eta\text{-}\tau\omicron$)' (KHML II 17:4-5).

b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu\pi\omega\iota\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ '[the ones who served ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta\iota$) well ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$)] (are) [those who stand ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\epsilon$) $\rho\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\gamma$] within ($\gamma\eta$) the confines ($\pi\text{-}\omega\iota$) of the Scriptures ($\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$)]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31), $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\pi\omega\eta\epsilon\epsilon\pi\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omega\eta\gamma\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\pi\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ 'in ($\gamma\eta$) their joy ($\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$) and ($\mu\eta$) compassion ($\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma$) towards me ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\iota$), they (the four lads) were ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omicron$) like ($\eta\theta\epsilon$) [those who had passed ($\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\pi\omega\eta\epsilon$) to the other world ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\omega\eta\gamma$)]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3), $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\eta\eta\phi\epsilon\eta\theta\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\eta\pi$ 'suddenly ($\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$), I woke up ($\lambda\text{-}\iota\eta\eta\phi\epsilon$) like ($\eta\theta\epsilon$) [those who are under (the influence of) ($\eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\gamma\alpha$) wine ($\pi\text{-}\eta\eta\pi$)]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g. $\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\gamma\eta\tau\eta\gamma\eta\tau\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\eta\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\gamma\omega\eta\gamma\eta\tau\eta\mu\pi\chi\omega\kappa\epsilon\omicron\lambda\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\eta\chi\omega\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ (...) '(as for) [him who has effected ($\mu\epsilon\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota$) in you ($\eta\gamma\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\eta\tau\eta$) this good ($\eta\text{-}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta$) desire ($\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$)]', he may also ($\gamma\omega$) produce ($\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota$) in us ($\eta\gamma\eta\tau\text{-}\eta$) the fulfillment ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\chi\omega\kappa\epsilon\omicron\lambda$) of your wish ($\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$) to let us say ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\chi\omega$) a few words ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$) (...) (Zen. 199:25-27), $\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\eta\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\alpha\mu\pi\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\chi\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\lambda\eta\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\alpha$ 'look ($\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma$) at [him ($\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\iota$) in whom ($\eta\gamma\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon$) the spirit ($\mu\epsilon\text{-}\pi\eta\eta\alpha$) of the devil ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) has branched out (lit. has taken ($\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha$... $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\lambda$) roots ($\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$)]]' (KHML II 33:25-26), $\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\mu\pi\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon\omicron\lambda\gamma\eta\gamma\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\eta\chi\omega\rho\eta\beta$ (...) $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\mu\omicron\gamma\gamma\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ 'oh (you) [who brought ($\mu\text{-}\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\epsilon$) water ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$) out ($\epsilon\omicron\lambda$) of ($\gamma\eta$) the rock ($\tau\text{-}\mu\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$) of Khôreb ($\eta\text{-}\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\beta$)]', will you (please) raise ($\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\eta\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\epsilon$) water ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma$) in ($\gamma\eta$) this desert ($\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\mu\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) he (Isaac) told ($\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron$) his words ($\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$) of instruction ($\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega$) to Jacob ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$), his son ($\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\omega\eta\epsilon$), and ($\mu\eta$) all ($\tau\eta\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) [those who gathered ($\eta\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) with him ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\epsilon$)]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5), $\eta\alpha\iota\tau\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\iota\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ 'all ($\tau\eta\eta\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) [those ($\eta\alpha\iota$) you are looking ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma$) at ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\text{-}\omicron\gamma$)]', they ($\eta\alpha\iota$) (are) the fathers ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$) of the world ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$)' (KHML II 21:21-22).

d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. $\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\varsigma\mu\pi\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\mu\epsilon\tau\mu\omicron\omega\psi\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 'the Apostle ($\mu\text{-}\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) Judas, [who ($\mu\text{-}\epsilon\tau$ __) went

(π-ΕΤ-ΗΟΩΕ) with (MN) our Lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), ΠΑΣΩΤ (read ΠΑΣΩΤΤΙ) ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΡ ΠΟΥΩΦ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΝΗΠΗ[Υ]Ε 'my chosen one (ΠΑ-CΩΤΤΙ) Ptolemy; (ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ), [who_i has done (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) the will (Π-ΟΥΩΦ) of my Father (Μ-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ __ 2N) heaven (N-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΔΑΜ ΜΗ ΑΒΕΛ ΜΗ ΝΩΖΕ 'God_i (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who_i has been (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ ΩΠΕ) with (MN) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Adam, with (MN) Abel (MN) Noah (ΝΩΖΕ)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝ2 ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΩΕΠ ΖΙCΕ 2N ΝΕΖΙCΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ 'the living (ΕΤ __ ΟΝ2) God_i (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who_i (ΠΑΙ) has taught me (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΑΜΟ-Ι) to bear (Ε-ΩΕΠ) grievances (ΖΙCΕ) through (2N) the grievances (ΝΕ-ΖΙCΕ) [that he bore (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΩΠ-ΟΥ) for us (ΖΑΡΟ-Ν) all (ΤΗΡ-Ν)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), ΕΥΕΩΠΕ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΗC ΧΕ (...) 'they will become (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΩΠΕ) the children (N-ΩΗΡΕ) of David; (N-ΔΑΥΕΙΔ), [who_i (ΠΑΙ) says (ΕΤ __ ΧΩ) that (ΧΕ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'oh holy (ΕΤ __ ΟΥΛΑΒ) virgin; (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC), [who_i (ΤΑΙ) is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟΕΙC) her_i (ΕΡΟ-С)) by (ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (N-Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of my Father (Μ-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ __ 2N) heaven (N-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΖΟΟΡ (read ΟΥΟΥΖΟΟΡ) ΠΑΙ ΕΥΩΑΝΝΟΧΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΦΑΦΒΟΚ ΕΥΩΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΦΑΦΕΙ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a dog; (ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΟΡ), [who_i (ΠΑΙ) goes away (ΦΑ-Φ-ΒΟΚ) [if they throw him; (Ε-Υ-ΩΑΝ-ΝΟΧ-Φ) out (ΕΒΟΛ)] (and) (he_i) comes (ΦΑ-Φ-ΒΟΚ) [if they call ((Ε-Υ-ΩΑΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) him; (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ 'as for all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (rules), [he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded

(lit. he_i will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) reprimand (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (pracc. Pach.103), ΠΕΤΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΝΦΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΦΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'as for [him_i who (Π-ΕΤ __) will come (ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) [to believe (Ε-Φ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΦΑΧΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (MN) his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ)]]], he_i will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) heir (N-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC) to the kingdom (N-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), ΝΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΗC 2M ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ 2N ΟΥΠΙCΤΙC ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ (read ΕΥΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΒΟΜ ΜΗ ΤΒΟΜ ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΝᾶ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑΥ 'as for [them_i who (N-ΕΤ __) will study (ΝΑ-ΜΕΛΕΤΑ) it (the testament) (ΜΗC) with (2M) their whole (ΤΗΡ-Φ) heart (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ), in (2N) faith (ΟΥ-ΠΙCΤΙC), [believing (Ε-Υ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) in all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [what I have said (Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-Υ)]]], my power (ΤΑ-ΒΟΜ), the power (Τ-ΒΟΜ) of my beloved (Μ-ΠΑ-ΜΕΡΙΤ) Son (N-ΩΗΡΕ), and (MN) the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝᾶ) will remain (ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) with them_i (NΗΜΑ-Υ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ '(there) was nothing (ΝΕ-ΜΝ) [good (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner π-, e.g. ΜΠΕΥΡΟΟΥΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΕΝΠΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ 'their care (ΠΕΥ-ΡΟΟΥΦ) (is) not (ΑΝ) [idle things (ΖΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΩΟΥΕΙΤ)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), ΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΥ Κ[Α]ΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟC '[our holy (ΠΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ)] father (N-ΕΙΩΤ) [who (ΕΤ __) is honoured ΤΑΕΙΝΥ) in (ΚΑΤΑ) every (ΝΙΜ) manner (CΜΟΤ)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

11.3 Nominal cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are very common in the syntactic patterns of Sahidic Coptic and occur in the declarative as well as the interrogative mood, e.g. πηγεμων πετχνοу ммоκ хе ним рнтк '(it is) the governor (π-πηγεμων) [*who* (ετ __) is asking (χноу) you (ммо-к) [*what* (ним) your name (рнт-к) (is)]]' (KMHΛ II 31:14-15), ним [т]ενοу πετсωρм мпмнθε 'who (ним) (is it) now (тεноу) [*that* (ετ __) is misleading (сωρм) the crowd (м-п-мннθε)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231). Cleft sentences are complex sentences structures that express a single proposition by means of a biclausal syntax. In Coptic, cleft constructions represent a special type of tripartite nominal sentences in which a noun phrase (or its equivalent) is equated with a restrictive relative clause (section 11.3.1). Such nominal clefts encode different semantic types of focus, ranging from presentational (new information) focus to explicit contrast (section 11.3.2).

11.3.1 The equative format of cleft sentences

Coptic cleft constructions have a form that is identical to that of tripartite nominal sentences. Both cleft constructions and tripartite nominal sentences include an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the predicate, which forces a sentential interpretation of the structure (see above, section 5.2.1 of Unit 5 for the syntax of the agreement clitic). Thus compare: (declarative) ΝΤΟQ ΠΕ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ. ΜΗΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he (ΝΤΟQ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) after (ΜΗΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 4:11) vs. ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟQ ΜΑΥΑΑQ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) him (ΝΤΟQ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q) [who was living as a hermit (Ε-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), (interrogative) ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΒΑΑΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΕCΟΟΥ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΑΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕCΟΟΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:14) vs. ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΝΤΑQΤΩΩCΕ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [that planted (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΩΩCΕ) them (the trees) (ΜΠΟ-ΟΥ) in this place (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]?' (Onnophr. 219:20-21). A schematic representation of the equative format of nominal clefts and tripartite nominal sentences is given in figure 11.5 (AGR-CL stands for agreement clitic')

	SUBJECT	AGR-CL	PREDICATE NOUN
TRIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCE	ΝΤΟϙ he	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	ΠΕΥ-ΕΙΩΤ their father
	CLEFTED NP	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE
CLEFT SENTENCE	ΝΤΟϙ ΜΑΥΛΑ-ϙ he alone	ΠΕ SING. MASC.	[RC Ε-ϙ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ] who lived as a hermit

FIGURE 11.5 The equative format of cleft sentences

Nominal clefts involve minimally two clauses: the matrix clause is a tripartite nominal sentence that includes a restrictive relative clause. Taken together, the matrix clauses and the embedded relative clause express a single proposition. The following sections review the main syntactic characteristics of nominal clefts, namely (i) the distribution of tense and negation, (ii) the morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic, (iii) the anaphoric relation between the clefted noun phrase and the embedded relative clause, and (iv) the interaction between clefting and topicalisation.

11.3.1.1 The distribution of tense and negation

The distribution of tense and negation provides further evidence for the equative format of Coptic cleft constructions. The clefted noun phrase can only appear with the preterit auxiliary **NE-**, suggesting that cleft sentences are subject to the same tense restrictions as the corresponding tripartite nominal sentences, e.g. **ENE NTOQ MAΓAAQ NE EQANAXΩPEI 2H ΠMA ETIMAY** 'and (it) *was* (**E-NE**) *him* (**NTOQ**) alone (**MAΓAA-Q**) [who was living as a hermit (**E-Q-ANAXΩPEI**) in (**2H**) that (**ETIMAY**) place (**Π-MA**)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), **2AΘH HΠATOYCNTH TE MN ΠKAZ NE OY PETΩOON** 'before (**2AΘH**) heaven (**T-ΠE**) and (**MN**) earth (**Π-KAZ**) were created (lit. *they* had not yet created (**HΠAT-OY-CNTH**)), *what* (**OY**) *was* (**NE**) (there) [that (**ET** —) existed (**ΩOON**)]?' (Contra Orig. 60:40-41).

In nominal clefts, negation may take wide or narrow scope (see above, section 9.2 of Unit 9). When negation occurs within the embedded relative clause, it takes wide scope over the backgrounded proposition, e.g. *nīm petnqnapicteyē an enebom mpmoyte* 'who (NIM) (is it) [that will not (an) believe (et-n-q-na-picteyē) in the mighty deeds (e-ne-bom) of God (m-p-moyte)]?' (KMHΛ II

11.3.1.2 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

The agreement cleftic of nominal cleft sentences differs both morphologically and syntactically from the corresponding pronominal element in tripartite nominal sentences, suggesting that it has been further grammaticalised as a focus marker.

a) Proclisis and phonological reduction

In tripartite nominal sentences the agreement clitic occurs in clause-second position with other prosodically weak functions words and particles, e.g. ΟΥΑΤΟΥΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΠΗΤΟΝ ΝΩΑ ΕΝΕΞ 'since (ΓΑΡ) you have (lit. for you (ΝΑ-Κ) (is)) continuous (ΟΥ-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩ) rest (Π-ΗΤΟΝ) until eternity (ΝΩΑ ΕΝΕΞ)' (AP Chaîne no. 30, 6:7). The corresponding agreement clitic of nominal clefts, however, has determiner-like properties, forming an indivisible prosodic unit with the following relative clause, e.g. ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥÇ ΠΕ ΝΤΑÇΑΑÇ 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) a beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ç) thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [that he did (ΝΤ-Α-Ç-ΑΑ-Ç)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

The proclitic behaviour of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts is particularly clear in the context of vowel elision. This happens when it is attached to relative complementisers with a word-initial *e*:

пе-	→ п-	/	COMP _{REL}	ет-, ете-, етере-, е-
е	→ Ø	/	е	

FIGURE 11.6 The phonological reduction of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts

When vowel elision applies, the resulting complex PROCLITIC – RELATIVE COMPLEMENTISER – EMBEDDED CLAUSE looks superficially like a free-standing relative clause, e.g. $\text{NIM GAP PETNA}\alpha\text{AZE EP[AT]q ENI}\omega\text{E MN NEI}\omega\text{Y}\text{ZOO}\text{P H NIM PETNA}\uparrow\text{TWN MN NIAP}\text{Z NIM NTOq PETNA}\omega\text{P EBOL ENI}\omega\text{E MN ZENMOYI AXN WO}\alpha\text{NE ZI CBW}$ ‘because (GAP) who (NIM) (is it) [that (ET $_\$) would stand up (NA-AZE EPATq) [to fight (E-NI ω E) with (MN) dogs (NEI- ω Y ZOO P)]] or (H) who (NIM) (is it) [that (ET $_\$) would struggle (NA- \uparrow TWN) with (MN) bears (NI-AP Z)], who (NIM), indeed (NTOq), (is it) [that (ET $_\$) would set out (NA- ω P EBOL) [to fight (E-NI ω E) with (MN) lions (ZEN-MOYI) without (AXN) plan (WO α NE) and (ZI) counsel (CBW)]]’ (Camb. 8:15-18).

b) Agreement behaviour

The agreement clitic of nominal clefts generally agrees in number and gender with the clefted noun or pronoun: (sing. masc.) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΠΕ ΝΤΑQTAMIOQ ΝΑC ‘because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) (it was) (ΠΕ) the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) [who made it (the bed-chamber) (ΝΤ-Α-Q-TAMIO-Q) for her (ΝΑ-С)]’ (Eud. 50:8-9), ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟQ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΕQQI ΜΠΕQΡΟΟΥΩ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ‘and (ΑΥΩ) (it was) (Π(Ε)) him (ΝΤΟQ), too (ΟΝ), [who was taking (Ε-ΝΕ-Q-QI) care (Μ-ΠΕQ-ΡΟΟΥΩ) of (ΖΝ) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)]’ (Zen. 202:11-12), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΚΖΗΑΛ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ ΤΕΤΟΥΩΦ ΕΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΑΣΠАСНОC ‘(it is) (Τ(Ε)) your maid-servant (ΤΕΚ-ΖΗΑΛ) Eudoxia (ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ) [who (ΕΤ __) wishes (ΟΥΩΦ) [to enter (Ε-ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ) to greet you (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΑΣΠАСНОC)]]’ (Eud. 56:1-2), (plural) ΧΕ [N]ΤΟΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΝΝΟ[O]Υ ΝCΩQ ΦΑΝΤΕQΕΙ ‘(it was) (ΝΕ) them (the elders) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) [who sent (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΤΝΝΟΟΥ) for him (Απα Matthew) (ΝCΩ-Q) [to come (ΦΑΝΤΕ-Q-ΕΙ)]]’ (KHML Π 21:8-9). As a focus-marking device, the agreement clitic may assume a default value 3rd person singular masculine ΠΕ, e.g. ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΝ ΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ‘(it is) (Π(Ε)) us (ΑΝΟΝ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Ν) [who (ΕΤ __) reside (ΩΟΠ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]’ (Onnophr. 221:2-3).

The agreement clitic can be omitted in cleft constructions with independent pronouns, which are inherent focus expressions, e.g. **ΝΤΟΚ** **ΕΤΝΑ†** **ΛΟΓΟΣ** **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **ΖΑ** **ΤΑΦΥΧΗ** '(it is) you (ΝΤΟΚ) [who (ΕΤΝΑ†)] will account (lit. give (ΝΑ-†) account (ΛΟΓΟΣ)). to God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) for (ΖΑ) my soul (ΤΑ-ΦΥΧΗ)' (Hil. 5:28).
The morpho syntactic

The morpho-syntactic behaviour of the agreement clitic is summarised in table 11.2 below, where [\pm AGR] indicates presence or

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	π _i , τ _i , ν _i [+AGR]	[RC NT- ...]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	π _i -, τ _i -, ν _i - [+AGR]	[RC εΤ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	π _i - [-AGR]	[RC εΤ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	∅	[RC εΤ- ...]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or "variable" (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) η νιμ ημοναχος πε νταφωκ φαροq ετβε πουχαι ντεφφυχη (...) 'or (η) *which* (νιμ) *monk*_i (η-μοναχος) (was it) [*who*_i came (NT-α-φ-βωκ) to him (φαρο-q) for (ετβε) the salvation (π-ουχαι) of *his*_i soul (ν-τεφ-φυχη) (...)]?' (KHML II 11: 9-11), ου πε νταφωπε ημο ταφερε *what*_i (οy) (is it) [*that* (*it*_i) *happened* (NT-α-φ-ωπε) to you (ημο)], my daughter (τα-φερε)?' (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) οy πετκογε2σα2νε ημοq ντεκ2μ2αλ ετρεσαλς *what*_i (οy) (is it) [*that* you order (ετ-κ-οyε2 σα2νε) your maid servant (ν-τεκ-2μ2αλ) [to do (*it*_i) (ε-τρε-σ-αλ-σ)]?' (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) νιμ πετκωαχε νιμαq ντοκ *who*_i (νιμ) (is it)[*that* you (ντοκ) are talking (ετ-κ-ωαχε) to (*him*_i)(νιμα-q)]?' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) πα2 ον πε νταγκτοοy εροq '(it is), again (ον), *the earth*_i (π-κα2) [*that* they (i.e. the birds and fish) return (NT-α-γ-κτο-οy) to (*it*_i) (ερο-q)]' (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ανοκ κωσταντινος πρπο ννε2ρωμαιο[c] πετς2αι ε[βολ] 2ν τεφμντ[ε]ρο τηρς (...) '(it is) *I*_i (ανοκ), Constantine (κωσταντινος), King (π-ρπο) of the Romans (ν-νε-2ρωμαιος) [*who*_i (ετ —) *divulges* (ς2αι εβολ) (a decree) in (2ν) *his*_i entire (τηρ-ς) kingdom (τεφ-μντ-ερο) (...)]' (Eud. 40:3-4) vs. παyτοyςτος νρεφχρο 2ηνων εφς2αι ερατοy ννεννειοτε (read ννεννειοτε) ετοyαλς νεyσεβςς ετοyη2 2ν φιητ '(it is) the victorious (ν-ρεφ-χρο) Augustus (π-αyτοyςτος) *Zênôn*_i (2ηνων) [*who*_i is writing (ε-φ-ς2αι) to (ερατ-οy) our holy (ετ — οyαλς) and pious (ν-εyσεβςς) fathers (ν-νεν-ειοτε) [that (ετ —) reside (οyη2) in (2ν) Shiêt (φιητ)]]' (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ενε ντοq μαyαλq πε εφαναχωρει 2μ πμα ετμμαy 'and (it) was (ε-νε) *him*_i (ντοq) alone (μαyαλ-q) [*who*_i was living as a hermit (ε-φ-αναχωρει) in (2μ) that (ετμμαy) place (π-μα)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in οy2ωβ γαρ ενανοyq πε νταφαλq 'since (γαρ) (it is) *a* beautiful (ε-νανοy-q) *thing*_i (οy-2ωβ) [*that* he did (*it*_i) (NT-α-φ-αλ-q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26)

11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. εχν ναι δε

οὐ πετεφνααααφ νοῖ παῖβολος 'besides (ἐχ) these (things) (ναῖ), what_i (οὐ) (is it) [that the devil (π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) will (manage) to do (it_i) (ἐτε-φ-να-αα-φ)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), μῆνσα πζαπ δε τῷτε μῆνοῦν τετναφῶπε νακ ἡμα ἡμοον[ε] 'after (μῆνσα) the (day of) judgement (π-ζαπ), (it is) the pit_i (τ-ῶτε) of the Abyss (μ-π-νοῦν) [which_i (ετ)] will become (να-φῶπε) your (να-κ) dwelling (μ-μοονε) place (μ-μα)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. πενταφ† ραν ελλαφ νιμ αῶ ετσοοῦν νζῶβ νιμ ντοφ ετσοοῦν νενραν '[he who has given (πε-ντ-α-φ-†) a name (ραν) to everybody (ελλαφ νιμ) and (αῶ) knows (ετ-σοοῦν) everything (ν-ζῶβ νιμ)]_i, (it is) him_i (ντοφ) [who_i (ετ)] knows (σοοῦν) our name (νεν-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), νενταῦμοῦ μν πεῶ ντοοῦ νενταῶνζ ον μν πεῶ 'as for) [those who died (νε-ντ-α-γ-μοῦ) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῶ)]_i, (it is) them_i (ντοοῦ) [who_i (ετ)] will also (ον) live (να-ῶνζ) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῶ)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. οὐ ντωτν πετετνογεφ τρενααφ [ν]ναζρῆ ναῖ 'as for) you_i (ντωτν), what_i (οὐ) (is it) [that you_i want (ετε-τν-ογεφ) us [to do (it_i) (τρε-ν-αα-φ) about (νναζρῆ) these (things) (ναῖ)]]]?' (Camb. 11:9-10), νιμ [τ]ενοῦ πετσωρῆ μῆμῆφε 'who_i (νιμ) (is it) now (τενοῦ) [that who_i (ετ)] is misleading (ῶρῆ) the crowd (μ-π-μῆφε)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).

11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in οὐπῆῆ εφογαβ ντε πνοῦτε πετῶαχε νζῆτφ '(it is) a pure (ε-φ-ογαβ) spirit (οὐ-πῆῆ) of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε) [which (ετ)] speaks (ῶαχε) through him (νζῆτ-φ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), οὐζῶβ ντε πνοῦτε πετῶαχε νμῆμῆτν ετβῆητφ '(it is) a divine (lit. of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε)) matter (οὐ-ζῶβ) [that I am speaking (ε-†-ῶαχε) to you (νμῆμῆ-τν) about (ετβῆητ-φ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like εματε 'only', ενεζ 'ever' or οὐωτ 'single', e.g. πλῆν εῶαχε ζενκοῦι εματε νεντνααχοοῦ ζν νεφκατωρῶμα (for νεφκατορῶμα) 'yet (πλῆν) even though (εῶαχε) (it is) only (εματε) a few (things) (ζεν-κοῦι) [that we are going to say (ε(τ)-τν-να-χοο-γ) of (ζν) his achievements (νεφ-κατωρῶμα)]' (Zen. 201:13), νιμ νρῶμε ενεζ πε νταφει ερατφ μπενειωτ εφμοκζ νζῆτ εμεφβωκ εφραφε 'which (νιμ) man (ν-ρῶμε) ever (ενεζ) (is it) [that had gone (ντ-α-φ-ει) to (ερατ-φ) our father (Matthew) (μ-πεν-ειωτ) [disheartened (ε-φ-μοκζ ν-ζῆτ)] and did not go away (ε-με-φ-βωκ) [rejoicing (ε-φ-ραφε)]]' (KHML II 11:8-9), οὐφῆρε νοῦωτ πετῶοπ ναῖ '(it is) (just) a single (ν-οὐωτ) son (οὐ-φῆρε) [that (ετ)] I have (lit. exists (ῶοπ) with me (να-ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. πεελαχιστος νρρο ζῆνων πε ντα πνοῦτε † ναφ μπταιο ντῆμτρρο παρα πεφενμφα εφςζαι ερατοῦ ννεσνῆγ ννεγσεβῆς (for νεγσεβῆς) νφουμεριτοῦ (...) '(it is) this most humble (πει-ελαχιστος) king (ν-ρρο) Zênôn (ζῆνων), [whom (να-φ) God (π-νοῦτε) has given (ντ-α ... †) the honour (μ-π-ταιο) of kingship (ν-τ-μῆτ-ρρο) beyond (παρα) his worthiness (πεφ-εμφα)], [who is writing (ε-φ-ςζαι) to (ε-ρατ-οῦ) the pious (νν-εγσεβῆς) and beloved (ν-φου-μεριτ-οῦ) brothers (ν-νε-σνῆγ)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).

11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. *πχoεic γap πeτω* (for *πετο*) *μημετην νταcηνηδιc* (for *νταcυνειδιηc*) 'for (γap) (it is) the Lord (π-χoεic) [who (ετ _) is (ω) witness (μ-μημετην) to my conscience (ν-τα-cηνηδιc)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), *[αρη]γυ πζαγ[ioc α]π[α μhνα] πε νταqωντ ε[ροι] ετβε περητ νται[ερη]τ μhοq ναq* 'perhaps (αρηγυ) (it is) the holy (π-ζαγιoc) Apa Mēna (απα μhνα) [who has become wrathful (ντ-α-q-ωντ) with me (ερο-ι) because of (ετβε) the promise (π-ερητ) [that I made (ντ-α-ι-ερητ) to him (να-q)]]' (Mena, Mir. 11b:25-29).

11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. *αγoυcтoc κωcтaнтιnoc πppo ναικaιoc* πε ντα *πχoεic* *πeνnoυтe* *тoυнocq* *нан* *nppo* *επhα* *μπaнoмoc* *натшпe* *диок[α]ηтiαнoc* *πppo* *μпxиhбoнc* '(it is) Augustus (αγoυcтoc) Constantine, the righteous (н-δικaιoc) king (π-ppo) [that the Lord (π-χoεic) our God (πeн-нoυтe) has raised (ντ-α ... тoυнoc-q) for us (на-н) as a king (н-ppo) instead (ε-π-μα) of the shameless (н-αт-шпe) criminal (μ-π-αнoмoc) Diocletian (диокaηтiαнoc), the king (π-ppo) of injustice (μ-π-χι н-бoнc)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. *μπpωμe αν πeтκтo μhοc* *επhα* *εтqoυωω* *εκωнc* *н2ηтq* *нтoc* *нтoq* *πeтκтo* *μπpωμe* *επhα* *εтcoυωω* *εκωнc* *μhαγ* '(it is) not (μ- ... αν) man (πpωμe) [who (εт _) turns (κтo) it (the sword) (μhο-c) to the place (ε-π-μα) [where (н2ηт-q) he wants (εт-q-oυωω) [to wound (ε-κωнc)]]]; rather (нтoq) (it is) it (the sword) (нтoc) [which (εт _) turns (κтo) the man (μ-π-pωμe) to the place (ε-π-μα) [where it wants (εт-c-oυωω) [to wound (ε-κωнc)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle *μaγaa-* 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. *нтωтн* *μaγaaттhутн* *пeтпaλhн* *μhωтн* '(it is) you (нтωтн) yourselves (μaγaaт-тhутн) [who (εт _) mislead (пaλhн) yourselves (μhω-тн)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. *пκω2т* *пeтпaρωк2* *нoγaн* '(it is) the fire (π-κω2т) [which (εт _) will burn (на-ρωк2) the matter (н-oγaн < н-т-2γaн)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive

discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΝΟΧΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΤ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ 'if you throw me (ε-κ-ψαν-νοχ-τ) out (εβολ), (then) (it is) you (ντοκ) [who (ετ _) will account (lit. give (να-τ) account (λογος)) to God (μ-π-νουτε) for (ζα) my soul (τα-φυχη)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ΜΠΡΤΡΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'do not start (μπρ-τρε ... ψωπε) a war (πολεμος)! (It is) me (ανок) [who (ετ _) is going to bring them (the apostles) (να-ντ-ου) in (εζουν)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΗΘΟΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΖΗ ΜΗΩΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΘΑΙΦΙΣ ΝΙΜ 'but (αλλα) be strong (ταχρο) and brave (ντε-θμ-θoм), for (γap) (it is) me (ανок) [who (ετ _) saves (νουζη) you (μηω-τη) from (εβολ ζη) every (νιμ) trial (θαιφис)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

Key Terms:

Virtual and non-virtual relatives Virtual relative clauses may appear in §11.1.1
non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.

Complementiser alternations Various subordinating complementisers introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* *epe-* and *pron.st.* *e-*, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker. §11.1.2

Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns instantiate two different types of §11.1.3
placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ΓΕΝΟC ΝΙМ ΝΡΩМΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΑΗΝΤΡΡΟ 'every (νιμ) human (н-рoмe) race; (ΓΕΝΟC) [that (ετ _)] lives (ψοοп) in (ζη) my kingdom (та-һнт-рpо)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤQ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΗΑΘΕΟC 'the mighty deeds; (νε-θoм) and (nen) miracles; (νε-ψпнpe) [that (they_i) happened (нт-а-γ-ψωπε) through (зи-тоот-q) our father (н-пeн-еиτ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

Nested and stacked relative clauses

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g. $\text{2NKE}\Psi\text{HN EYOPT NKAPTOC ENA}\Psi\text{OY ENATE}$ 'other trees ($\text{2N-KE-}\Psi\text{HN}$) [$\text{RC1 while (they)}_i$ were loaded (E-Y-OPT) with fruit (N-KAPTOC) [$\text{RC2 while (they)}_j$ were plenty ($\text{E-NA}\Psi\text{OY-OY}$)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g. $\text{NECNHY ETOYAAE ET}\Psi\text{OON 2M NXAE}$ 'the holy brothers; (NE-CNHY) (lit. [$\text{RC1 who (ET } _\text{)}_i$ are holy (OYAAE)] [$\text{RC2 who (ET } _\text{)}_j$ live (ΨOON) in (2M) the desert (N-XAE)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

Definiteness opposition

The determination of the antecedent noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g. $\text{OYMOOY ENA}\Psi\text{OY}$ 'much (lit. which is abundant ($\text{E-NA}\Psi\text{OY-Q}$)) water (OY-MOOY)' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g. $\text{N[EQ]OIX ETOYA[AB]}$ 'his holy (lit. which are holy ($\text{ET } _\text{ OYAAE}$)) hands (NEQ-OIX)' (KHML II 18:18).

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g. $\text{OYMOY EQCA}\Psi\text{E}$ 'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter ($\text{E-Q-CA}\Psi\text{E}$)) death (OY-MOY)' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g. $\text{2EN2IP 2N AMNTE EYO NEPHMOE ENH AAY N2HTOY}$ 'the deserted (lit. which are (E-Y-O) (in a) deserted (N-EPHMOE) (state)) streets in (2N) Hell (AMNTE) without (E-MN) anyone (AAY) on them (N2HT-OY)' (Ac. A&P 204:132).

Free relatives

are relative clauses that occur without an overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g. $\text{AIOYWH MPENTAQCEETE MPOEIK}$ 'I ate (A-I-OYWH) [what was left (M-PE-NT-A-Q-CEETE) of the bread (M-P-OEIK)]' (Onnophr. 218:5).

Hypothetical relative clauses

have a clause-like interpretation corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpreted as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g. PETNAANDIAIE (for PETNAANTIAIE) EYEDIMWPEI (for EYETIMWPEI) MHOQ '(as for) [him who will protest (N-ET-NA-ANDIAIE)], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish (E-Y-E-DIMWPEI) him (MHO-Q))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).

Nominal clefts Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function. In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause. §11.3.1

Exhaustive listing The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. *οὐφηρε νοῦωτ πετφωοπ ναι* '(it is) (just) a single (N-οῦωτ) son (οὐ-φηρε) [that I have (lit. that (ετ __) is (φωοπ) with me (να-ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22). §11.3.2

Exercises

11.1 Comprehension and transfer

- Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 - The complementiser *ε-* occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
 - Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
 - The complementiser *ετ-* is restricted to subject relatives.
 - Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
 - Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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- Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
- The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
- The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

11.2 Attributive relative clauses

- Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.

- πμα ον (ετερε/ετε) κναβωκ εροq* 'the place (π-μα) [where you are going (__ κ-να-βωκ) to (ερο-q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:10)
- οῦωφτ νnennoyτε (ετ/ερε) ταεινυ παπολλων μν ταρδμис* 'worship (οῦωφτ) our revered (__ ταεινυ)) gods (N-NEN-NOYTE), Apollôn (π-απολλων) and (MN) Artemis (τ-αρδμис)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)
- οὐδιακονιθс (ετε/ε) φογн2 2n οὐtme* 'a servant (οὐ-διακονιθс) [who lived (__ q-ογн2) in (2n) a village (οὐ-tme)]' (AP Chaîne no.99, 22:9-10)
- πολис nиm (εнт/ετε) φαγβωκ ε2ογн εροоу* 'every (nиm) city (πολис) [that they enter (__ φα-γ-βωκ ε2ογн)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)
- αφхноус εтβε θεε (ε/нт) αсει εβολ 2м πεqнι* 'he asked her (α-q-хноу-с) about (εтβε) the way (θεε) [in which she had gone (__ α-с-ει) out (εβολ) of (2м) his house (πεq-нι)]' (Hil. 12:10)

B. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHÔMIUS' JOURNEY TO THE OTHER WORLD

ἄψ αςψωπε μπσιουψω νοψωτ ντсροупκотк^а ἄψ ντεροуχι
 μπсνεиωт παζωμ επκαиcωн (read спкеиωн)^б κατὰ θε
 ντανωртпχοос^с. αqнау сπзрψειρε^е (for сπзрψиpс)^д нβαλзнт^е
 нтаqр псqтооу невот eqаскci^г сqзн оуноб нраψε мнн
 (for мн) оутсλη. нтереqнау Δс нбi пai спнциωт (for
 епснциωт) παζωμ сqмооψε мн παггелос eqтсаво ммоq
 епса мпкаиcωн (read мпкеиωн) нтоq Δе αqпωт евол знтq^з
 αqсωк ммоq eqxω ммос xс αμοу нгнау стаоуcia^h нта
 пхоeиc таас пai стβε нсксвооуc етнаноуоу нтактсавои
 срои етрамооψс нзнтoу ω παсиωт етоуаав ἄψ нeqтсаво
 ммоq снсqбom езнпнā†κωн (read зснпнā†κωн) нс ἄψ
 нeугapпoc (for нcyкарпoc)ⁱ cyψooп зн оуμнтаттako ἄψ
 αqтсавов (for αqтсавоq) снeqмaнψωпс тнpoу ἄψ пκωт
 стоуκнт езнтq мн пeyca (...) мннсωс нтсρoуp пβολ^j
 мпπαpα†сωс^k (мпπαpαΔeиcoc) нтс тpуφн^l ноуκοуi αqнау
 спзлlo наскитнс^m eqзн оума eqo нψарβα ἄψ eqтaхpнy
 езоуn еψнн сqотп нгарпoc (for нкарпoc) нθe ноуoузop
 еvonз (for eqонз) евол зн пqгарпoc (for псqкарпoc)
 емнтаq εξoуciaⁿ ммaу еер пβол мпψнн етмнaу. нтоq Δе
 нтсpφнау сpooу αqка xωq епеснт eqψeипe (for сqψипe)
 ψaнtoуπαpαгe^o ммоq ἄψ нтсρoунау epоq αqбωψт сzoуn
 езpaq знн (for зн) оуноб нмkaз нзнт ἄψ пexе пcon
 нβαлзнт μπснeиωт παζωμ xс αkнау епзлlo наскитнс
 нтакзice сκ† сβω наq мпeqсωтн нсωк стpεqμooоψε знн
 (for зн) оуθββeиo. тeнoу бс αnaу спai нтeимнe мн
 тсπп†μia^p нтаqтаас наq нбi пxocic спma нтсqμнтатсωтн
 еθooу. (V. Pach. 86:6-87:10)

NOTES: a. read ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΚΟΤΚ b. ΛΩΝ 'world' c. ΝΤ-Α-Ν-ΩΡΙΤ-ΧΟΟ-С d. ΖΡΩΠΕ 'young man' e. ΒΑΖΗΤ 'innocent' f. ΑΚΕΙ 'to practise' g. ΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤ= 'to run towards s.o.' h. ΟΥΓΙΑ 'state, condition' i. ΓΑΡΠΟΣ 'fruit' j. Ρ Π-ΒΟΛ 'to walk out, leave' k. ΠΑΡΑΤΩС 'Paradise' l. ΤΡΥΦΗ 'delight, joy' m. ΑΚΡΙΤΗΣ 'hermit, monk' n. ΕΞΟΥΓΙΑ 'power, strength' o. ΠΑΡΑΓΕ 'to pass by' p. ΕΠΙΘΙΑ 'penalty, punishment'.

C. Specify for each relative clause in the text fragment whether it has a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning and function.

11.3 Free relative clauses

A. Consider the following examples of free relative clauses. Identify the placeholder gap or resumptive pronoun that indicates the internal grammatical role of the covert relative antecedent.

- (1) ΑΒΔΕΜΕΡΟΥΧΟΣ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΝΚΟΛΑΣΙC 'Abdemeruchos (ΑΒΔΕΜΕΡΟΥΧΟΣ) [who supervises (Π-ΕΤ-ΖΙΧΝ) the punishments (Ν-ΚΟΛΑΣΙC) (of Hell)]' (Test. Is. 235:1-2).
- (2) ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΖΑ ΤΕΥΖΗ 'Numerianus, [who (ΠΑΙ) had been (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) before them]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24)
- (3) ΑΙΡ ΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΖΙΝΗΒ CΤΒΕ ΘΟΤC ΝΤΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟC 'I had become (Α-Ι-Ρ) like (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [those who sleep (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΙΝΗΒ)] because of (CΤΒΕ) the overwhelming (vision) (ΟΟΤΕ < Τ-ΖΟΤΕ)) [that I had seen (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ)]' (Onnophr. 221:26-27)
- (4) ΠΒΙΟC ΝΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΩCΡC ΝΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΡΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΠCΝΤΑΦΖΙCΤΩΡΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΝΩ 'the life (Π-ΒΙΟC) of the blessed (Ν-Τ-ΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ) Hilaria, the daughter (Τ-ΦΕΕΡΕ) of the god-loving (Ν-Π-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤC) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Zênôn, [which the holy (Π-Π-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΒ) Apa Pambô has written down (ΠC-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΖΙCΤΩΡΙΖΕ)]' (Hil. 1:1-2)
- (5) ΑΠΑ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΠΕΝΤΑΥΕΞΩΡΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΖΙΤΝ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟC 'Apa John [who had been exiled (lit. they had exiled (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΕΞΩΡΙΖΕ) him (ΗΜΟ-Φ) by (ΖΙΤΝ) Markianos]' (AP Chaîne no. 488, 46:21-22)
- (6) ΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΧC ΤΟΦC ΕΡΟΚ 'this destiny (Τ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ), [which (ΤΑΙ) the Lord (Π-ΧC) has destined (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΦ-C) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (Onnophr. 212:27-28)

- (7) *ε[ε]β[ε] νετετ[ε]ψ[ε]νε n[ε]ψ[ε] [ε]β[ε]λ[ε] 2[ε]το[ε]τ[ε] [ε]τε [n]αι ne n[ε]κατο[ε]ρ[ε]ω[ε] [n]α n[ε]τπο[ε]λ[ε]τια m[ε]μακαρι[ε]ος α[ε]πα ζην[ε]οβ[ε]ιος* 'concerning (ε[ε]β[ε]) [what you are seeking (n-ε[ε]τε-τ[ε]ν-ψ[ε]νε) for (n[ε]ψ[ε]-ο[ε]) from us (2[ε]-το[ε]τ[ε]-n)], [to wit (ε[ε]τε n[ε]αι ne) the achievements (n-κατο[ε]ρ[ε]ω[ε]μα) of the monastic practise (n-τ[ε]-πο[ε]λ[ε]τια) of the blessed (m-π[ε]-μακαρι[ε]ος) Apa Zēn[ε]obios]' (Zen. 199:7-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

- (1) *εκεο[ε]ω[ε]m δε [nnenta π[ε]νο[ε]τε τ[ε]ν[ε]ο[ε]υ[ε]σο[ε]υ n[ε]ακ]* (AP Chafne no. 20, 4:16)
- (2) *[νετπιστε[ε]γε [ε]τε π[ε]αι πε π[ε]ωκ m[ε]ψωτ[ε]m]* (Test. Is. 228:7-8) (πιστε[ε]γε 'to believe')
- (3) *τενο[ε]υ δε π[ε]ωκ nταπισ[ε]τις τε τ[ε]αι 2[ε]n ο[ε]με xε m[ε]π[ε]νο[ε]τε nασετ[ε]η[ε]τ[ε]n εβ[ε]λ[ε] αν 2[ε]m [πετετ[ε]nαλ[ε]ι[ε] (for πετετ[ε]nαλ[ε]ι[ε] m[ε]μο[ε])]* (Hil. 8:10-12)

11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

A. Classify the following cleft sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) *εβ[ε]λ[ε] xε π[ε]ρ[ε]ο πε nτα[ε]τ[ε]mιο[ε]q n[ε]αc* 'because (εβ[ε]λ[ε] xε) (it was) the king (π[ε]-ρ[ε]ο) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (n[ε]-τ[ε]-α-q-τα[ε]mιο-ε) for her (Eudoxia) (n[ε]-α-ε)]' (Eud. 50:8-9)
☐ thematic prominence ☐ contrastive focus
- (2) *νεnτα[ε]μο[ε]υ m[ε]n πεx[ε]c nτοο[ε]υ νετ[ε]nαω[ε]n2 οn m[ε]n πεx[ε]c* '(as for) those who died (νε-ν[ε]-τ[ε]-α-γ[ε]-μο[ε]υ) with (m[ε]n) Christ (πε-x[ε]c), (it is) *they* (nτοο[ε]υ) [who (ε[ε]τε __) will also (οn) live (n[ε]-α-ω[ε]n2) with (m[ε]n) Christ (πε-x[ε]c)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

- (3) *επ[ε]δ[ε]n nτοκ πετ[ε]σοο[ε]yn m[ε]π[ε]τω[ε] τηρ[ε]q m[ε]παβ[ε]ιος m[ε]n π[ε]νο[ε]τε* 'since (επ[ε]δ[ε]n) (it is) you (alone) (nτοκ) and (m[ε]n) God (π[ε]-νο[ε]τε) [who (ε[ε]τε __) knows (σοο[ε]yn) the entire (τηρ[ε]-q) course (m-π[ε]-τω[ε]) of my life (m-π[ε]-α-β[ε]ιος)' (Hil. 12:22)
☐ presentational focus ☐ restrictive focus

- (4) *π[ε]κω2τ πετ[ε]nαρωκ2 νε[ε]γ[ε]n* '(it is) the fire (π[ε]-κω2τ) [which will burn (ε[ε]τε __ n[ε]-α-ρωκ2) the matter (n-ε[ε]γ[ε]n < n-τ[ε]-2γ[ε]n)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE *APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")
 ΑΠΑ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΖΕΡΜΗΣ^a ΑΓΚΩ ΝΑ^b ΝΩΦΟΜΗΤ ΝΧΩΜΕ
 ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΓΒΩΚ ΦΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΓΧΟΟΣ ΝΑ^c ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΙ
 ΜΗΑΥ ΝΩΦΟΜΗΤ ΝΧΩΜΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΥΩ †† ΖΗΥ^c ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΟΝ ΦΑΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΧΙΤΟΥ ΝCΕ† ΖΗΥ ΑΧΙC ΔΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ ΟΥ
 ΠΕΤΕΨΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΛΑ^d ΑΓΟΥΨΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ
 ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΝΤΕΡΕCΩΤΗ
 ΔΕ ΕΠΑΙ ΑΓΒΩΚ ΑΓΤΑΛΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΓΧΙ ΤΕΥ†ΗΗ^d ΑΓΤΑΛC
 ΝΝΕΤΨΑΛΤ. (AP Elanskaya 13a:12-34)

NOTES: a. πζερμης 'Phermēs (toponym) b. κω n[ε]- 'to keep for oneself'
 c. † ΖΗΥ 'to give profit' d. †ΗΗ 'price'

Subordinate clauses

The concluding chapter of this grammar is concerned with finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause typically functions as a dependent constituent within some larger construction. In view of the fact that every clause is to some degree dependent on the previous context, one might think of the traditional distinction between main and subordinate clauses in terms of relative degrees of clausal integration rather than as a binary opposition.

Looking at various types of complement and adjunct clauses, we will consider issues such as the following:

- (i) *Morphological marking.* Coptic requires subordination to be explicitly marked in the structure of the dependent clause either by means of a special subordinating complementiser or by means of a subordinate verbal tense.
- (ii) *The argument-adjunct contrast.* Subordinate clauses may assume different grammatical functions within the matrix clause they form a construction with. A major division of subordinate clauses concerns the opposition between argument clauses, which belong to the core of the matrix verb phrase and which are therefore obligatory

sentence constituents, and adjunct clauses, which belong to the periphery of the matrix clause and which are therefore optional sentence elements.

- (iii) *Clausal coherence and switch reference*, which concern the anaphoric link between main and subordinate clauses. Depending on whether the embedded subject is identical to or distinct from that of the matrix clause, subordinate clauses may take different forms or assume different semantic interpretations. For instance, same subject clauses usually imply a higher degree of influence on or control of the subject referent over the situation expressed in the subordinate clause.
- (iv) *Sequences of tenses*. The combination of tenses in complex sentence constructions generally reflects the range of temporal or logical relations that obtain between the main and the subordinate clause situation.
- (v) *Finiteness*. Non-finite subordinate clauses are distinguished from finites largely but not wholly by the absence of inflectional tense. The tenseless character of infinitival clauses goes hand in hand with the acquisition of nominal properties.

Further semantic and syntactic distinctions will be drawn within particular kinds of subordinate clauses. Section 12.1 deals with clausal arguments and section 12.2 with clausal adjuncts. Non-finite subordinate clauses are the topic of section 12.3. Throughout this Unit subordinate clauses are given in brackets.

12.1 Argument clauses

This section reviews complex sentences in subordinate clauses that function as the subject or the internal complement of the matrix verb phrase. Although such argument clauses belong to the nucleus of the main clause, they differ from nominal arguments in various respects. Firstly,

while all verbs can have a noun phrase as a subject and all transitive verbs nominal objects, there are only a few lexical classes of verbs that also permit clausal subjects and objects. Secondly, nominal arguments bear a wide range of semantic roles, such as AGENT, CAUSER, PATIENT, THEME, and the like. Clausal arguments, by contrast, denote propositions that cannot be associated with such participant roles. The relation between the matrix verb phrase and clausal subjects and complements is more indirect, involving reports or attitudes and beliefs of the subject referents about the situation implied or expressed in the subordinate clause. Thirdly, one distinctive property of pro/nominal objects is that they generally come immediately after the verb. Complement clauses, on the other hand, are not constrained to follow the verb in this way. Although subject clauses can appear in the canonical subject position, they are more commonly extraposed to the clause-final position of heavy constituents, with a semantically vacuous expletive pronoun appearing in the position of the extraposed argument clause. Therefore, despite their subject and object function, argument clauses are not "noun clauses" and must be analysed independently of noun phrases.

12.1.1 Subject clauses

A sample of transitive and intransitive verbs that may take clauses as subjects is given below. These verbs typically appear in impersonal sentences in which the canonical subject position is occupied by a non-referential expletive pronoun, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the end of the matrix clause.

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
ΝΑΝΟΥ(-C)	it is good	ΨΩΕ ΕΡΟ-	it is appropriate for
ΖΩ	it is sufficient	ΖΑΠC ΕΡΟ-	it necessary for, must
Γ-ΡΩΩΕ	it is sufficient	C-P ΑΝΑ-	it pleases
C-P ΧΡΙΑ	it is necessary	Α-C-ΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ	it happened

TABLE 12.1 Impersonal verbs

12.1.1.1 Survey of constructions

Impersonal verbs show some degree of variation concerning the pre- or postverbal placement of the clausal subject as well as the presence of indirect object noun or pronoun.

a) The clausal subject construction

Although the preverbal subject position can be occupied by clausal rather than nominal arguments, examples of the clausal subject construction are not particularly common, e.g. *ΝΑΝΟΥ † ΖΑΖ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ* 'is (it) good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) [to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. give (†) much (ΖΑΖ) repentance (ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ)]]?' (AP Chaîne no. 131, 30:1), *ΖΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΣΟΦΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΜΝ ΠΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΤΑΜΙΟ ΤΗΡ-Q (...)* 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it) suffices (ΖΩ) [for the wise (Ν-ΣΟΦΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) truly (ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ) pious (people) (Μ-ΠΙΣΤΟΣ) to know (ΕΙΜΕ) [that (ΧΕ) the Son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) existed (ΨΟΟΠ) with (ΜΝ) the Father (Π-ΙΩΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΕΥΜΑ) before (ΖΑΘΗ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Q) creation (Μ-Π-ΤΑΜΙΟ) (...)]]' (Contra Orig. 811).

b) The impersonal subject construction

It is more common for clausal subjects to appear in an extraposed subject position at the end of the matrix clause, which is the preferred position for heavy constituents. Extraposing the clausal subject always involves the insertion of a semantically empty expletive pronoun 3rd person singular masculine or feminine -q or -c 'it' in the preverbal subject slot, which cannot be left vacated. As an extraposed constituent, the subject clause is an element that is related to, but not co-referential with the "dummy" subject pronoun, e.g. *ΝΑΝΟΥ-С ΝΤΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΑΗ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΛΑΛΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ* 'it is better (ΝΑΝΟΥ-С) [that I go (ΝΤΑ-ΒΩΚ) home (Ε-ΠΑ-Η) while I have something (lit. while (there) is something (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ) in my hand (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΤΟΟΤ)]' (Mena, Mir. 78a:8-11), *QΡΩΨΕ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΟС ΕΜΑΤΕ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΠΑΛΗ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ* 'it is sufficient (Q-ΡΩΨΕ) [to simply (ΕΜΑΤΕ) assert (Ε-ΧΟΟ-С) [that (ΧΕ) these (the Origenist doctrines) (ΝΑΙ) (are) errors (ΖΕΝ-ΠΑΛΗ)]]' (Contra Orig. 407).

Extraposed subject clauses can also be found in impersonal light-verb constructions, e.g. *СР ΧΡΙΑ ΕΜΨΕ ΕΡ[Q] [Μ]ΜΑ ΝΙΜ* 'it is necessary (С-Ρ ΧΡΙΑ) [to fight (Ε-ΜΨΕ) with him (the devil) (ΕΡΟ-Q) everywhere (lit. in every (ΝΙΜ) place (Μ-ΜΑ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:23), *ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕСЕР ΑΝΑQ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕQСΩΜΑ ΘΩ ΖΝ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ* 'and (ΑΥΩ) it did not please (ΜΠΕ-С-ΕΡ ΑΝΑ-Q) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [(that) his (Απα Μena's) body (ΠΕQ-СΩΜΑ) should remain (Ε-ΤΡΕ ... ΘΩ) in (ΖΝ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:32-4b:3).

c) ΨΨΕ 'it is appropriate'

Although ΨΨΕ looks like a "bare" verbal stem, it actually represents an impersonal sentence by itself, whose sentential character is disguised by the assimilation of the expletive subject 3rd person singular feminine c- 'it' to the following verb: c-ΨΕ → Ψ-ΨΕ 'it is appropriate' (lit. 'it goes').

The impersonal verb ΨΨΕ usually takes an indirect object whose referent is the agent of the event or activity described in the extraposed subject clause, e.g. *ΨΨΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΖΟΚΝ ΜΑΥΑΛΝ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΙΡΑСМОС* (for *ΜΠΕΙΡΑСМОС*) 'it is appropriate (ΨΨΕ) for us (ΕΡΟ-Ν) [to arm (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΖΟК-Ν) ourselves (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ν) against (ΖΑΘΗ < ΖΑ-Τ-ΖΗ) temptations (Μ-ΠΙΡΑСМОС)]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:16), *ΨΨΕ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΕΩΠ ΕΡΟQ. ΜΑΥΑΛQ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥQ* 'it is appropriate (ΨΨΕ) for each one (Ε-Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) [to attribute (Ε-ΩΠ) to himself (ΕΡΟ-Q (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Q) the sin (Μ-Π-ΝΟΒΕ) of his neighbour (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΖΙΤΟΥ-Q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 209, 54:12-13).

The standard form of negation for ΨΨΕ in literary Sahidic is (Ν-) ... ΑΝ, e.g. *ΝΨΨΕ ΑΝ ΕΛΑC ΝΤΕΙΖΕ* 'it is not (ΑΝ) appropriate (Ν-ΨΨΕ) [to act (Ε-ΛΑ-С) in such a way (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ)]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:4-5), *ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΙC ΨΨΕ ΑΝ ΕΡΟQ ΕΜΨΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΡΕQΨΩΠΕ ΕQΘΒΙΗΥ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΕQ† CΒΩ ΕQΑΝΕΧΕ ΝΝΕΘΟΟΥ* 'it is not (ΑΝ) fitting (ΨΨΕ) for a servant (ΟΥ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΙC) [to quarrel (Ε-ΜΨΕ)], [but (rather) (ΑΛΛΑ) to remain (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΨΩΠΕ) humble (Ε-Q-ΘΒΙΗΥ) towards (ΝΝΑΖΡΝ) everyone (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) as a teacher (Ν-ΡΕQ-† CΒΩ) who (patiently) bears (Ε-Q-ΑΝΕΧΕ) evil deeds (ΝΝΕΘΟΟΥ < Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ)]' (V. Pach. 5:23-25).

d) The paragraph marker α-ϣωπε δε 'it happened'

The impersonal existential clause α-ϣωπε δε 'it happened' has a fully grammaticalised function as a discourse-structuring device that marks the beginning of a new discourse unit, e.g. αϣωπε δε 2N ΝΕΖΟΥΗ ΜΠΩ2C ΑΥΒΩΚ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ 2ΙΟΥCΟΠ ΕΩ2C ΕΥΧΙ ΒΕΕΚΕ 'it happened (α-ϣωπε δε) in (2N) the days (ΝΕ-ΖΟΥΗ) of the harvest (Μ-Π-Ω2C) (that) they went out (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) together (2Ι-ΟΥ-CΟΠ) with (ΜΗ) one another (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ) to harvest (Ε-Ω2C) as day-labourer (lit. taking (Ε-Υ-ΧΙ) wage (ΒΕΕΚΕ))' (V. Pach. 6:1-2), αϣωπε δε ΗΠΕΡΑCΤΕ Α ΠΚΟΜΙC (for ΠΚΟΜΗC) 2ΜΟΟC ΕΠΒΗΜΑ ΑΥ2ΙCΕ ΕΚΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΕ ΜΜΟQ ΝΨΟΡΠ 'it happened (α-ϣωπε δε) on the next (lit. his) day (Η-ΠΕQ-ΡΑCΤΕ) (that) the high official (the *comēs*) (Π-ΚΟΜΙC) sat down (Α ... 2ΜΟΟC) on the tribune (Ε-Π-ΒΗΜΑ) (and) made an effort (Α-Q-2ΙCΕ) to flatter (Ε-Q-ΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΕ) him (ΑΡΑ ΜΕΝΑ) (ΜΜΟ-Q) first (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ)' (Mena, Enc. 57a:24-30).

12.1.1.2 The mandative meaning of impersonal verbs

In expressing volition, obligation and desirability, impersonal verbs belong to a larger group of deontic-modal constructions that have come to be known as mandative constructions in the linguistic literature. Mandative constructions typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have a manipulative or directive meaning like English *mandatory* and *command* (to cite two items on which the term "mandative" is based).

Coptic impersonal verbs demonstrate various degrees of modal strength, with mandative 2ΑΠC 'it is necessary for, must' being more forceful than ΝΑΝΟΥ-C 'it is good, better' and ΨΩΕ 'it is appropriate'. Thus, while 2ΑΠC comes close in meaning to imperatival clauses in expressing requests, instructions, and directions, ΝΑΝΟΥ-C and ΨΩΕ have a more argumentative character, endorsing the addressee or some other party to behave in a particular way. Compare, then: 2ΑΠC ΟΝ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΡΕΚΜΗΝ ΟΥCΟΟΥ2C 2N ΤΚΑ2 ΨΜΗΝ 'you must also (ΟΝ) (lit. *it is necessary* (2ΑΠ-C) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) to) [establish (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΜΗΝ) a congregation (ΟΥ-CΟΟΥ2C) in (2N) the district (Τ-ΚΑ2) Akhmîm (ΨΜΗΝ)]' (V. Pach. 145:19-20), ΝΑΝΟΥ QI ΓΑΡ 2Α ΟΥΕΤΠΩ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕQI 2Α ΠΩΝΤ

ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *it is better* (ΝΑΝΟΥ) [to bear (QI) a burden (2Α ΟΥ-ΕΤΠΩ) than (ΝΖΟΥΟ) to bear (QI) the wrath (2Α Π-ΩΝΤ) of a man (Ν-ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 81b:3-7), ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΨΩΕ ΕΡΟ[Ν Ε]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΙ2Ε 2ΩC ΕΝΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΗΝΕ 'for (ΕΤΒΕ) this (reason) (ΠΑΙ) *it is appropriate* (ΨΩΕ) for us (ΕΡΟ-Ν) [to think (Ε-ΜΕΕΥΕ) in this way (Ν-ΤΕΙ-2Ε) as if (2ΩC) we are going to give (Ε-Ν-ΝΑ-†) account (ΛΟΓΟC) to God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) daily (ΜΜΗΝΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 2:4-5).

Subject clauses generally convey backgrounded propositions, whose content is contextually inferable or pragmatically presupposed, e.g. ΝΑΝΟΥ ΟΥΕΜ ΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΕCΕ ΗΡΠ ΝΓΤΜΟΥΩΜ ΔΕ ΝΝCΑΡΞ ΝΝΕΚCΗΥ 2ΙΤΝ ΤΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΙΑ 'it is good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) [to eat (ΟΥΕΜ) meat (ΑΒ) and (ΑΥΩ) to drink (Ε-CΕ) wine (ΗΡΠ)], but it is not to eat (Ν-Γ-ΤΗ-ΟΥΩΜ) the flesh (Ν-Ν-CΑΡΞ) of your brothers (Ν-ΝΕΚ-CΗΥ) through (2ΙΤΝ) slander (Τ-ΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΙΑ)' (AP Chaîne no. 14, 3:12-13), ΝΑΝΟΥC ΕΛΕΓΧΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ 2N ΝΕΤΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ 'it is better (ΝΑΝΟΥ-C) [to refute (ΕΛΕΓΧΕ) them (the Origenists) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) with (2N) what is evident (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ)]' (Contra Orig. 408), ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ 2ΑΠC ΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'remember (lit. make (ΑΡΙ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ)) [that (ΧΕ) *it is certain* (2ΑΠ-C) [that we (ΕΡΟ-Ν) encounter (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:12), 2ΑΠC ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕΝΤΑQCΟΡΜΕC ΕΙ 'it is inevitable (2ΑΠ-C) [(that) he who has lost it (the purse) (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-CΟΡΜΕ-C) will come by (Ε-ΤΡΕ ... ΕΙ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 31, 6:12-13).

12.1.2 Complement clauses

Coptic has various classes of transitive verbs that take subordinate clauses as internal complements. The focus of this section is on the complement structure of mental verbs, while reportative verbs are dealt with in the next section. Mental verbs can be subdivided into two classes: *verbs of cognition* and *verbs of perception and discovery*. Cognition verbs ascribe to the subject referent certain beliefs, opinions, experiences and expertise, while verbs of perception and discovery describe situations, as they emerge in the visual field of the referent of the matrix clause subject. The most common mental verbs of cognition and perception/discovery are listed in table 12.2 below.

VERBS OF COGNITION			
ΕΙΝΕ	to come to know, become aware of	COOYN	to know
ΜΕΕΥΕ	to think, consider	ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ	to believe, be confident
VERBS OF PERCEPTION/DISCOVERY			
ΝΑΥ	to see	ΩΨΤ	to see, look
ΑΙCΘΑΝΕ	to perceive, hear	CΩΤΗ	to hear
ΟΙΝΕ	to find	ΖΕ Ε-	to find

TABLE 12.2 Mental verbs

12.1.2.1 Mental verbs of cognition

The clausal complements of mental verbs of cognition are characterised by the following properties.

a) Switch reference

Canonical verbs of cognition select different-subject finite clauses as an internal complement. Complement clauses are overtly marked as such by the multi-functional subordinating complementiser *xe* 'that'. They immediately follow the verb phrase and the indirect object, e.g. *†πiCTEYE xe πNOYTE NΛ[OBΨQ] AN EPON* 'I believe (†πiCTEYE) [that (xe) *God* (πNOYTE) will not (AN) forget (NΛ-OBΨ-Q) about us (EPON)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14), *†NΛEIME xe KNA† OOM NAI ΨANTAΧI MΠEKΛOM NATTAKO* 'I will experience (†NΛ-EIME) [that (xe) *you* will give (K-NΛ-†) me (NΛ-I) strength (OOM) [until I receive (ΨANTA-ΧI) the imperishable (N-AT-TAKO) crown (M-ΠE-KΛOM)]]' (KHML II 30:5-6), *xe NNEQMEEYE EPOT xe OYNOEIK TE* 'so that (xe) *he* would not think (NNE-Q-MEEYE) about her (EPOT-C) [that (xe) *she* (TE) (is) adulterous (OY-NOEIK)]' (Sh. Or 44, 159b:56-160a:1).

Same-subject complement clauses are possible, though uncommon, e.g. *EWOTIE ΔE EIWANEIME xe TOYOX EWONE MEIXITQ* 'however (ΔE) when (EWOTIE) I notice (E-I-ΨAN-EIME) [that (xe) I am cured (†-OYOX)

from illness (E-ΨONE)], I will not accept it (the donkey) (ME-I-ΧIT-Q)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

b) Scope of negation

Both the main and the embedded clause can be negated. The scope of negation never exceeds a clause boundary (see above, section 9.2.1 of Unit 9). Thus, compare: *NEQCOOYN ΔE AN xe OYCZIME TE* 'he *did not* (AN) *know* (NE-Q-COOYN) [that (xe) she (TE) (was) a woman (OY-CZIME)]' (Hil. 6:14-15) vs. *TETNCOOYN ΓAP xe MEIΨEINE* (read *MEIΨINE*) *NCA ΠAMTON* (...) 'since (ΓAP) you *know* (TETN-COOYN) [that (xe) I *do not* look (ME-I-ΨEINE) for (NCA) my own ease (ΠA-MTON) (...)]' (V. Pach. 88:28) vs. *H NTCCOYN AN xe MERE AΛAY NXPHCTIANOC* (for *XPHTIANOC*) *QEI* (for *QI*) *MPEQZO EZPAI ZA ΠZO MΠETO NNOO EPOT* 'or (H) *do you not* (AN) *know* (N-T-COOYN) [that (xe) *no* (AΛAY) Christian (N-XPHTIANOC) *raises* (MERE ... QEI EZPAI) his face (M-ΠEQ-ZO) under (ZA) the face (Π-ZO) of who is (Π-ET-O) greater (N-NOO) than him (EPOT-Q)]' (KHML II 32:25-27).

c) Factive vs. non-factive cognition verbs

When formulated in the affirmative, factive cognition verbs presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. *MEYΠ MMEEYE PΩ xe OYN KOCHOC ΨOON* 'they (the hermits) do not even (PΩ) *remember* (lit. make (MEY-P) thought (M-MEEYE)) [that (xe) a (lower) world (KOCNOC) exists (OYN ... ΨOON)]' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), *KCOOYN ΠAXOEIC xe ΠEΓENOC xe XPHTIANOC* (for *XPHTIANOC*) *CEZYΠOMINE* (for *CEZYΠOMENE*) *ENBACANOC* 'you *know* (K-COOYN), my Lord (ΠA-XOEIC), [that (xe) this race (ΠEI-ΓENOC) called (xe) Christians (XPHTIANOC) bear (patiently) (CE-ZYΠOMINE) the tortures (E-N-BACANOC)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).

Non-factive cognition verbs, by contrast, do not presuppose the truth of the embedded proposition, although they leave it open as a possibility, e.g. *AYΩ †ΠICTEYE xe EQΨANEI ΨAPON TNNACEN ZHY THPN ZITN NEQΨAΛA* 'and (AYΩ) I *believe* (†-ΠICTEYE) [that (xe) [if he comes (E-Q-ΨAN-EI) to us (ΨAPO-N)] [we will all (THP-N) benefit (lit. gain (TN-NΛ-SEN) profit (ZHY)) from (ZITN) his prayers (NEQ-ΨAΛA)]]' (Hil.

10:30-31), ΝΕCΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΦΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΗΜΑC ΝΟΥΜΕΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) she *thought* (ΝΕ-C-ΜΕΕΥΕ) [that (ΧΕ) he was going to do (Ε-Γ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) her (ΝΗΜΑ-C) a favour (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΕΤ-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:11-14).

d) Subordinate interrogatives

Subordinate interrogatives may appear as clausal complements of factive cognitive verbs. Although formulated as questions, such interrogative complement clauses have an answer-orientation: they state a positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked.

Examples: ΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΝΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟQ 'since (ΓΑΡ) we *found out* (Α-Ν-ΕΙΜΕ) [*why* (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) he (Constantine) was saved (Α-Γ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) on (ΖΗ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) that we surrounded (ΝΤ-Α-Ν-ΚΩΤΕ) him (ΕΡΟ-Γ)]' (Eud. 44:14-15), ΚΟΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΑΚΡ ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΡ ΚΕΟΥΗΗΡ 'you *know* (Κ-CΟΟΥΝ) [*how many* (ΟΥΗΗΡ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) you lived (lit. made (Α-Κ-Ρ)) so far (ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ)], but (ΑΛΛΑ) you *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-Γ-CΟΟΥΝ) [*how many other* (years) (ΚΕ-ΟΥΗΗΡ) you will live (Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ)]' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), ΑΥΩ ΝΤCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΗΜΟC ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑCΜΟΥ ΖΗ ΘΑΛΑCΑ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑΥΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΠΙΖΕ ΗΜΟC ΖΗΤΗ ΝΙΒΑΡΒΑΡΟC 'and (ΑΥΩ) I *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-Τ-CΟΟΥΝ) [*what* (ΟΥ) happened (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to her (ΗΜΟ-C)] and (ΚΑΝ) [*whether* (ΕΨΧΕ) she died (ΝΤ-Α-C-ΜΟΥ) on (ΖΗ) the sea (ΘΑΛΑCΑ)] or (ΚΑΝ) [*whether* (ΕΨΧΕ) she was taken prisoner (lit. *they* took her (ΗΜΟ-C) prisoner (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΠΙΖΕ)) by (ΖΗΤΗ) the Barbarians (ΝΙ-ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟC)]' (Hil. 7:30-32), ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΕΦΝΑΝΤΙ ΤΩΝ 'he (ΑΡΑ ΙΩΗΝ) *did not* (ΑΝ) (Ν-Τ-CΟΟΥΝ) *know* (ΝΕ-Γ-CΟΟΥΝ) [*where* (ΤΩΝ) he could bring it (the money) (Ε-Γ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Γ)]' (AP Elanskaya 13b:34-35), ΟΥΔΕ ΝΤΕΝCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΠΑΝΗΜ ΠΕ 'and (ΟΥΔΕ) we *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-ΤΕΝ-CΟΟΥΝ) [*whose* (ΠΑ-ΝΗΜ) it (the gold) (ΠΕ) (is)]' (Mena, Mir. 85a:25-27).

12.1.2.2 Mental verbs of perception and discovery

Mental verbs of perception and discovery are always factive, since presenting an event as beheld by the subject referent implies that this

event actually occurred. The complement clauses of perception/discovery verbs are characterised by the following properties.

a) Switch reference

With mental verbs of perception and discovery, different-subject complement clauses seem to be the norm, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΧΕ Α ΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΚΗΜ (...) 'and (ΑΥΩ) also (ΟΝ) when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΝΑΥ) [that (ΧΕ) *his heart* (ΠΕΦ-ΖΗΤ) was moved (Α ... ΚΗΜ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 2:25), ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΕCΝΗΥ (...) 'when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΝΑΥ) [that (ΧΕ) *the brothers* (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) gathered (Α-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Γ)] (...)' (V. Pach. 4:1), ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΑΦΑΙCΘΑΝΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΑC ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΠΕΙΡ 'the (aforementioned) *man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) realised (Α-Γ-ΑΙCΘΑΝΕ) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) (it was) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) *Apa Mēna* who had deposited it (the gold) (ΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΤΑΑ-C) into the basket (ΕΠΕCΗΤ Ε-Π-ΕΙΡ)]' (Mena, Mir. 86b:21-27), ΑΛΛΑ ΝΨΑΙCΩΤΗ (for ΝΕΨΑΙCΩΤΗ) ΧΕ CΕΜΟCΤΕ ΗΠΕΙΓΕΝΟC ΧΕ CΖΗΜΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *I* *heard* (Ν(Ε)-ΨΑ-Ι-CΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) *they* (the monks) hate (CΕ-ΜΟCΤΕ) this race (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΓΕΝΟC) called (ΧΕ) woman (CΖΗΜΕ)]' (Hil. 10:16-17), ΝΦΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕCΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΗΠΟΡΝΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤQ 'he *did not* (ΑΝ) *want* (Ν-Γ-ΟΥΨ) [to *hear* (Ε-CΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) *a monk* (ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) who has (lit. in whom are (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΖΗΤ-Γ)) also (ΡΩ) pomographic (Η-ΠΟΡΝΙΑ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6).

b) Scope of negation

As with cognition verbs, perception sentences allow negation to occur in the main and the dependent clause, e.g. ΕΙΕ ΗΠΕΚΩΤΗ ΝΤΑΚ (for ΝΤΟΚ) ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΜΡΕ ΗΠΕCΤΡΑΥΛΑΤΗC ΗΠΡΡΟ Χ(Ε) ΗΠΙΤ CΑ (for CΟ) ΕΡΟQ 'have you (ΝΤΑΚ) *not heard* (ΗΠΕ-Κ-CΩΤΗ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of the king's (Η-Π-ΡΡΟ) general (Η-ΠΕ-CΤΡΑΥΛΑΤΗC) [that (Χ(Ε)) I *did not spare* him (lit. I did not give (ΗΠ-Ι-Τ) pardon (CΑ)) to him (ΕΡΟ-Γ)]?' (KHML I 73:27-28) vs. ΑΤΕΤΝΑΥ Χ(Ε) ΗΠΕ ΙC ΕΨΝΑΖΜΕQ ΖΗ ΝΑΔΙΧ 'you have *seen* (Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑΥ) [that (Χ(Ε)) Jesus (ΙC) *could not* save him

(Apa Nahrow) (μητε ... εψ-ναζημε-ς) from (2N) my hands (να-δix)'] (KHML I 5:28).

c) Subordinate exclamative

Subordinate exclamatives, like main clause exclamatives, are marked by the quantificational interrogative pronoun οὕμ 'how much, how many', e.g. ατετενναγ ω ν[α]cνηγ xe τιντατνα 200γ νογμ 'oh (ω) my brother (να-cνηγ), you have seen (α-τετεν-ναγ) [(that) (xe) how (ν-ογμ) bad (200γ) pitilessness (τ-μντ-ατ-να) is]' (KHML II 51:13-14).

d) Depictive predication

"THAT (xe)"-complement clauses can be used as a marked alternative for object depictives that describe the current state or condition of the direct object referent (see below, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8), e.g. μννca φιτε δε νρονπε αγναγ ετθερε ψημ xe μν μορτ μhoc 'after (μννca) nine (φιτε) years (ν-ρονπε), they (the brothers) saw (α-γ-ναγ) about the little (ψημ) girl (ε-τ-θερε) [that (xe) she had no beard (lit. (there) was no (μν) beard (μορτ) on her (μμο-ς))]' (Hil. 6:27-28), δωψτ νγναγ εναταδce xe ανγ ογρωμε 'look (δωψτ) and you will see (ν-γ-ναγ) from my foot-soles (ε-να-ταδce) [that (xe) I (ανγ) (am) a human being (ογ-ρωμε)]' (Onnophr. 206:23-24), τεc2ime †ναγ ερο [xe] ντο ογc2ime ενεce 2ρα[c] 'oh woman (τε-c2ime), I see (†-ναγ) about you (ερο) [that (xe) you (ντο) (are) a handsome (lit. whose face (2ρα-ς) is beautiful (ε-νεce)) woman (ογ-c2ime)]' (Mena, Mir. 27a:21-23), νταζε επογω νναψηρε xe ννεγμογ 2α πεzκο 'and I would find (ντα-ζε) the news (ε-π-ογω) about my children (ν-να-ψηρε) [that (xe) they are not going to die (ννε-γ-μογ) of (2α) hunger (πε-zκο)]' (Mena, Mir. 78b:16-19).

12.1.3 Reported speech

The term reported speech is used here in the broad sense to cover the reporting of spoken and written discourse. There are two main types of reported speech that represent an utterance from different points of view. Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of a given utterance, thereby expressing the internal viewpoint of the original

speaker, e.g. ππετογλαβ δε πεχαq нас xe παψηρε μν ψδoм μhoc εδω 2αθην 'the holy one (π-πετογλαβ δε) said (πεχα-ς) to her (να-ς) [(that) (xe) »My son (πα-ψηρε), you cannot (lit. (there) is no (μν) possibility (ψδoм) for you (μμο-κ) to) stay (ε-δω) with us (2αθην-η)«]' (Hil. 5:15-16). Indirect reported speech, on the other hand, only gives the content of the original, thus taking the external viewpoint of the reporter (the author of a text or the narrator within the text), e.g. αqχοoc νοι παειωτ ετρεγ† ναγ εογωμ κατα πεqογε2ca2νε 'my Father (πα-ειωτ) had said (α-q-χοο-ς) [that they should give (ε-τρε-γ-†) them (να-γ) to eat (ε-ογωμ) according to (κατα) his order (πεq-ογε2-ca2νε)]' (Abbatōn 236:27-28).

12.1.3.1 Main differences between direct and indirect reported speech

The distinction between reporting the wording (or form) and reporting the content (or meaning) of an utterance is to be found in the different use of deictic expressions and tense as well as the altered syntax of clause types.

a) Deixis

In direct reported speech, deictic expressions are invariably interpreted relative to the original utterance. The most straightforward case involves personal pronouns. In the direct type, reference to the speaker and the addressee is indicated by first and second pronouns, e.g. πεχαc νοι εγδοξια (read εγδοxia) τπαρθενoc xe ανοκ ανγ ογc2ime 'the virgin (τ-παρθενoc) Eudoxia said (πεχα-ς) [(that) (xe) »(As for) me (ανοκ), I (ανγ) (am) a woman (ογ-c2ime)]«' (Eud. 54:11-12), πεχε π2ηγεμωн ναq xe (...) αληωc ντοκ ογhoc νωνhoc 'the governor (π-2ηγεμωн) said (πεχε) to him (Apa Ptolemy) (να-ς) [(that) (xe) »(...) Verily (αληωc), you (ντοκ) (are) a noble (ογ-hoc) of noble descent (ν-ων-hoc)!«]' (KHML II 33:6-9).

By contrast, third person pronouns are used to designate the original speaker and addressee or both in the indirect type, e.g. μηεqταμε αλαγ 2η νεcνηγ xe qωωне 'he (Paehōm) did not tell (μηε-q-ταμε) any (αλαγ) of (2η) the brothers (νε-cνηγ) [that (xe) he was ill (q-ωωне)]' (V. Pach. 87:12), αlχοoc 2ωωτ xe ογгенoc νατψητε τε 'I, too

(2ΩΩΤ), said (Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-С) [that (xε) she (τε) (is) of shameless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΦΙΠΕ) race (ΟΥ-ΓΕΝΟС)]' (KHML I 84:1-2), ΝΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟС ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΝΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΥ ΕΝΕΥΡΠΕ 'they (the pagan priests) said (ΝΕ-Υ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-С) [that (xε) their gods (ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had come (ΝΤ-Α ... ΕΙ) to them (ΨΑΡΟ-ΟΥ) to their temples (Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΡΠΕ)]' (KHML II 49:16-17).

b) Tense

The tense of indirect reported speech is often interpreted with respect to the original utterance rather than the reporting frame. Indirect reports may therefore have a present tense form when the original has a present, even when the reporting frame has past tense reference, e.g. ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΑΛΟ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΘΜΕ ΧΕ QP ΖΩΒ QXO ΜΠΕQΖΙCΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡQ ΕΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕQΚΩ ΝΑQ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΕQΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΝΑΥ 'the elder (Ν-ΖΑΛΟ) said (Α-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) a gardener (ΟΥ-ΘΜΕ) [that (xε) he *worked* (Q-P ΖΩΒ) (and) spent (Q-XO ΕΒΟΛ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Q) product of his labour (Μ-ΠΕQ-ΖΙCΕ) to charity (Ε-Τ-ΑΓΑΠΗ), [keeping (Ε-Q-ΚΩ) for himself (ΝΑ-Q) only (ΜΜΑΤΕ) what he needed (lit. what he was in need (Ν-Ν-ΕΤΕ-Q-P) of (ΝΑ-Υ))]]' (AP Elanskaya 17a:14-20), ΑΥΧΟΟС ΕΤΒΗΗΤQ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟС ΧΕ ΕQΟΥΨ ΕCΑCΑ ΝΕCНΗΥ 'they said (Α-Υ-ΧΟΟ-С) about him (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Q), (namely) Apa Makarios, [that (xε) he *wanted* (Ε-Q-ΟΥΨ) to comfort (Ε-СΑCΑ) the brothers (ΝΕ-СНΗΥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:7), ΑΥΧΟΟС ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΝΕCНΗΥ ΧΕ ΨΑQΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΝΒΙΡ ΝQΤ ΜΑΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'they said (Α-Υ-ΧΟΟ-С) about (ΕΤΒΕ) one (ΟΥΑ) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-СНΗΥ) [that (xε) he *made* (ΨΑ-Q-ΤΑΜΙΟ) baskets (Ν-Ν-ΒΙΡ) and gave (Ν-Q-Τ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) handles (ΜΑΑΧΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 162, 36:19-20).

If, on the other hand, the tense of the indirect report is interpreted relative to the reporting frame, a Conjunctive or infinitival verb form is selected instead, e.g. ΤΑCΩΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΡΧΟΟС ΝΝΕCΕΙΟΤΕ ΝCΕΕΙ ΝΗΜΑC '(oh) my sister (ΤΑ-СΩΝΕ), why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) *did you not tell* (ΜΠΕΡ-ΧΟΟ-С) her parents (Ν-ΝΕC-ΕΙΟΤΕ) [*that they should come* (Ν-СΕ-ΕΙ) with her (ΝΗΜΑ-С)]?' (KHML I 82:6-7), ΑCΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΕCСON ΜΗ ΜΠΕCΖΑΙ ΕΤΡΕΥΚΑΑC ΝCΒΩΚ ΕΠΠΟΠΟC ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΒΙΚΤΩΡ 'she *begged*

(Α-С-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) her brother (Μ-ΠΕC-СON) and (ΜΗ) her husband (Μ-ΠΕC-ΖΑΙ) [*that they should allow her* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΚΑΑ-С) [*to go* (Ν-С-ΒΩΚ) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Apa Victōr]]' (KHML I 46:11-13), ΑQΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ ΕΤΡΕQΠΑΠΕ ΤΩΒΕ ΕΠΠΟΠΟC ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΧΟQ ΕΒΟΛ 'he (the archbishop) *told* (Α-Q-ΨΑΧΕ) him (the brick-maker) (ΝΗΜΑ-Q) [*to make* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΠΑΠΕ) bricks (ΤΩΒΕ) for the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Apa Mēna [*until it was finished* (lit. *they finished it* (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΧΟQ-Q ΕΒΟΛ))]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).

c) Clause types

All major clause types have a corresponding subordinate form used to express the report of a statement, question, or command. Such embedded declarative, interrogative or mandative clauses have a syntax different from the corresponding main clause.

□ REPORTED DECLARATIVES

Thus, reported assertions and denials, such as ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ '(it is) this one (ΠΑΙ) about whom (ΕΡΟ-Q) I *say* (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) [that (xε) he (ΠΕ) (is) the true (Μ-ΜΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19a:2-4) and ΑΙΧΟΟС ΧΕ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝCΕCΩ ΕΥΤ ΟΥΟΙ ΖΗ ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'I said (Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-С) [that (xε) they (the foreign monks) should not (ΜΗΠΟΤΕ) continue (Ν-СΕ-CΩ) [*to look around* (Ε-Υ-Τ ΟΥΟΙ) in (ΖΗ) the monastery (ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)]]' (V. Pach. 138:32) are in complementary distribution with (i) modal adverbs like ΑΛΗΘΩC 'verily, truly' and ΑΡΗΥ 'perhaps', (ii) interjections like ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ 'look', (iii) the positive and negative polarity markers CΕ 'yes' and ΜΜΟΝ 'no' and their emphatic counterparts ΑΖΕ 'yes (indeed)' and ΜΠΩΡ '(oh) no!', and (iv) nouns in vocative function. All these expressions can only occur in direct reported speech.

Examples: ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΑΛΗΘΩC ΟΥΝΟC ΜΗΑΓΟC ΠΕ ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ 'he said (ΠΕΧΑ-Q) [(that) (xε) » *Verily* (ΑΛΗΘΩC), this man (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) (is) a great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) wizard (Μ-ΗΑΓΟC)!«] (KHML I 7:22-23), ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ

ἀκούει 'he said (πεχα-ι) to me (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »look (εις ζηητε), you have become well (again) (α-κ-οῦχαι)«]’ (Onnophr. 209:5-6), πεχα ι και χε αζε λιζει τωνοϋ ω παφιρε 'he said (πεχα-ι) to me (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »Yes (αζε), I suffered (α-ι-ζει) a lot (τωνοϋ), oh (ω) my son (πα-φιρε)!«]’ (Onnophr. 208:21-22), αφοϋωψι (for αφοϋωψε) νας νδι παιακονος χε κυρι σπαδαριε εις οϋμνιψε νοϋοειϋ τεπιϋομει εβωκ επια επιμαϋ ταϋηα 'the deacon (π-διακονος) answered (α-ι-οϋωψι) her (Hilaria) (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »Sir (κυρι) knight (σπαδαριε), a lot (οϋ-μνιψε) of times (ν-οϋοειϋ) I wished (τ-επιϋομει) [to go (ε-βωκ) to that (επιμαϋ) place (ε-πι-μα) [to pray (τα-ϋηα)«]]’ (Hil. 4:28-30).

□ REPORTED INTERROGATIVES

Main clause interrogatives are always construed as direct questions, i.e. as inquiries, e.g. τοτε πεχε πρρο νοϋβαιϋινε (for νοϋβαιϋινε) χε νιμ πε παι 'then (τοτε) the king (π-ρρο) said (πεχε) to a messenger (ν-οϋ-βαι-ϋινε) [(that) (χε) »Who (νιμ) (is) this (man) (παι)?«]’ (KHML I 7:19-20). Subordinate interrogatives, on the other hand, may have an answer orientation, stating the positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked, e.g. ταμοι δε χε ντακβωκ ετων η εκϋοοπ των ηπεινοδ νοϋοειϋ 'tell me (ταμο-ι) [where (ε-των) you have gone (ντ-α-κ-βωκ) to and (η) where (των) you have been living (ε-κ-ϋοοπ) during this long (η-πει-νοδ) (period of) time (ν-οϋοειϋ)]’ (Mena, Enc. 51b:5-9), ηπερχοος χε ντακκααϋ των 'he (the deceased) did not tell (ηπε-ρ-χοο-ς) [where (των) he had put it (the deposit) (ντ-α-κ-καα-ι)]’ (AP Chafne no. 235, 65:18).

□ REPORTED DIRECTIVES

Imperative and Jussive mood are features of direct reported speech, e.g. πεχε τπαρεενος μαρια νζραϋηα χε μοονε ηπχοι εζοϋν επειμα (...) 'the Virgin (τ-παρεενος) Mary said (πεχε) to Raphaël (ν-ζραϋηα) [(that) (χε) »Land (μοονε) the boat (η-π-χοι) here (ε-πει-μα) (...)!«]’ (KHML I 81:25-26), πεχε τεσμααϋ ναϋ χε ηαρενκαας ζαζηηη (...) 'her mother (τεσ-μααϋ) said (πεχε) to him (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »Let's place her (ηαρε-ν-καας) in front of us

(ζαζηηη-η) (...)!«]’ (Hil. 12:3). The corresponding subordinate forms in indirect reported speech are the declarative content clauses of mandative verbs like οϋεζ σαζηε 'to order', κελεϋε 'to command', or κωρω 'to entreat'. Reported directives are introduced by a Conjunctive or infinitival verb e.g. αϋω ακκελεϋε νσεεντϋ εχη πβηηα 'and (αϋω) he (the king) ordered (α-ι-κελεϋε) [(that) they brought him (Απα Nahrōw) (ν-σε-εντ-ι) to (εχη) the tribune (π-βηηα)]’ (KHML I 5:18-19), ηηηνσς ακκελεϋε νδι πρρο ετροϋεινε εβολ εροϋ νογαρϋ 'after that (ηηηνω-ς) the king (π-ρρο) ordered (α-ι-κελεϋε) [that they bring (ε-τρ-οϋ-εινε) out (εβολ) to him (Απα Nahrōw) (ερο-ι) a bear (ν-οϋ-αρϋ)]’ (KHML I 4:20-21), although the Inferential is available as an alternative, e.g. νκωρω εροϋ ταρεϋτ ναϋ ηπζολοκοττινος ταρεϋτααϋ ηπcon 'and he (Απα John) entreated (ν-ι-κωρω) him (Απα Jacob) (ερο-ι) [to give (ταρε-ι-τ) him (να-ι) the holokottinos (a golden coin) (η-π-ζολοκοττινος) [so that he could give it (back) (ταρε-ι-ταα-ι) to the brother (η-π-con)]]’ (AP Elanskaya 14a:2-6).

12.1.3.2 The reportative verb πεχε-/πεχα-

The inflectional paradigm of the reportative verb πεχε-, πεχα- 'said' is presented in table 12.3 below.

	ΠΕΧΕ-/ΠΕΧΑ-	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ΠΕΧΑ-Ι	ΠΕΧΑ-Ν
2 nd masc.	ΠΕΧΑ-Κ	ΠΕΧΗ-ΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΠΕΧΕ	
3 rd masc.	ΠΕΧΑ-Ι	ΠΕΧΑ-Υ
3 rd fem.	ΠΕΧΑ-Σ	
Before noun	ΠΕΧΕ Π-ΡΩΝΕ	

TABLE 12.3 The reportative verb πεχε-/πεχα-

The reportative verb πεχε-, πεχα- 'said' is commonly used to introduce reporting clauses that are located in the past. It belongs to the

morphologically unproductive class of frozen verb formations that have residual V-S-O order (see above, section 10.2 of Unit 10), e.g. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΛΥ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΚΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ 'they (the brothers) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) said (ΠΕΧΛ-Υ) to him (Απα Μωσες) (ΝΑ-Φ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Would you (ΝΤΟΚ) not (ΑΝ) run away (Κ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ)?«]» (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:5-6).

12.1.3.3 Verbs of saying and reporting

A sample of the larger number of verbs that can be used to report direct speech is given in table 12.4. (ABS. ST. stands for 'absolute state', NOM. ST. for 'nominal state', and PRON. ST. for 'pronominal state').

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ΧΩ ΜΗΟ-С		ΧΟΟ-С	to say
ΨΑΧΕ			to speak, say
ΗΟΥΤΕ			to speak, call
	ΤΑΜΕ-	ΤΑΜΟ-	to inform, tell someone
	ΧΝΕ-	ΧΝΟΥ-	to ask someone
ΟΥΨΩΒ			to answer, reply
	ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ		to cry out, shout
ΩΡΚ			to swear (an oath)
ΚΕΛΕΥΕ			to command, order
ΑΙΤΕΙ			to ask for, demand
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ			to summon, beseech

TABLE 12.4 Verbs of saying and reporting

The reported clause is structurally marked as subordinate to the matrix reportative verb by means of the 'THAT'-complementiser *χε*. This feature of Coptic direct speech is not translatable. Reportative verbs may select a direct or indirect object besides the direct quote clause that designates the original addressee.

Examples: ΝΓΧΟΟС ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΤΗΜΕ ΠΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΟΕΙΚ (...) 'and you should say (Ν-Γ-ΧΟΟ-С) to him (ΝΑ-Φ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Feed (ΤΗΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ) your son (ΠΕΚ-ΩΗΡΕ) with (ΖΗ) this (piece of) bread (ΠΕΙ-ΟΕΙΚ) (...)!«]» (V. Pach. 141:26), ΜΗΝΝСА ΚΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟΡΟΜΑ ΧΕ ΖΑΠС ΟΝ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΡΕΚСМΗΝ ΟΥСООΥΖС ΖΗ ΤΚΑΖ ΨΜΙΝ 'after (ΜΗΝΝСА) some more time (ΚΕ-ΟΥΟΕΙΨ), he (Pachōm) was told (lit. they told (Α-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ) him (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »you must also (ΟΝ) (lit. *it is necessary* (ΖΑΠ-С) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) to) [establish (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-СМН) a congregation (ΟΥ-СООΥΖС) in (ΖΗ) the district (Т-ΚΑΖ) Akhmîm (ΨΜΙΝ)«]» (V. Pach. 145:18-20),]» (V. Pach. 145:18-20), ΛΦΗΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΗΟС ΧΕ ΜΕΨΕ ΝΙМ ΝΤΑΚКА ΝΕСКЕΥΗ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΗ ΑΨ ΜΗΑ 'the old man (Π-ΖΛΛΟ) addressed (Α-Φ-ΗΟΥΤΕ) the deceased (Ε-Π-ΕΤ-ΜΟΟΥΤ) [*saying* (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ ΜΗΟ-С) [(that) (ΧΕ) »So-an-so (ΜΕΨΕ ΝΙМ), in (ΖΗ) which (ΑΨ) place (ΜΗΑ) did you put (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΚΑ) the property (ΝΕ-СΚΕΥΗ) of the (previously mentioned) man (Η-Π-ΡΩΜΕ)?«]» (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), ΑΥΤΑΜΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΗСЕ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΑΥΛΟС ΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΚ ΕΘМ ΠΕΚΩΗΝ (...) 'they (his servants) told (Α-Υ-ΤΑΜΕ) the holy (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) Apa Paëse [(that) (ΧΕ) » When Paul comes (ΕΡΨΑΝ ... ΕΙ) to you (ΨΑΡΟ-Κ) to pay (Ε-ΘМ) you a visit (ΠΕΚ-ΩΗΝ) (...) «]» (KHML I 74:13-14), Α ΟΥСОН ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ СΑΡΑΠΙОН ΧΕ ΑΧΙ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΙ 'a brother (ΟΥ-СОН) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion [(that) (ΧΕ) » Say (ΑΧΙ) a word (ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι)!«]» (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24), ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΝΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΚΑΛΩС 'our father (Pachōm) (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) answered (Α-Φ-ΟΥΨΩΒ) him (Απα Jōnas) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Well (ΚΑΛΩС) (said)!«]» (V. Pach. 145:9), ΠΔΕΜΩΝ (for ΠΔΑΙΜΩΝ) ΔΕ ΑΦΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΙΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΗΗТК 'the demon (Π-ΔΕΜΩΝ) cried (Α-Φ-ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Do you think (Ε-Κ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) I came (Ε-Ι-ΝΗΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) because of you (ΕΤΕΗΗТ-К)?«]» (AP Chaîne no. 222, 62:27-28), ΨΑΙΩΡΚ ΝΑΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙС ΧΕ ΜН ΑΛΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ 'I swear (ΨΑ-Ι-ΩΡΚ) to you (ΝΑ-Κ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙС), [(that) (ΧΕ) »(there) is (ΜН) nobody (ΑΛΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)«]» (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31), ΤΟΤΕ ΑΦΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΡΟ ΧΕ ΦΕΙ (for ΦΙ) ΜΠΕΙΤΑΛΑΙΠΟРОС (for ΜΠΕΙΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟС) Т[Α]ΛΦ ΝΝΕΘΗΡΙОН ΝСБОУОМΦ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) ordered (Α-Φ-ΚΕΛΕΥΕ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Take (ΦΕΙ) this miserable (person) (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΤΑΛΑΙΠΟРОС), give him (ΤΑΛ-Φ) to the beasts (Ν-ΝΕ-ΘΗΡΙОН) [that they

eat him (H-CE-OYOM-Q)!«]]' (KHML I 4:4-5), ἀφάστει εἶναι μπάτ μετρώει
ἐπιπαρακαλεί μμοφ ἐφχω μμοc ντειζε x[ε] πα[ε]ιωτ ὁωφτ ἐζραι εἶναι
π[α]ζιcε μν παcκγλωc 'he (Jesus Christ) threw himself (A-Q-ΠΑΖΤ-Q) at
(εἶναι) the feet (H-ΠΑΤ) of his Father (H-ΠΕΦ-ΕΙΩΤ) and beseeched
(Ε-Φ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) him (μμο-φ) [speaking (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ μμο-с xε) in the following
manner (H-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) [(that) (xε) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), look (ὁωφτ) at (εἶναι) my
grief (ΠΑ-ΖΙCΕ) and (μν) my vexation (ΠΑ-CΚΓΛΩC)!«]]' (Eud. 34:10-11).

a) The object-expletive construction

Unlike other reportative verbs, the reported clause cannot appear in the complement position of the reportative verb xω 'to say', but rather appears in an extraposed object position at the end of the reporting matrix clause. The canonical object position is occupied by an impersonal 3rd person singular feminine pronoun μμοc, -c 'it', which serves as a placeholder for the extraposed reported clause, e.g. ντοφ παλοc πετχω μμοc ναи † ννενтnнka εβολ (...) '(it is) he (H-TO-Q) the Logos (i.e. Christ) (H-ΛΟΓΟC) that (ΕΤ) says (it) (xω μμο-с) to me (H-Α-Ι) [(that) (xε) »Sell († εβολ) your possessions (H-ΝΕΤN-НKΑ)(...)!«]]' (AP Elanskaya 13a:8-9 [Matt. 19:21]), ἀφχοοc νδi απα εγλγριοc xε λγcon κω ναφ νογεγλгeиoн μmate 'Apa Evagrius said (it) (A-Q-XOO-с) [(that) (xε) »A brother ([O]Y-CON) had kept (A ... κω) only (H-MATE) one gospel (H-OY-ΕΓΛΓΓEиOн) for himself (H-A-Q)!«]]' (AP Elanskaya 13a:1-4).

b) The reportative extension Ε-Φ-ΧΩ μμο-с

Many reportative verbs do not introduce the reported clause directly, but resort to the reportative extension Ε-Φ-ΧΩ μμο-с 'saying'. This has a primarily validation function, asserting the authenticity of the reported speech, e.g. ἀφψαxε νμμλγ ἐφχω μμοc xε εic ζηητε λνοκ εйнаβωκ ератφ нпхоeиc 'he (Pachōm) talked (A-Q-ΨΑХЕ) to them (the brothers) (H-MMA-Y) [saying (it) (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ μμο-с) [(that) (xε) »Look (εic ζηητε) I (λνοκ) will go (Ε-Ι-HΛ-ΒΩΚ) to (εрат-φ) the Lord (H-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)!«]]' (V. Pach. 92:23-24), A απα βανε δε xνε απα λβραζам νογζοογ ἐφχω μμοc xε ογρωμε нтаφр θε ναдам ζη

ππαρλδiοc (for ππαρλδeиoс) φр xpia (for xpεια) нкeсon ετρεγχι
ψοxне ναφ 'Apa Bane asked (A ... xνε) Apa Abraham one day
(H-OY-2OOY) [saying (it) (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ μμο-с) [(that) (xε) »Would a man
(OY-POMЕ) who had become like (H-T-A-Q-P ΘΕ) Adam (H-ΑΔΑМ) in (ζη)
Paradise (H-ΠΑΡΑΔIОC) still (H-KE-CON) need (Q-P xpia) [to be
counselled (lit. that they counsel (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΧΙ ψοxне) him (H-A-Q)?«]]' (AP Chaîne no. 246, 76:26-28).

c) Parenthetical πεχα-

The reportative verb πεχα- 'said' may appear as a parenthetical clause following the first word or phrase of the reported speech. Parenthetical πεχα- provides a context where the xε-complementiser does not seem to be permitted, e.g. ντανει πεχαγ ψαροκ εβολ xε ντοκ πε πεγλпн тнpoγ '[»We have come (H-T-A-H-EI)!«, they said (πεχα-γ), [»to you (ψαρο-κ), [because (εβολ xε) you (H-TOC) (are) the leader of them (ΠΕΥ-ΛΠH) all (THP-OY)!«]]' (AP Chaîne no. 155, 34:29), λρηγ πεxac нте πεφна тазои нqχαριze ναи нптаλдо '[»Perhaps (λρηγ)!«, he said (πεxac), [»will his grace (ΠΕΦ-HΛ) come upon me (H-TE ... тазо-и) and will he grant (H-Q-XAPIZE) me (H-A-Ι) healing (H-Π-ΤΑΛΔO)!«]]' (KHML I 46:13-14), ογρωме пе πεχαφ εογνταφ μμλγ νογψнpe λγω ψεepε cнте '[» (there was) a man (OY-POMЕ)], he said (πεχα-γ), [»who had (Ε-OYNTA-Q) one son (H-OY-ΨHPE) and (λγω) two (CHTЕ) daughters (ψεepε)!«]]' (Sh. Or 44, 161a:16-20).

d) Ellipsis of the reportative verb

The reportative verb can be omitted altogether when the surrounding context makes it sufficiently clear that the embedded clause is to be interpreted as reported speech, e.g. λνοκ δε λpиme xε ннтаи метаноia μμλγ 'I (λνοκ) wept (A-I-PIME) »I do not have (H-MTA-I) forgiveness (μεтаноia)!«' (Ac. A&P 200:99-100), λγcmн δε ψωпe ψα пмакаpиoс απα мнна етi ефтаλнγ епdиnoyнa xε нπεpp ζote пamepит мнна 'a voice ([O]Y-CMH) came (A ... ψωпe) to (ψα) the blessed (H-MAKAPIOC) Apa Mēna while he was still (ETI) on board (Ε-Φ-ΤΑΛHγ) of the ship (Ε-Π-ΔIHOYHΛ) (saying) »Do not be (H-ΠΕP-P) afraid (ζote), my

beloved (πα-μεριτ) Mēna (μηνά)!«J' (Mēna, Enc. 56a:17-23), *ῥοινε μεν κε οὐρενηπαειατ* (for *οὐρενηπαειατ*) *πε ῥηκοογε δε κε παπημαριωτης πε* 'some (people) (*ῥοινε*) (say) [that (*κε*) he (Apa Mēna) (*πε*) (was) a man of the Paciat (*οὐ-ρεν-νε-παειατ*)], others (*ῥεν-κοογε*) [that (*κε*) he (*πε*) (was) one from the Mariôtēs (*πα-π-μαριωτης*)]' (Mēna, Enc. 36b:27-37a:2).

12.2 Adjunct clauses

This section provides an overview of various classes of clausal adjuncts. It elaborates on already familiar aspects of the Coptic relative tense system, providing a contrastive analysis of subordinate verbal tenses with a range of semantically related constructions. As with common phrasal adjuncts, clausal adjuncts are optional sentence constituents that can be omitted without affecting the interpretability of the rest of the clause.

Clausal adjuncts are syntactically less well integrated into the structure of the main clause than clausal complements. Moreover, they convey relatively constant kinds of meaning. We adopt here a traditional taxonomy of semantic types of adverbial clauses, which is cast in terms of rhetorical notions such as conditionality, temporality, causality and purpose.

12.2.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis). What is common to all constructions fitting the IF P THEN Q schema is that they convey a consequence implicature, asserting that the situation described in the apodosis follows in one way or the other from the situation described in the protasis clause.

One important semantic distinction within the wide array of conditional constructions is that between open and remote conditionals. This subdivision is based on a contrast between "realis" and "irrealis" modality. Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to the question whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but

attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. *ῥοταν δε εὐψανσωγῶ εῖροῦν ῥηναῖα νῶι πεῦχοεις κε ἁ κενητχοεις ἀμαῖτε εἰσωῶ* '[when (*ῥοταν*) they (the Egyptians) *gather* (*ε-ῦ-ψαν-σωγῶ εῖροῦν*)], their lord (*πεῦ-χοεις*) will see (*ῥ-να-ῖα*) that (*κε*) another leadership (*κε-μντ-χοεις*) has power (*ἁ ... ἀμαῖτε*) over them (*εἰσω-ῶ*)' (Camb. 8:10-12).

Remote conditionals, on the other hand, express the idea that the satisfaction of the condition expressed in the hypothetical clause is relatively unlikely or even impossible in the actual world, e.g. *ἐνετετνημπεμα* (for *τετνημπεμα*) *ἡματε νετετνημαεῖ μοοῦ ννετοῦωψ τετναῖνε ντεντροφη ἡῖροῦ πεῖροῦ* '[if you only (*ἡματε*) *had been here* (*ε-νε-τετν-εἡ-πει-μα*)], you could have drawn (*νε-τετν-μα-μεῖ*) water (*μοοῦ*) for those who wish for (it) (*ἡ-ν-ετ-οῦωψ*), (and) we would have found (*τεν-μα-ῖνε*) our food (*ἡ-τεν-τροφη*) from day (*ἡ-πε-ῖροῦ*) to day (*πε-ῖροῦ*)' (Mēna, Mir. 81b:21-29). The open conditional represents the prototypical conditional construction: we will examine it first, and then turn to the remote version.

12.2.1.1 Open conditionals

There are six basic categories of open conditional constructions, each associated with distinct syntactic and semantic properties: (i) *ε-ῥ-ψαν*-conditionals, (ii) *εῶπε-εῶχε*-conditionals, (iii) concessive conditionals (*καν* 'even if'), (iv) 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, (v) coordinated and juxtaposed structures with conditional interpretations and (vi) hypothetical free relatives.

12.2.1.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) Word order

Word order in conditional sentences is largely determined by the principle of iconicity: since the protasis is logically prior to the apodosis, the conditional adjunct clause is generally placed in the front position of preposed adverbs, e.g. *εῖψαν οὐσον δε ψοοβεῖ νεῖτηνκοτῃ (...)* *εῖρε πεῖρηνη βωκ επηα ννοικονομος νῥχίτοῦ νῥαῖ ψαντῥο*

'[when a brother (ΟΥ-CON) hurts himself (ΕΡ-ΨΑΝ ... ΨΟΟΘΕ-Ϛ) and cannot sleep (ΝΕϚ-ΤΗ-ΝΚΟΤΚ) (...)], his superintendent (ΠΕϚ-ΡΜΝ-ΗΙ) should go (ΕΡΕ ... ΒΩΚ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the stewards (Ν-Ν-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ) and take it (Ν-Ϛ-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ) (the oil, a garment) for him (ΝΑ-Ϛ) until he gets better (ΨΑΝΤ-Ϛ-ΛΟ)' (praec. Pach. 105).

Conditional constructions with the reverse order also occur. The postponement of the conditional adjunct to the end of the consequence clause conveys a strong sense of contrastive focus, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΦΙΣ ΤΑΖΟΟΥ Η ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will they who are (Ν-ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) find (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ), [when they get into trouble (lit. if trouble (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΦΙΣ) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)], or (Η) [when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ)], where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); [when they suffer from thirst (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ)], where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-Ω)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

b) Syntactic dependency

Conditional adjunct clauses are less well integrated into the matrix clause than temporal adjunct clauses. For this reason, the protasis and the apodosis of a conditional construction may be distributed over two successive clauses, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑϚ ΧΕ ΕΩΨΠΕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΠΕ ΕΜΝ [Ϛ]ΒΟΜ ΜΜΟϚ Ε† ΝΟΥΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕϚΤΜΜΕ ΟΥCON ΝΖΗΚΕ ΖΗ ΠΑΡΑΝ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ι) to him (ΝΑ-Ϛ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »if (ΕΩΨΠΕ) he (ΠΕ) (is) poor (ΟΥ-ΖΗΚΕ) and cannot afford (lit. without (there) being (Ε-ΜΝ) power (ΨΒΟΜ) in him (ΜΜΟ-Ϛ)) to give (Ε-†) a sacrifice (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ) in your name (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΡΑΝ)«] He said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ϛ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι) [(that) (ΧΕ) »he should nourish (ΜΑΡΕ-Ϛ-ΤΜΜΕ) a poor (Ν-ΖΗΚΕ) brother (ΟΥ-CON) in (ΖΗ) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ)!«] (Onnophr. 216:14-16).

c) Clause types

All major clause types apply to open conditionals: declarative, interrogative, exclamative, imperative. The clause type category is expressed in the apodosis clause, while the protasis is invariably formulated as a declarative clause.

Examples: (declarative) ΕΣΨΑΝΩΨΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑΣ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΣΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΣΠΑΖΤΣ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΣΡΙΜΕ '[when she (Hilaria) looked (Ε-Σ-ΨΑΝ-ΩΨΤ) at her (sister's) face (Ε-ΖΡΑ-Σ)], her inner (Ν-ΖΟΥΝ) part (ΠΕΣ-ΣΑ) melted away (ΨΑΡΕ ... ΒΩΛ) (and) she threw herself (ΨΑ-Σ-ΠΑΖΤ-Σ) on (ΕΧΗ) the ground (Π-ΚΑΖ) and wept (Ν-Σ-ΡΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 9:13-14), (interrogative) ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΚΟΟΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ '[if (ΕΨΧΕ) you (ΝΤΚ) (are) a soldier (ΟΥ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)], how (ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ) do you know (Κ-ΚΟΟΟΥΝ) the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)?' (Mena, Enc. 55b:7-10), (imperative) ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΘΗ ΠΑΨΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΑΨΙΝΕ) ΜΠΡΚΑ ΠΑΩΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΤΟΜCϚ ΝΖΗΤϚ '[if the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) visits me (ΕΡΨΑΝ ... ΘΗ ΠΑ-ΨΕΙΝΕ)], do not let my body (ΠΑ-ΩΜΑ) rest (ΜΠΡ-ΚΑ) in (ΖΗ) the place (Π-ΜΑ) where (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ) it will be buried (lit. they will bury it (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΑ-ΤΟΜC-Ϛ))!' (V. Pach. 93:27-28), (exclamative) ΟΥΟΙ ΜΗΤΗ ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΤΜΕΩΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Η ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΤΜΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕCΝΟϚ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC 'woe (ΟΥΟΙ) to you (ΜΗ-ΤΗ) [if you do not go (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-ΒΩΚ) to church (Ε-Τ-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ)] or (Η) [if you do not take (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΨΑΝ-ΧΙ) from (ΕΒΟΛ) the body (Π-ΩΜΑ) and (ΜΝ) the blood (ΠΕ-CΝΟϚ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)]' (Sh. III 45:10-11).

□ INTERROGATIVE APODOSIS

Open conditions with an interrogative apodosis are commonly interpreted as biased questions: the protasis clause provides information that suggests a negative answer to the question expressed in the apodosis clause, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΜΠΨΘΜΒΟΜ ΕΤΨΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΒΝΕC ΝΤΑΜΑΛΥ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΕΙΝΑΨΤΨΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΨΠΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΡΙCΙC ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΕΧC ΜΝ ΝΕϚΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ '[if (ΕΨΧΕ) I was not able (ΜΠ-Ι-Ψ-ΘΜ-ΒΟΜ) to bear (Ε-ΤΨΟΥΝ) my mother's (Ν-ΤΑ-ΜΑΛΥ) reproach (ΖΑ Π-ΝΟΒΝΕC)], how (Ν-ΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ) will I be able to bear (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΤΨΟΥΝ) the shame (ΖΑ Π-ΨΠΕ) on the day (Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) of the judgement (Ν-ΤΕ-ΚΡΙCΙC) before (ΖΙΘΗ) Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-ΧC) and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) his angels

(ΝΕΦ-ΛΓΓΕΛΟΣ)?' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:19-21) (implied meaning: since I did not live up to my mother's expectation, there is no way that I could pass the Lord's judgement), ΕΨΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΒΕΚΗ (for ΠΑΒΕΚΕ) ΕΙΝΑΕΡ ΟΥ ΝΤΑΙ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) this (ΠΑΙ) (is) my wage (ΠΑ-ΒΕΚΗ), *what* (ΟΥ) shall I do (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΕΡ) with this (brick) (Ν-ΤΑΙ)?' (Mena, Mir. 79b:15-18) (implied meaning: I cannot do anything with this brick; it's not a reward at all).

□ IMPERATIVAL APODOSIS

In specifying a circumstance under which some course of action has to be taken, open conditionals formed with an imperatival apodosis are generally more restrictive than simple main clause imperatives. They commonly express non-wilful directives (advice, recommendations, warnings), e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΣΕΡΑΝΑΚ ΗΠΕΚΡΑΤΟΣ (read ΗΠΕΚΚΡΑΤΟΣ) ΕΨΩΠ ΕΡΟΚ ΗΠΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΤΕΝΟΟΥ (read ΤΗΝΟΟΥ) ΝΤΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΕΨΗΤ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΣΚΥΤΗΣ (for ΝΝΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ) ΕΤΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) it pleases (Σ-ΕΡ ΑΝΑ-Κ) your majesty (Η-ΠΕ<Κ>-ΚΡΑΤΟΣ) to accept (Ε-ΨΩΠ) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) our advice (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΨΑΧΕ), *send* (ΤΕΝΟΟΥ) your daughter (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΩΗΡΕ) to Shiēt (Ε-ΨΗΤ) to (Ε-ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) the hermits (Ν-Ν-ΑΣΚΥΤΗΣ) who (reside) in (ΕΤ-ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)!' (Hil. 7:7-9), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΚΟΥΨ ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΤΑΛΟ ΑΡΙΣΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΗΠΒΟΛ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΨΑΝΤΚΡ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΣΝΑΥ 'but [if (ΕΨΩΠΕ) you want (Κ-ΟΥΨ) to do (Ε-ΕΙΡΕ) a few (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) healings (Ν-ΤΑΛΟ), *do them* (ΑΡΙ-ΣΟΥ) outside (Η-Π-ΒΟΛ) the city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) at a distance (lit. until you make (ΨΑΝΤ-Κ-Ρ)) of two (ΣΝΑΥ) days (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΙ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34).

d) Iteration of conditional adjuncts

Open conditional constructions may be recursive, allowing more than one protasis clause. The iteration of conditional adjuncts is comparatively rare, especially if they are placed adjacent to one another, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΚΑ ΡΩΦ ΑΝ ΕΨΩΑΝΘΩΜ ΕΤΩΒΕ ΗΠΕΤΟ ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΕΨΕΖΙΜΕ ΠΟΣΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΕΦΝΑΪ ΣΟ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΑΛΑΤΕ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΙΣ '[if (ΕΨΧΕ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) will not (ΑΝ) shut (ΝΑ-ΚΑ) his mouth (ΡΩ-Φ)], [if he is able (Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΘΗ-ΘΩΜ) to repay (Ε-ΤΩΒΕ) him who committed

(Η-Π-ΕΤ-Ο) adultery (Ν-ΝΟΕΙΚ) to his wife (Ε-ΤΕΨ-ΣΖΙΜΕ)], how much (ΠΟΣΩ) more (ΜΑΛΛΟΝ) will he who created (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ψ-ΠΑΛΑΤΕ) them (ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ), Jesus (ΙΣ), give (Ε-Ψ-ΝΑ-Τ) pardon (ΣΟ)?' (Sh. Or 44, 163a:13-22).

12.2.1.1.2 Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-conditionals

Open conditionals formed with the Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΣΩΤΗ pattern may assume a range of different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to realis modality, while others involve quantification over event types.

a) Consequence and inference

The Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-conditional construction generally conveys a consequence implicature: the apodosis situation is presented as the expected or intended outcome of the protasis situation. This relation is very often one of cause and effect, e.g. ΣΕΝΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙ ΝΣΕΘΝΤΗ ΕΝΡΗΣ ΤΗΝΑΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ 'since (ΓΑΡ) they (the temptations) will come (ΣΕ-ΝΗΥ) and (ΑΥΩ) [when they come (Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙ) and find us (Ν-ΣΕ-ΘΝΤ-Η) awake (Ε-Ν-ΡΗΣ)], we will be glorified (lit. receive (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) glory (ΕΟΟΥ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17), ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΗΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΤΡΕ Π[ΑΙ] ΨΩΠΕ ΨΑΙΤ ΗΠΠΙΝΑΞ '[if the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna makes (ΕΡΨΑΝ ΤΡΕ) this (ΠΑΙ) happen (ΨΩΠΕ)], I give (ΨΑ-Ι-Τ) the dish (Η-Π-ΠΙΝΑΞ)' (Mena, Mir. 20a:18-22).

A second common type of consequence is inference, where the truth of the apodosis is seen as following from that of the protasis clause, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΚΡΙΝΕ ΑΚΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΗΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΖΩΩΚ '[when you judge (Ε-Κ-ΨΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ)], you, too (ΖΩΩ-Κ), have transgressed (Α-Κ-ΠΑΡΑΒΑ) the law (Η-Π-ΝΟΜΟΣ)' (AP Elanskaya 22a:7-9), ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΨ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΨ '[because (ΓΑΡ) if all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) who saw (Ν-ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΑΥ) him (Jesus) (ΕΡΟ-Ψ) come to know (Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) (about it)], they will believe (ΣΕ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) in him (ΕΡΟ-Ψ)' (Eud. 52:21-22).

b) Realis modality

Open $\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\eta$ -conditionals indicate a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the actualisation of the protasis situation at some point in the nearby future, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega \uparrow\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \chi\epsilon \epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\eta\iota \psi\alpha\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta \chi\eta\upsilon \tau\eta\rho\eta \chi\eta\tau\eta \lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) I believe ($\uparrow\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$) [that ($\chi\epsilon$) [if he comes ($\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\eta\iota$) to us ($\psi\alpha\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta$)] we all ($\tau\eta\rho\eta$) will benefit (lit. gain ($\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta$) profit ($\chi\eta\upsilon$)) from ($\chi\eta\tau\eta$) his prayers ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$)]' (Hil. 10:30-31), $\epsilon\kappa\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\chi\iota \mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu \lambda\tau\eta\lambda\eta\lambda\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \kappa\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\lambda\eta\lambda \epsilon\rho\omicron[\kappa] \lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon [\lambda\eta\mu]\lambda\alpha\kappa \lambda\eta\lambda\gamma \lambda\eta\mu$ '[when you receive ($\epsilon\kappa\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\chi\iota$) the crown ($\lambda\eta\mu$ - $\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$) of the martyrdom ($\lambda\tau\eta\lambda\eta\lambda\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$)], he (Jesus) will reveal (himself) ($\kappa\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$) to you ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$) and talk ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to you ($\lambda\eta\mu$) every ($\lambda\eta\mu$) hour ($\lambda\eta\gamma$)' (KHML II 30:22-23), $\epsilon\rho\psi\omega\lambda\beta\omega\kappa \epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\iota \epsilon\omicron\iota\lambda\eta\lambda\eta\lambda$ (...) $\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa \lambda\omicron\iota \lambda\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \tau\alpha\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$ (...) '[when you (woman) go ($\epsilon\rho\psi\omega\lambda\beta\omega\kappa$) to ($\epsilon\omicron\iota\lambda\eta\lambda\eta\lambda$) Jerusalem] (...), the people from ($\lambda\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) my tribe ($\tau\alpha\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$) will inform you ($\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron$) about it ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:23-26).

The conditional adjunct may establish a time frame for the course of action described in the consequence clause, e.g. $\epsilon\rho\psi\omega\lambda \lambda\eta\mu \epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\lambda\gamma\omega \pi\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron \lambda\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \lambda\epsilon$ '[when daylight ($\lambda\eta\mu$ - $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\lambda$) appears ($\epsilon\rho\psi\omega\lambda$... $\epsilon\iota \lambda\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)], go (woman) ($\lambda\eta\mu$) to my shrine ($\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\lambda$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) healing ($\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$) will be granted (lit. will happen ($\lambda\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$)) to you ($\lambda\epsilon$)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23), $\epsilon\upsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \lambda\omicron\iota \lambda\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \lambda\tau\epsilon\mu\rho\omega \uparrow\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\kappa \lambda\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\chi\kappa \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ '[when the people ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) of the harbour ($\lambda\tau\epsilon\mu\rho\omega$) go to sleep ($\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$)], I will take it (the corpse) ($\uparrow\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\kappa$) and throw it ($\lambda\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\chi\kappa$) into the sea ($\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7).

c) Multiple situations

The protasis and the apodosis situation of open $\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\eta$ -conditionals are located in the same time-sphere, temporal reference being established by the tense of the matrix clause. The selection of habitual aspect in the apodosis clause imposes quantificational interpretation on the entire conditional sentences, which then describes the interdependency between two event patterns, e.g. $\lambda\lambda\alpha \rho\psi\omega\alpha\lambda \omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda \uparrow\mu\kappa\alpha\lambda \lambda\alpha\kappa \chi\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\lambda\kappa$ (for $\chi\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\lambda\kappa$)

$\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\kappa\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\kappa$ '[but ($\lambda\lambda\alpha$) whenever a brother ($\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda$) hurt ($\rho\psi\omega\alpha\lambda$... $\uparrow\mu\kappa\alpha\lambda$) him (the ill-tempered monk) ($\lambda\alpha\kappa$) in anything ($\chi\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\lambda\kappa$)], he used to hate him ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\kappa\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\kappa$)' (V. Pach. 86:2-3), $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\epsilon \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi \lambda\eta\mu \epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega \epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega\lambda \mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota \lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa \lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\chi\omega\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ (...) 'because ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\epsilon$) every ($\lambda\eta\mu$) time ($\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi$) [when they finished ($\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega$) eating ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega\lambda$) their small portion ($\lambda\eta\mu$ - $\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$) of bread ($\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$)], they used to gather ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\gamma\omega\varsigma\omega\gamma\omega$) with one another ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$) (...) ' (V. Pach. 137:3-4), $\epsilon\varsigma\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \lambda\epsilon \lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon \lambda\alpha\kappa \lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon\tau \eta \chi\eta\lambda\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\delta\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\lambda\mu \psi\alpha\kappa\chi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon \lambda\alpha\gamma$ '[whensoever it happened ($\epsilon\varsigma\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) [(that) they brought ($\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$) him (Pachōm) ($\lambda\alpha\kappa$) fish ($\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon\tau$) or (η) other food ($\chi\eta\lambda\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\delta\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\lambda$)], he took it ($\psi\alpha\kappa\chi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$) and prepared it ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) for them (the brothers) ($\lambda\alpha\gamma$)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3).

12.2.1.1.3 $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ -/ $\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon$ -conditionals

As a syntactic alternative for the $\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\eta$ -pattern, the hypothetical clause of an open conditional can also be marked as such by the conditional conjunctions $\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ 'if, when'. The apodosis clause is sometimes introduced by correlative $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ 'then', e.g. $\lambda\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon \lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho \epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon \kappa\lambda\alpha\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta \tau\alpha\lambda\eta \chi\eta \lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa \epsilon\iota\epsilon \lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\omega\tau\eta \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\lambda\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota \mu\pi\alpha\varsigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ '(oh) Lord ($\lambda\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), God ($\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$) Almighty ($\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$), [if ($\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon$) you want to direct ($\kappa\lambda\alpha\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$) my way ($\tau\alpha\lambda\eta$) in ($\chi\eta$) the matter ($\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa$) that I want to pursue ($\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa$), then ($\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) let me hear ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\omega\tau\eta$) Scripture readings ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\lambda\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$) that are suited ($\epsilon\gamma\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$) to my goal ($\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$)!' (Hil. 2:20-21).

a) Syntactic distribution

Open $\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\eta$ - and $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ -/ $\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon$ -conditionals complement each other in various ways. Thus, while $\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\eta$ -conditionals are restricted to verbal clauses, a range of verbal and non-verbal sentence patterns are initiated by the conditional subordinators $\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$. Thus, consider: $\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon \lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\omega\upsilon\lambda \lambda\eta \mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\uparrow \lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma \lambda\alpha\lambda$ '[if ($\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\epsilon$) he will not ($\lambda\eta$) rise ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda\omega\upsilon\lambda$)], he shall give ($\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\uparrow$) what is his ($\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) to us ($\lambda\epsilon\psi\omega\alpha\lambda$)' (Hil. 2:20-21).

(ΝΑ-Ν)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212), εῷχε οὐντήτην ἡμαγ νοῦνοῦτε ἐφονῶ οὐων νήτην μαγααττήτην '[if (εῷχε) you have (οὐντήτην) a living (ε-φ-ονῶ) God (Ν-ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ)], open (οὐων) (it) (i.e. the gate) for you (νήτην) all by yourselves (μαγααττήτην)! (Ac. A&P 208:192-193), εῷωπε οὐζήκε πε ἡπεφθεν οεῖκ 'if (εῷωπε) he (πε) (is) poor (οὐ-ζήκε) and has not found (ἡπεφθεν) (any) bread (οεῖκ)' (Test. Is. 235:28-29), εῷωπε ἐκζῆ πχαῖε ἡῳε ζῆν ζενφληλ ἡν ζεννηστῆλ ἡν οὐομκο '[when (εῷωπε) you (are) in (ε-κ-ζῆ) the desert (π-χαῖε)], fight (ἡῳε) with (ζῆν) prayers (ζενφληλ), fastings (ζεν-νηστῆλ) and (ἡν) affliction (οὐ-ομκο)' (Pach. Catéch. 8:6-7).

b) Protasis and apodosis tenses

The time sphere has some limited bearing on the interpretation of conditionals with εῷωπε or εῷχε, although many combinations of protasis and apodosis tenses are possible. Very often, the conditional adjunct clause relates to the nearby future. The present tense is a less preferred protasis tense, since at the moment of speaking it is normally not known whether the anticipated situation will be satisfied or not, e.g. εῷχε σεναμακαριζε ἡπετεῦντῷ οὐσπερμα ζεν (for ζῆν) σῶν λῳ ζενρμνῆλ ζῆν οἰλῆῆ ντπε εἰε ναιεῖν ζῶων χε οὐανταν (for οὐνταν) ἡμαγ ἡνοῦσπερμα (for νοῦσπερμα) ζῆν οἰλῆῆ ντπε '[if (εῷχε) he who has (ἡ-π-ε-τε-ῦντ-ω) an offspring (οὐ-σπερμα) in (ζεν) Zion (σῶν) and (λῳ) kinsmen (ζεν-ρμν-ῆλ) in (ζῆν) heavenly (ἡ-τ-πε) Jerusalem (οἰλῆῆ) will be blessed (lit. they will bless (σε-να-μακαριζε))], then (εἰε) we are blessed (να-εἰτ-ν), too (ζῶων), since (χε) we have (οὐαντα-ν) an offspring (ἡν-οὐ-σπερμα) in (ζῆν) in (ζῆν) heavenly (ἡ-τ-πε) Jerusalem (οἰλῆῆ)' (Hil. 13:6-9), ἡ εῷχε ἡγναοῦωψ ἂν εἰρε τετετωκ ρῳε εροκ νῳψ ἡζε ἐκναρῳε ντοκ ετετετωκ τε 'or (ἡ) [if (εῷχε) you do not (ἂν) wish (ἡ-γ-να-οῦωψ) that she who belongs to you (τ-ε-τε-τω-κ) suffices (ε-τρε ... ρῳε) you (εροκ)], how (ἡ-ωψ ἡ-ζε) could you (ντοκ) (possibly) be sufficient (ε-κ-να-ρῳε) for her who belongs to you (ε-τ-ε-τε-τω-κ τε)?' (Sh. Or 44, 156a:17-24).

The use of the Perfect in the protasis clauses generally indicates that some condition had or had not been satisfied when the apodosis situation

occurred, e.g. εῷχε νταῖπῳωνε ἐπκελῶν ζῆτῆ ποῦροτ νταῖνῳ εροφ μεῖρ πῃεερε ρῳ χε οὐν κοσμος ῳοοπ '[when (εῷχε) they (the hermits) have been transferred (ντ-λ-γ-πῳωνε) to the other world (ε-π-κε-λῶν)], through (ζῆτῆ) the joy (π-οῦροτ) that they saw (ντ-λ-γ-νῳ) (there), they do not even (ρῳ) remember (lit. make (μεῖρ-ρ) thought (π-ῃεερε)) that (χε) a (lower) world (κοσμος) exists (οὐν ... ῳοοπ)' (Onnophr. 215:2-4), εῷωπε ἡπεκῆτον μαγαακ οὐδε ον ἐκῳοοπ ἡν ἡκοογε ἡγναῖτον ἂν '[if (εῷχε) you have not found peace (ἡπε-κ-ῆτον) alone (μαγαα-κ) and (οὐδε) also (ον) whilst living (ε-κ-ῳοοπ) with (ἡν) others (ἡ-κοογε)], you will not (ἂν) find peace (ἡ-γ-να-ῆτον)' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 6:27-28).

It is possible for ε-φ-ωαν- and εῷωπε-/εῷχε-conditionals to be combined, e.g. εῷωπε ετετῳανπακαλει ἡπχοεῖς φναχαριζε ἡπταλδο νταῖεερε ζῆτῆ νετῳφληλ νασνηῡ '[if (εῷωπε) you ask (ε-τετῳαν-πακαλει) the Lord (ἡ-π-χοεῖς)], he will grant (φ-να-χαριζε) healing (ἡ-π-ταλδο) to my daughter (ἡ-τα-ῳεερε) through (ζῆτῆ) your prayers (νετῳφληλ), my brothers (να-σνηῡ)' (Hil. 8:12-13), εῷωπε δε εῳανειμε χε τοῡοχ εῳωνε μεῖχῆτῷ 'however (δε) when (εῷωπε) I notice (ε-ι-ωαν-ειμε) [that (χε) I am cured (τ-οῡοχ) from illness (ε-ῳωνε)], I will not accept it (the donkey) (με-ι-χῆτ-ω)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

c) Consequence and inference

As with ε-φ-ωαν-conditionals, it is possible for εῷωπε- and εῷχε-conditionals to describe a cause-effect relation between two eventualities, but they are equally well-suited for the expression of inferences and deductions, e.g. εῷχε ετετῆτῆδεπῆ εεῖρε ἡπαι ζῆν οὐμοῡ τετῆτῆδεπῆ (read τετῆτῆδεπῆ) '[if (εῷχε) you do not hasten (ε-τετῆτῆδεπῆ) to do (ε-εῖρε) this (ἡ-παι)], you will surely die (lit. in (ζῆν) a dying (οὐ-μοῡ) you shall die (τετῆτῆδεπῆ)' (Eud. 58:28-60:1), λῳ εῷχε κο ἡνοεῖκ εοῡντῆς εζῆμε λῳ εῷχε τεπορνεγε εοῡντε ποῡζαι οντωσ τετῆτῆδεπῆ ἂν ἐνεθῆριον 'and (λῳ) [if (εῷχε) you (man) are (κ-ο) adulterous (ἡ-νοεῖκ), although you have (ε-οῡντ-κ) a wife (εζῆμε)], and (λῳ) [if (εῷχε) you (woman) are

fornicating (τε-πορνευε), although you have (ε-οντε) your husband (που-2αι)], you are actually (οντως) no (αν) different (τετν-ωβε) from beasts (ε-νε-θηριον)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:4-12).

12.2.1.1.4 Concessive conditionals

The essence of concessive ('EVEN THOUGH') conditionals is a semantic opposition between the hypothetical clause, which may or may not be true, and the consequent clause, which is claimed to be so. Whereas in a regular conditional the consequence depends on the truth of the hypothetical clause, in a concessive, the reality of the event or situation in the antecedent clause is irrelevant. The truth of the subordinate clause might lead one to expect that the superordinate clause would be false (contrary-to-expectation implicature).

Coptic concessive conditionals are initiated with the concessive subordinators ΚΑΝ or ΠΑΝ 'even though' plus a conditional adjunct clause. Both ε-q-ψαν- and εωπε-εωχε-conditionals are permitted. Very often, the consequence clause of concessive conditionals is marked as contrastively focused by means of the adversative conjunction ΑΛΛΑ 'but, nevertheless', as in: ΚΑΝ ΕΚΨΑΝΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Α ΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΤΕΤ ΟΥΩΜ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΗΝΝΑ ΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΤ ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΚΩΖΤ ΝΦΟΧΝΟΥ ΠΚΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΡΟQ '[even though (ΚΑΝ) you may say (ε-κ-ψαν-χοο-с) that (χε) the birds (Ν-ΖΑΛΑΤΕ) and (ΜΗ) the fish (Ν-ΤΕΤ) ate (Α ... ΟΥΩΜ) others (ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) after (ΜΗΝΝΑ) they had come (ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΝ) the latter (Ν-ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ), they returned (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ) to the earth (ε-π-καζ). [Even though (ΚΑΝ) they might give (ε-Υ-ψαν-τ) some (ΖΟΕΙΝΕ) (of them) to the fire (Μ-Π-ΚΩΖΤ) and it perishes them (Ν-q-οχн-ου)], (it is) again (ΟΝ) the earth (Π-ΚΑΖ) towards which (ΕΡΟ-q) they returned (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ)' (Zen. 202:13-16), ΑΥΩ ΚΑΝ ΕΩΧΕ ΖΕΝΑΨΗ ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΦΟΥΩ ΕΦΩΟΥΖ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΝΕΤQCΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕCΟΟΥΖΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΙΡΟC ΕΤΗΗΥ 'and (ΑΥΩ) [even (ΚΑΝ) though (εωχε) those he (Απα Zenobius) had already (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-q-ΟΥΩ) gathered (ε-q-сωουζ ΕΖΟΥΝ) (are) many (ΖΕΝ-ΑΨΗ)], they (ΝΕ) (were) nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) only (ΕΜΑΤΕ) a few (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) compared to (ΝΝΑΖΡΝ) those that he was zealous (Ν-ΕΤ-q-сΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) to

gather (ε-сООУ2-ΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ) in (ΖМ) the time (Π-ΚΑΙΡΟC) to come (ΕΤ-ΗΗΥ)' (Zen. 205:13-16), ΠΑΝΝ ΕΩΧΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΗΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΕQΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ (for ΝΕQΚΑΤΟΡΩΜΑ) ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΙ ΡΩΨΕ Ε† ΑΦΟΡМ[Η] ΝΝCΟΦΟC ΕΡΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC '[even (ΠΑΝΝ) though (εωχε) (it is) just (ΕΜΑΤΕ) a few things (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) that we are going to say (Ν-ΕΤ-Ν-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Υ) about (ΖΝ) his (Απα Zenobius') achievements (ΝΕQ-ΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) suffice (ΡΩΨΕ) to provide (ε-†) a starting point (ΑΦΟΡМΗ) for the wise men (Ν-Ν-СΟΦΟC) to become wiser (ε-Р-ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC)' (Zen. 201:13-14), ΚΑΝ ΕΩΧΕ ΟΥΕΝ CΟМ ΜΗΟΚ ΕΤΑΜΙΟ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΙ ΤΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΕΚΒΗΚ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΨΑΝΤΑΕΙ ΝΤΑ† ΝΑΚ ΜΠΕΚΒΕΚΗ (read ΜΠΕΚΒΕΚΕ) '[even (ΚΑΝ) though (εωχε) you are able (lit. (there) is (ΟΥΕΝ) power (CΟМ) in you (ΗΜΟ-Κ)) to manufacture (it) (the brick) (ε-ΤΑΜΙΟ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) take (ΧΙ) this (brick) (ΤΑΙ) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) [when you go (ε-κ-ΒΗΚ) to the city (ε-κ-ΒΗΚ) [until I come (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΕΙ) and give (ΝΤΑ-†) you (ΝΑ-Κ) your wage (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΒΕΚΗ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 79b:6-13).

12.2.1.1.5 Other markers of conditionality

Marked alternatives to the conditional markers εωχε and εωπε 'if, when' include the Greek subordinating complementisers ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ 'as long as' and ΕΙΜΗΤΙ 'unless, except that', e.g. ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ ΕCΝCΩΝ ΕΤΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΤΡΕΝCΩΨ ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙC '[as long as (ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ) it is up to us (ε-с-NCΩ-Н) not to sin (lit. make (ε-ΤΗ-Р) sin (ΝΟΒΕ))], let us not loathe (ΜΠΡ-ΤΡΕ-Ν-СΩΨ) grace (Ν-ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙC)!' (Sh. IV 24:8-9), Ν†ΝΑ† ΖΩΒ ΕQΖΟCΕ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΓQΕΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΙΒΑΝΟC ΝΓΤΑΛΟQ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΩΗΥΕ ΝΓΧΟΟC ΜΗΑΤΕ (...) 'I will not (ΑΝ) burden (lit. give (Ν-†-ΝΑ-†)) you (ΝΑ-Κ) (with) a difficult (ε-q-ΖΟCΕ) job (ΖΩΒ), [except that (ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ) (that) you carry (ΝΓQΕΙ) some (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) frankincense (Ν-ΑΙΒΑΝΟC), place it (Ν-Γ-ΤΑΛΟ-q) on (ΕΧΝ) the altar (Τ-ΩΗΥΕ) and just (ΜΗΑΤΕ) say (Ν-Γ-ΧΟΟ-С) (...)]' (KHML II 33:14-16).

12.2.1.1.6 Circumstantial clauses as implicit conditionals

Circumstantial 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often interpreted as implicitly conditional constructions, e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΝΑΧΠΕ ΩΗΡΕ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΜΠΓΑΜΟC

ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) would you, oh (Ω) man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) and (ΑΧΩ) you (ΝΤΟ) woman (ΤΕ-ΣΖΙΜΕ), beget (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΧΠΕ) children (ΩΗΡΕ) in secret (Ν-ΧΙΟΥΕ) [if God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) gives (ΕΡΕ ... †) marriage (Μ-Π-ΓΑΜΟΣ) to everyone (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ)]?' (Sh. Or 44, 153b:41-48).

Negative conditions are formed with the Relative Present Ε-Γ-ΩΤΗ 'when/while he hears/heard' and the ΤΗ 'to do not' (see above, section 9.4.6.3), e.g. ΕΙΤΗΨΕΕΙ ΝΗΜΑΖ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΦΝΑΟΥΑΖΖ ΝΩΙ ΑΝ '[if I do not wander to and fro (Ε-Ι-ΤΗ-ΨΕΕΙ) with him (the obnoxious monk) in (ΖΝ) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)], he will not (ΑΝ) follow (Ν-Γ-ΝΑ-ΟΥΑΖ-Γ) me (ΝΩΙ-Ι)' (V. Pach. 147:26-27), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΖ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ (...) '(as for) the latter (ΠΑΙ ΔΕ), [if I did not manufacture it (the net) (Ε-Ι-ΤΗ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Σ) for him (ΝΑ-Γ)], he would say (Γ-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) that (ΧΕ) (...) (AP Elanskaya 24a:17-18), ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΝΓΝΑΣΕΝ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΗΠΕΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΑΖ 'verily (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΜΕ), you will not (ΑΝ) leave (Ν-Γ-ΝΑ-ΣΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ) this place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ), [if you have not admitted (ΗΠΕ-Κ-ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ) what you have done (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΛ-Γ)]' (KHML II 52:8-9).

12.2.1.1.7 Conditionally interpreted coordinated and juxtaposed structures
Many coordinated and juxtaposed sentence constructions do not have the form or literal meaning of open conditionals, but serve indirectly to convey conditional meaning. Such conditionally interpreted coordinated or juxtaposed structures often contain an imperatival clause as a first conjunct, e.g. ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΤΒΒΟ ΤΑΡΕΚΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΠΟΛΙΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'preserve (ΖΑΡΕΖ) purity (Ε-Π-ΤΒΒΟ) and you will go (ΤΑΡΕ-Κ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Catéch. Pach. 81:8), ΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΨΗΝ ΝΡΕΓ† ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΤΑΡΕ ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΧΩΚ 'become (ΨΩΠΕ) a tree (Ν-ΨΗΝ) which brings forth (Ν-ΡΕΓ-†) fruit (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) and the Lord's (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) blessing (ΠΕ-ΣΜΟΥ) will come down (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) upon you (ΖΙΧΩ-Κ)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

12.2.1.1.8 Hypothetical free relatives

Topicalised free relatives with non-specific reference are often used as a semantic paraphrase of a protasis clause of an open conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause being interpreted as the

apodosis (see above, section 11.2.2 of Unit 11), e.g. ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΖΜ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΙ ΙΤ ΖΩΩΓ ΝΑΝΤΓ ΖΝ ΤΩΟΠ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΜΠΨΟ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'he who will give (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-†) a sacrifice (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) in (ΖΜ) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ) in remembrance (Ε-Υ-Ρ Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of me (ΝΑ-Ι), Jesus (ΙΤ) himself (ΖΩΩ-Γ) will receive him (ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Γ) in (ΖΝ) the first (Τ-ΩΟΠ) hour (Ν-ΟΥΝΟΥ) of (the banquet of) the thousand (Μ-Π-ΨΟ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:12-14).

12.2.1.2 Remote conditionals

The remote conditional construction puts forward a hypothetical condition about which the speaker knows that the satisfaction of that condition in the actual world is relatively unlikely or even impossible. The apodosis clause describes what would have been the consequence if the protasis condition had been satisfied, e.g. ΝΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΤΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΗΜΟΓ '(if) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) were (ΝΕΡΕ) in this place (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ), I would go (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and appeal (ΤΑ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to him (ΗΜΟ-Γ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), ΕΝΕΜΠΟΥΡΨΗΡ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΣΝΑΠΕΙΘΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΣΝΑΡΑΨΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΟ ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΕΣΨΕΕΡΕ '[if they had not first committed (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-Ρ-ΨΗΡ-Ρ) adultery (ΝΟΕΙΚ) to her (ΕΡΟ-Σ)], she would not (ΑΝ) have cajoled (ΝΕ-Σ-ΝΑ-ΠΕΙΘΕ) or (ΟΥΔΕ) rejoiced (ΝΕ-Σ-ΝΑ-ΡΑΨΕ) about him who is (Π-ΕΤ-Ο) adulterous (Ν-ΝΟΕΙΚ) to her daughter (Ε-ΤΕΣ-ΨΕΕΡΕ)' (Sh. III 76:6-7).

12.2.1.2.1 Tense and mood restrictions

As with open conditionals, various combinations of protasis and apodosis tenses are possible in remote conditionals, although some arrangements are much more frequent than others. The protasis clause usually contains a preterit tense, which expresses modal remoteness, not past time, e.g. ΕΝΕΦΟΥΨΩ Ε† ΝΑΝ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΒΕΚΗ (for ΜΠΕΝΒΕΚΕ) ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΕ ΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΤΕΙΤΩΒΕ ΖΕΝ (for ΖΝ) ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ '[if he (Apa Mēna) were not (ΑΝ) willing (Ε-ΝΕ-Γ-ΟΥΨΩ) [to give (Ε-†) us (ΝΑΝ) our wage (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΒΕΚΗ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) our neediness (ΤΕΝ-ΗΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ)]], what (ΟΥ) would be (ΝΕ) the use (ΤΕ-ΧΡΙΑ) of this brick (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΤΩΒΕ) in (ΖΕΝ) this city (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)]?' (Mēna, Mir. 80b:20-28), ΕΝΕΥΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΥΜΗΝΤΑΨΑΥ ΝΕΟΥΨΗΠΕ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '[if

(they (the parents) were (Ε-ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) ignorant (Ν-ΑΤ-ΟΟΥΝ) of their (the children's) worthlessness (Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΜΗΤ-ΑΤ-ΨΑΥ)], it (ΠΕ) would not (ΑΝ) be (ΝΕ) a shame (ΟΥ-ΨΗΠΕ) for them (ΝΑ-Υ)' (Sh. III 75:19-20).

The combination of a Preterit Present protasis with a Preterite Future is commonly used to indicate the co-temporality between a hypothetical situation and its anticipated outcome, e.g. ΕΝΕΤΕΤΝΕΜΠΕΙΜΑ (for ΤΕΤΝΜΠΕΙΜΑ) ΜΗΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΕΖ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΨ ΤΕΝΝΑΓΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΝΤΡΟΦΗ ΜΠΖΟΥ ΠΕΖΟΥ '[if you only (ΜΗΑΤΕ) had been here (Ε-ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΕΜ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)], you could have drawn (ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΕΖ) water (ΜΟΟΥ) for those who wish for (it) (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΨ), (and) we would have found (ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΒΙΝΕ) our food (Ν-ΤΕΝ-ΤΡΟΦΗ) from day (Η-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) to day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ)' (Mena, Mir. 81b:21-29).

12.2.1.2.2 Irrealis modality

Open and remote conditionals have much in common semantically. Both conditional constructions express the interdependency between two states of affairs; they implicate that the apodosis situation is a consequence of the protasis situation. The remote conditional differs from the open conditional in that it entertains the situation described in the protasis clauses as being fulfilled in a hypothetical world that is different from the actual world, e.g. ΕΝΕΨΑΡΕ ΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΗΝΝΑ ΤΑΝΑΤΑCΙC ΖΝ ΤΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΠΕ ΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΖΨΑQ ΖΙ CΤΩΤ '[if the souls (ΝΕ-ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ) of men (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) were able to escape (Ε-ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΕΨ-ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ) from (ΖΝ) fear (ΘΟΤΕ < Τ-ΖΟΤΕ) after (ΜΗΝΝΑ) the resurrection (Τ-ΑΝΑΤΑCΙC) in (ΖΝ) the presence (Τ-ΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)], the world (Π-ΚΟCΜΟC) would die (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) from terror (Μ-ΝΕΖ-ΨΑQ) and (ΖΙ) trembling (CΤΩΤ)' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 1:24-2:1).

a) Reasoning about possible worlds

In remote conditionals, the speaker envisages a world differing from the actual one by stipulating a condition as being true in that world and imagining its consequences. Very often, reasoning about the properties of possible worlds is a way of drawing inferences about the actual world, e.g.

ΑΡΑ ΕΝΕΚΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΝΕΚΝΑΕΨΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑ '[so (ΑΡΑ) if you were in Alexandria (Ε-ΝΕ-Κ-ΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ)], would you possibly dare (ΝΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΕΨ-ΤΟΛΜΑ) to speak (Ε-ΧΕ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) in (ΖΝ) public (ΟΥ-ΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑ)?' (Zen. 202:30-31), ΕΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΨΩΝΕ ΟΝ ΝΧΙΝ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΡΕ ΤΕΙΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ '[if you had not also (ΟΝ) become sick (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ-Κ-ΨΩΝΕ) in (ΝΧΙΝ) the first place (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ)], this state of poverty (ΤΕΙ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ) would not (ΑΝ) have befallen (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) us (ΜΜΟ-Ν)' (Mena, Mir. 80a:5-11), ΕΝΕΑΚΕΙΕΡΖ ΝΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΨΡΧ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΜΟΥΖ ΝΒΝΤ (for ΝΚΝΤ) ΕΡΟΚ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΩΖ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΕΚ[ΜΟΤΕ] ΝΕΚΝΑCΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ [ΝΖΗ]ΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΓQΙ ΖΑΡ[ΟΟΥ] ΝΓΤΜΖΛΟΠ[Π] '[if you had observed (Ε-ΝΕ-Α-Κ-ΕΙΕΡΖ) these (things) (ΝΑΙ) thoroughly (ΖΝ-ΟΥ-ΨΡΧ) and (ΑΥΩ) your living-quarter (ΠΕΚ-ΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ) would have been filled (ΝΤΕ ... ΜΟΥΖ) with worms (Ν-ΒΝΤ) until they reached (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΠΩΖ) your neck (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΜΟΤΕ)], you would have remained (ΝΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-CΩ) in them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), bearing (Ν-Γ-QΙ) under them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ) and not be weary (Ν-Γ-ΤΗ-ΖΛΟΠΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:26-28).

b) Counterfactuality

When the protasis clause of a remote conditional contains negation, it generally implies that the corresponding affirmative clause holds true in the actual world. The correlative meaning may be overtly marked by the subordinator ΕΨΧΕ 'then', which normally introduces conditional adjuncts, e.g. ΕΝΕΡΜΠΩ ΑΝ ΜΜΟQ ΝΕΥΝΑΠΑΖΤQ ΑΝ ΕΧΩ '[if you (woman) were not (ΑΝ) worthy (Ε-ΝΕ-Ρ-ΜΠΩ) of it (the oil) (ΜΜΟ-Q)], they would not (ΑΝ) have sprinkled it (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΑ-ΠΑΖΤ-Q) on you (ΕΧΩ)' (KHML I 81:16-17), ΑΛΗΘΩC ΕΝΕΜΠΕ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΖΨΕC ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΜ (for ΕΧΗ) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΝΕΙΨΠΗΡΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤQ ΕΨΧΕ ΑΥΜΟΟΥΤQ ΠΕ ΖΙΤΕΝ (for ΖΙΤΝ) ΘΟΡΜΗ ΜΠΜΗΝΨΕ ΕΤΨΟQΟ ΕΧΩQ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΧΩΖ ΜΗΑΤΕ ΕΝΕQΖΟΕΙΤΕ (...) 'verily (ΑΛΗΘΩC), [if the archbishop (Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC) had not protected (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ ... ΖΨΕC ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΜ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) by whose virtue (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-Q) these wonders (ΝΕΙ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) had occurred (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ)], then (ΕΨΧΕ) he

would have been killed (lit. *they* would have killed him (λ-Υ-ΜΟΟΥΤ-Ϟ)) by (ϗΙΤΕΝ) the assault (ΘΟΡΜΗ < Τ-ΖΟΡΜΗ) of the crowd (Η-Π-ΜΗΗΨΕ) that rushed down (ΕΤ-ΨΟΥΟ) on him (ΕΧΩ-Ϟ) just (ΗΜΑΤΕ) to touch (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΧΩϗ) his clothes (Ε-ΝΕϞ-ΖΟΕΙΤΕ (...))' (Mena, Mir. 90a:11-25), ΕΝΕΜΠΕΚΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΣΑϞ ΧΕ ΘΩ ΝΑΚ ΨΑ ΠΟΥ ΕΨΧΕ ΑΙΒΩΚ ΝΧΙΝ ΣΑϞ ΝΤΑΖΕ ΕΠΟΥ ΝΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΥ ΖΑ ΠΕΖΚΟ '[for (ΓΑΡ) if (ΕΝΕ) you had not said (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) to your servant (Η-ΠΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) yesterday (Ν-ΣΑϞ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Stay (ΘΩ) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) until (ΨΑ) today (ΠΟΥ)!«]], then (ΕΨΧΕ) I would have left (Α-Ι-ΒΩΚ) already (ΝΧΙΝ) yesterday (ΣΑϞ) and heard (ΝΤΑ-ΖΕ) the news (Ε-Π-ΟΥΨ) about my children (Ν-ΝΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) that (ΧΕ) they are not going to die (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥ) of (ΖΑ) hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 78b:10-19).

c) Exclamative ΖΑΜΟΙ

The exclamative particle ΖΑΜΟΙ 'would that' is occasionally added to the conditional adjunct to express regret on the part of the speaker about the fact that the actualisation of the situation at hand has been foreclosed for good, e.g. ΖΑΜΟΙ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΘΙΝΕ ΜΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΠΑΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΑΨ ΕΡΟϞ ΝΟΥΚΑΙΣΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΕΜΤΟΝ '[would that (ΖΑΜΟΙ) if I had found (Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΘΙΝΕ) the body (Η-Π-ΣΩΜΑ) of my little (Η-ΠΑ-ΚΟΥΙ) servant (Ν-ΖΜΖΑΛ)], I would have given (Α-Ι-Ψ) him (ΕΡΟ-Ϟ) a shroud (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΑΙΣΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) would come to rest (ΝΑ-ΕΜΤΟΝ)' (Mena, Mir. 20a:11-16).

d) Counterfactuals with ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ

The protasis clause of remote conditionals can also be introduced by the negative conditional conjunction ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ 'except that, had not', e.g. ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ Α ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΚΩΛΥ ΜΗΟΙ ΝΕΙΝΑΝΟΧΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ '[had my son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) not (ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ) stopped (Α ... ΚΩΛΥ) me (ΗΜΟ-Ι)], I would have thrown it (the brick) (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΝΟΧ-Σ) away (ΕΒΟΛ)' (Mena, Mir. 83b:17-21), ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΧΕ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΘΣ ΕΡΩΤΗΝ Η ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ '[for (ΓΑΡ) had you not (ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ) spoken (ΝΤ-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΕ) these words (ΝΙ-ΨΑΧΕ) in (ΖΝ) ignorance (ΟΥ-ΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΣΟΟΥΝ)], God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)

would be angry (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΝΟΥΘΣ) with you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) and (Η) evil things (ΖΕΝ-ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ) would happen (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ)' (Sh. III 86:21-23).

12.2.2 Temporal subclauses

In Coptic, subordinate temporal clauses are generally expressed by means of relative tenses, so called because they locate the main clause situation in time in relation to the dependent clause situation. In providing a contextually given reference point, 'WHEN', 'AFTER', and 'SINCE'-clauses play an important role in the temporal organisation of the narrative.

12.2.2.1 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses

The Relative Present Ε-Ϟ-ΩΤΗ 'while he hears' has a broad syntactic distribution, initiating such diverse sentence constructions as temporal subclauses, predicative adjuncts (subject and objective depictives), resultative complements, and sequential-consecutive clauses (see above, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8 for a more detailed review of the main construction types). What is common to all subordinate clauses containing a Relative Present is that two eventualities are located in the same time frame. Yet, we seem to be dealing with a heterogeneous class of subordinate clauses. The focus of this section is on the structural and interpretative differences between temporal subclauses and predicative adjuncts.

12.2.2.1.1 'WHEN'-clauses vs. predicative adjuncts

a) The adjunct-complement contrast

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are temporal location adjuncts, which can be omitted without significant change in meaning to the rest of the clause. Thus, the presence or absence of a temporal subclause does not affect the presentational meaning and function of the following subject-inverted sentences: ΕΤΕΙ (for ΕΤΙ) ΕΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΑϞΨ ΠΕϞΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕϞΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ '[when we were still (ΕΤΕΙ) sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟΣ)], an old (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) priest (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) came forth (lit. gave (Α-Ϟ-Ψ) his way (ΠΕϞ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), whose

name (ε-περ-ραν) (was) John (ιωαννης)' (Abbatōn 228:13-15) vs. αφωκ νοι ουσον ψα απα χλωι επιτοου ναπα αντωνιος 'a brother (ου-σον) went (α-φ-ωκ) to (ψα) Apa Čičōi to the monastery (ε-π-τοου) of Apa Antonius' (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10).

The adjunct-complement contrast cuts across depictive and resultative predicates. As clausal complements of aspectual verbs, resultative phrases are part of a complex predicate and hence not omissible e.g. *χε ννειδω επιηκ αζηγ* 'so that (*χε*) I would not stay (*ννε-ι-δω*) naked (lit. stripped off (*ε-ι-κηκ*) naked (*αζηγ*))' (Onnophr. 217:31). There are grounds for saying that subject and object depictives are clausal adjuncts, even if their occurrence is licensed by certain types of verbs: object depictives, for instance, are generally construed with verbs of perception and discovery, e.g. *αισωτη ευμνησε ευωψ εβολ ευριμε. 2η 2ενκετοπος αλλα νειναγ εροου αν πε* 'I heard (α-ι-σωτη) a multitude (ε-γ-μνησε) [*crying* (ε-γ-ωψ) out (εβολ) (and) weeping (ε-γ-ριμε) in (2η) other places (2εν-κε-τοπος)], but (αλλα) I could not (αν) see (νε-ι-ναγ) them (ερο-ου)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), *χε ανζε ερος ρω εσον2* 'because (*χε*) we found (α-ν-ζε) her (Hilaria) (ερο-ς) at all (ρω) [*being alive* (ε-ς-ον2)]' (Hil. 12:6-7).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

Depictives and resultatives share one argument with the main verbal predicate, which is cross-referenced by means of a resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. *ουτε ννετη2μοος ετομ ετε[τη]ρ cναγ* 'and (ουτε) you shall not sit (ννε-τη-2μοος) on a mat (ε-τομ) [*with the two of you* (ε-τε-τη-ρ cναγ)]' (praec. Pach. 95), *κναγ εροι ειφωνε* 'you find (lit. you see (κναγ)) me (ερο-ι) [*sick* (ε-ι-φωνε)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), *αγω νεψαρσεκ φονητ η2ηε τερομηε εφνηστεγε* 'and (αγω) he (Issac) used to spend (νε-ψα-ρ-σεκ) three (times) (φονητ) (of) forty (days) (η-2ηε) a year (τε-ρομηε) [*fasting* (ε-φ-νηστεγε)]' (Test. Is. 231:32-232:1).

No such anaphoric dependencies constrain 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, whose subject may be identical to or different from that of the main clause, as seen in: *εφσωτη δε εναι αφωντ εματε* 'when he (the

governor) heard (ε-φ-σωτη) these (words) (ε-ναι), he got very (εματε) angry (α-φ-ωντ)' (KHML I 76:17-18) vs. *ναι δε εφχω ημοου νοι η2αλο ημαιουτε πενειωτ ισαακ αγωου2 εροφ νοι ναπερηι τηρου αφριμε* '[when the God-loving (η-μαιο-υτε) old man (η-2αλο), our father (πεν-ειωτ) Isaac, said (ε-φ-χω) these (words) (ναι)], all (τηρ-ου) members of his house-hold (να-περ-ηι) gathered (α-γ-ωου2) around him (ερο-φ) (and) wept (α-γ-ριμε)' (Test. Is. 231:24-25).

c) Scope

As with temporal location adverbs, 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses take wide scope over the entire clause that they modify, e.g. *αγω αιτει (for ετι) εφο2ς αφ2ε επεσχη εχεν* (for εχη) *η22ο (for πε22ο) 2η τεγμητε* 'and (αγω) [*while* (αιτει) he (Pachōm) was still (αιτει) harvesting (ε-φ-ο2ς)], he fell (α-φ-2ε) down (επεσχη) on (εχεν) his face (η2-2ο) in (2η) their (the brothers') midst (τεγ-μητε)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17). Depictive and resultative predicates, on the other hand, are more limited in scope, modifying the main verb and one of its arguments, e.g. *χεκας εφεδω εφναγ ερος ημηνε* 'in order that (χεκας) he could keep (ε-φ-ε-δω) [*seeing* (ε-φ-ναγ) her (ερο-ς) daily (ημηνε)]' (Hil. 12:9-10), *αγ2ε εροφ εφ2μοος 2ι ημε2φονητ ηρο ηππαλιον* 'they found (α-γ-2ε) him (Constantine) (ερο-φ) [*sitting* (ε-φ-2μοος) at (2ι) the third (η-με2-φονητ) gate (η-ρο) of the palace (η-π-παλιον)]' (Eud. 38:6).

d) Syntactic position

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses can occur in two syntactic positions: at the end of the matrix clause in the position of heavy constituents, e.g. *εφνηγ δε εβολ 2η πτοου αφναγ εροφ νοι παιβολος ηθε νογχωρε εαφκοτφ επερηι 2η ητρεφχρο 2η ηπολυμος* (for ηπολεμος) '[when he (Apa Moses) came (ε-φ-νηγ) down (εβολ) from (2η) the mountain (η-τοου)], the devil (η-διαβολος) saw (α-φ-ναγ) him (ερο-φ) as (ηθε < η-τ-2ε) a hero (lit. strong one (η-ογ-χωρε)) who returned (ε-α-φ-κοτ-φ) to his home (ε-περ-ηι) after (2η) having won (η-τρε-φ-χρο) in (2η) the war (η-πολυμος)' (KHML II 50:14-16), or in

the left-dislocated topic position of preposed adverbials, e.g. $\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa[\epsilon\pi] \pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma \text{ } \eta\lambda\iota \epsilon\iota\beta\eta\kappa \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \eta\alpha\pi\alpha \eta\eta\eta\alpha \eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\pi[\varsigma\omega]\pi\alpha$ 'you should not act ($\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\pi$) evil ($\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma < \pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) towards me ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\iota$) [*whilst I am on my way* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\beta\eta\kappa$) to the shrine ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of Apa Mēna to beseech him ($\eta\tau\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\pi\varsigma\omega\pi\text{-}\eta$)]' (Mena, Mir. 29a:29-29b:1).

Depictive and resultative predicates have a more restricted syntax and must follow the main verb as closely as possible, e.g. $\alpha \pi\omicron\gamma\alpha \epsilon[\iota] \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \epsilon\varphi\varsigma\omicron\tau\tau\iota \eta\pi\alpha\alpha \pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$ 'one (dish) ($\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$) came ($\alpha \dots \epsilon\iota$) out ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) [*better* ($\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\tau\tau\iota$) *than* ($\eta\pi\alpha\alpha$) *the other one* ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$)]' (Mena, Mir. 18a:5-7), $\lambda\gamma\pi \tau\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma \eta\pi\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\pi \gamma\alpha\lambda \eta\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon \eta\mu\eta\eta \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'they spent ($\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\pi$) fifty ($\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma$) years ($\eta\text{-}\pi\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$) [*deceiving* ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\pi$) *their own* ($\eta\mu\eta\eta \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$) *memory* ($\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 36, 7:9), $\lambda\lambda\lambda \lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega \epsilon\chi\iota \eta\mu\omicron\varphi \epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\pi\iota\omicron\eta$ 'but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda$) they had already ($\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega$) [*brought* ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\iota$) *him* ($\eta\mu\omicron\text{-}\varphi$) to the palace ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\pi\iota\omicron\eta$)]' (Ac. A&P 200:101-202:102).

12.2.2.1.2 Temporal and non-temporal interpretations of 'WHEN'-clauses
'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are among the most common adjunct clauses of temporal location used to express the co-extensiveness or (partial) temporal overlap between two states of affairs.

a) Temporal duration and aspect

The temporal relation between the main and the dependent clause situation depends on the verbal tense-aspect of the main clause. When the main clause event is aspectually marked as unbounded or continuous through the selection of a present tense, it is temporally interpreted as co-extensive with the dependent clause event; i.e. both eventualities last through the same period of time, e.g. $[\alpha]\lambda\lambda[\alpha] \text{ } \text{†}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi \gamma\eta \omicron\gamma[\lambda\eta] \epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha \epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\eta \epsilon\iota\varsigma\omega \epsilon\iota\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda$) I am ($\text{†}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$) in ($\gamma\eta$) (a state of) negligence ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$) [*whilst eating* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$), *drinking* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\varsigma\omega$), (and) *sleeping* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:27-28), $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \Delta\epsilon \gamma\omega\omega\varphi \pi\alpha\gamma\omega\mu \eta\epsilon\varphi\mu\eta\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \gamma\eta \pi\omega\omega\eta\epsilon \epsilon\pi\epsilon \theta\epsilon\omega\delta\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \Delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota \eta\alpha\varphi$ 'our father ($\pi\epsilon\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) Pachôm, too ($\gamma\omega\omega\text{-}\varphi$), remained sick (lit. remained

($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\mu\eta\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) in ($\gamma\eta$) the sickness ($\pi\text{-}\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$)), [*while Theodore took care* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon \dots \Delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota$) *of him* ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\varphi$)]' (V. Pach. 91:24-25).

If, on the other hand, the main clause event is aspectually marked as bounded through the selection of a Perfect tense, the main clause and the dependent clause situation are presented as overlapping in time, but not as co-extensive. The 'WHEN'-clause very often describes an eventuality that was still in progress or continuing when the main clause event took place, e.g. $\lambda\varsigma\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \Delta\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\tau \eta\pi\varsigma\omicron\beta\tau \eta\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\gamma\varsigma \lambda\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota \eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \omicron\gamma\tau\omega\gamma \eta\eta \eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma$ 'it happened ($\lambda\varsigma\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \Delta\epsilon$) (that) [*when they were building* ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\kappa\omega\tau$) *the wall* ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\beta\tau$) *of the convent* ($\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\gamma\varsigma$)], a minor ([\omicron] $\gamma\text{-}\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$) argument ($\eta\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) came up ($\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) between them (Pachôm and his brother) ($\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) with ($\eta\eta$) each other ($\eta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma$)]' (V. Pach. 1:16-17), $\epsilon\tau\iota \Delta\epsilon \epsilon\varphi\epsilon\pi \gamma\omega\beta \eta\delta\iota \eta\alpha\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma \pi\epsilon\pi\gamma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma \alpha \tau\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\gamma\eta\epsilon \tau\eta\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma \psi\alpha\pi\omicron\varphi \gamma\eta \pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$ '[*while Mark, the workman* ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\pi\gamma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$), *was still* ($\epsilon\tau\iota$) *working* ($\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\epsilon\pi \gamma\omega\beta$)], his wife ($\tau\epsilon\varphi\text{-}\varsigma\gamma\eta\epsilon$) sent ($\alpha \dots \tau\eta\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) (a message) to him ($\psi\alpha\pi\omicron\text{-}\varphi$) from ($\gamma\eta$) Alexandria ($\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$)]' (Mena, Mir. 76a:13-19).

b) Correlative interpretation

'WHEN'-clauses may assume a correlative reading, describing paired events and situations, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon \omicron\gamma \epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma \gamma\eta \pi\alpha\mu\alpha\eta\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \pi\alpha\gamma\eta\tau \kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \varsigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha \eta\eta\mu$ 'why ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon \omicron\gamma$) does my mind ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\gamma\eta\tau$) go around ($\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$) all ($\eta\eta\mu$) sides ($\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha$), [*whenever I am sitting* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$) in ($\gamma\eta$) my living-quarters ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\mu\alpha\eta\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 5, 2:19-20), $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varphi\varphi\iota \Delta\epsilon \eta\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\iota\alpha \epsilon\tau\varsigma\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau \lambda\gamma\tau\pi\epsilon \gamma\epsilon\eta\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma \psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota \epsilon\gamma\chi\omega \eta\pi\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota \epsilon\chi\eta \tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma\varphi\omicron\alpha \epsilon\pi\epsilon \eta\mu\eta\psi\epsilon$ (read $\eta\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$) $\tau\eta\pi\omicron\gamma \omicron\gamma\omega\omega\beta \eta\varsigma\omega\gamma \chi\epsilon \lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$ 'when he (Apa Theophilos) had offered ($\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\varphi\iota$) the blessed ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\varsigma\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau$) sacrifice ($\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\theta\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\iota\alpha$), they let some brothers ($\gamma\epsilon\eta\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$) sing psalms ($\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon \dots \psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$), [*saying* ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\omega$) the Alléluia ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$) over ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the Eucharist ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\omicron\varsigma\varphi\omicron\alpha$)], [*while the whole* ($\tau\eta\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) *crowd* ($\eta\text{-}\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$) *responded* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon \dots \omicron\gamma\omega\omega\beta$) *after them* ($\eta\varsigma\omega\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) »Alléluia ($\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$)«]' (Eud. 72:28-74:2).

Such correlated 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often accompanied by an implicature of causation, e.g. $\mu\alpha\iota \ \delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\varphi\omega \ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \gamma\eta \ \omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\mu\eta\tau\chi\alpha\varsigma\iota\gamma\eta\tau \ \alpha\varphi[\tau] \ \tau\omicron\omicron\tau\varphi \ \mu\mu\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\epsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha\gamma \ \epsilon\chi\mu \ \mu\epsilon\varphi\gamma\omicron$ '[when he (Diocletian) said (ε-φ-ω) these (words) (μα) with (γη) great (ογ-ηος) arrogance (μ-μντ-χαςι-γητ)], he (the archangel Michael) hit him (lit. give (α-φ-τ) his hand (τοοτ-φ)) on (εχμ) his face (μεφ-γ) for the second time (μ-π-μεγ-σεπ-μναγ)' (Eud. 36:17), $\alpha\gamma\omega \ \mu\epsilon\pi$ (for $\mu\epsilon\pi\epsilon$) $\gamma\alpha\gamma \ \omicron\mu \ \gamma\eta \ \mu\epsilon\varsigma\mu\eta\gamma \ \rho\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ (for $\rho\mu\epsilon$) $\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \mu\tau\mu\eta\tau\gamma\mu\gamma\alpha \ \epsilon\tau\varphi\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\eta \ \omicron\gamma\omicron\mu \ \mu\mu\mu \ \alpha\chi\eta \ \omega\chi\eta$ 'and (αγω) many (γαγ) of (γη) the brothers (μ-ε-μνγ) were also (ομ) weeping (μep ... ρεμe), [when they realised (ε-γ-μoογν) the ceaseless (lit. without (αχμ) ceasing (ωχμ)) servitude (μ-τ-μντ-γμγα) that he (Pachôm) practised (ετ-φ-ειρε) with (μν) everybody (ογμν μμ)]' (V. Pach. 90:17-18).

c) Metaphorical extension of the main-dependent clause simultaneity

'WHEN'-clauses may also have interpretations that do not involve temporal duration. In this case the temporal concept of simultaneity may be metaphorically extended to describe the conditions or the circumstances under which the main clause situation took place, e.g. $\alpha\mu\alpha\rho[\epsilon\alpha\varsigma \ \delta\epsilon \ \gamma\omega\omega\varphi \ \alpha\varphi][\beta\omega\kappa] \ [\epsilon]\rho\eta \ \tau\tau\gamma\chi\eta \ \mu\tau\tau\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon \ \mu\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon \ \omicron\gamma\eta\gamma \ \mu\varsigma\omega\varphi \ \mu\eta \ \gamma\epsilon\mu\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota \ \epsilon\gamma\omicron\omega \ \epsilon\mu\eta \ \mu\mu\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'Andreas, too (γωω-φ), went (α-φ-βωκ) to (επμ) the gate (τ-τγχμ) of the city (μ-τ-μoλ\iota\varsigma), [while lots of people (μ-μμμωε) had assembled (ερε ... ογμγ) behind him (μσω-φ) together with (μμ) Jews (γεν-μoγ\alpha\lambda\iota), (too) many (ε-γ-οω) to count (lit. (there) is no (ε-μμ) number (μμe) for them (επο-ογμμ)]' (Ac. A&P 194:18-19), $\tau\varsigma\epsilon\tau\omega\tau \ \epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \epsilon\varphi\varsigma\omega\tau\mu \ \mu\omicron\iota \ \mu\alpha\rchi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\mu\alpha\rchi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$) 'I am prepared (τ-ετωτ) to say them (the words) (ε-μoο-γγ) [with the archbishop (μ-αρχειεπισκοπος) listening (ε-φ-μωτμ)]' (Zen. 202:32), $\mu\tau\kappa \ \mu\mu \ \mu\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon \ \mu\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\omicron\kappa \ \mu\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 'who (μμ) of such kind (μ-μe\iota-γe) (are) you (μτκ), my lord (μ\alpha-\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma), [that this great (μe\iota-μo\varsigma) glory (μ-εoογ) surrounds (ερε ... κωτε) you (επο-κ)]?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1), $\alpha\varphi\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon \ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\varphi \ \epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \gamma\eta \ \mu\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \epsilon[\mu\eta] \ \lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma \ \mu\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon \ \mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon \ \mu\mu\mu\alpha\varphi \ \omega\alpha\mu\tau\epsilon\varphi\mu\omega\gamma \ [\epsilon]\gamma\mu\alpha \ \epsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\omicron\varphi \ \chi\epsilon \ \tau\lambda\iota\beta\eta \ \mu\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\epsilon\alpha\tau$ 'he (the camel) went (α-φ-μoοωε) on his own (μαγ\alpha\alpha-φ) into

(εγoγν γη) the mountain (μ-μoογ), [without anyone (λ\alpha\lambda\gamma \ μ-μωμe) accompanying (ε-μμ ... μoοωe) it (μμ\mu\alpha-φ)], until it (finally) reached (ω\alpha\mu\tau\epsilon-φ-μωγ) a place (ε-γ-μ\alpha) called (lit. which they say (ε-γ-μoγ\tau\epsilon) about (επο-φ)) »Libya (τ-λ\iota\beta\eta) of the Paiceatans (μ-μe-μ\alpha\epsilon\alpha\tau)«] (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:9).

12.2.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses

Adjunct clauses indicating anterior events are expressed by means of the Temporal conjugation $\mu\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\mu\omega\tau\mu$ 'after/when he had heard' (see above, section 8.1.2 of Unit 8). The focus of this section is on the dual function of 'AFTER'-clauses as temporal location expressions and as boundary markers in narrative discourse.

12.2.2.2.1 'AFTER'-clauses used as temporal location adverbs

Temporal $\mu\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ -clauses are typically used to initiate a sequence of completed past-time events that push forward the storyline. The event chain is located in time in one of the following ways:

a) In relation to context-dependent time specification

$\mu\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ -clauses may select time-indicating nominals as subjects to signal a change of temporal location. Particularly common are cyclic expressions like $\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ 'dawn' and $\rho\omicron\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ 'night' or clock-times like $\omega\mu\pi\tau$ 'morning', whose exact temporal interpretation is determined deictically through the matrix clause tense, but interval nouns like $\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ 'a long (ογ-ηος) time (μ-ογoε\iota\omega)' are equally possible. There are only a few verbs that permit temporal expressions as subjects, viz. (i) the verb of existence and occurrence $\omega\mu\pi\epsilon$ 'to happen' and (ii) verbs of inherently directed motion like $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'to pass by' and $\gamma\omega\mu$ 'to come near'.

Examples: $\mu\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \ \gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \omega\mu\pi\epsilon \ \lambda \ [\iota]\omicron\gamma\lambda\iota\varsigma \ \tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta \ \chi\epsilon \ \epsilon\varphi\eta\alpha\tau \ \gamma\pi\epsilon \ \mu\mu\epsilon\varphi\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda$ '[when it was (μτeπe ... ωμπe) dawn (γτoογe)], Julius stood up (λ ... τωoγη) to (χe) feed (lit. give (ε-φ-μ\alpha-τ) food (γpe) to) his camels (μ-μe\varphi-\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-14), $\mu\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \ \rho\omicron\gamma\gamma\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \omicron\mu \ \omega\mu\pi\epsilon \ \alpha\gamma\tau \ \omicron\gamma\omega \ \epsilon\gamma\pi \ \gamma\omega\beta$ '[when night (ρoγγe) had fallen (μτeπe ... ωμπe)], they stopped (α-γ-τ oγω) working (ε-γ-π γωβ)' (V. Pach. 6:5), $\omega\mu\pi\tau \ \delta\epsilon \ \mu\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varphi\omega\mu\pi\epsilon \ \lambda$

πρὶν γε μὴν χοοὺ ΝΣΑ ΑΠΑ ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ 'when it had become (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΦΩΠΕ) *morning* (ΦΩΡΗ), the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) sent (Α ... ΧΟΟΥ) for (ΝΣΑ) Απα Ptolemy (ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ)' (KHML II 35:9-10), ἀσώπτε δε ντεροϋζων εζοϋν ΝΟΙ ΝΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΣ ΕΙΣΑΛΚ ΕΤΡΕΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΣΩΜΑ Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΟΟΥ ΦΑΡΟQ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΗ 'it happened (Α-C-ΦΩΠΕ) [when the *days* (ΝΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the patriarch (Η-Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ) Isaac had come near (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΖΩΝ) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΕΙ) out of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the body (CΩΜΑ)], God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) sent (Α ... ΤΗΝΟΟΥ) to him (ΦΑΡΟ-Q) the angel (Η-Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of his father (Η-ΠΕQ-ΕΙΩΤ) Abraham' (Test. Is. 229:1-3), ΝΤΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΕQΦΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΕΙΛΑΝΑΧΩΡΗCΙC ΗΝ ΠΙCΟΡΕΖΤ ΑΥΤΩΖΗ ΔΕ ΖΩΩQ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ [Ε]ΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΓ[ΩΝ] ΝΤΗΝΤΗ[ΑΡΤΥ]ΡΟC ΖΙΤΗ ΤΕ[ΧΑ]ΡΙC ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC 'after a *long* (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *time* (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) had passed (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΕΙΝΕ) during which he lived (Ε-Q-ΦΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) this seclusion (ΤΕΙΛΑΝΑΧΩΡΗCΙC) and (ΗΝ) peace (Π-CΟΡΕΖΤ)], the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Απα Μēna, too (ΖΩΩ-Q), was summoned (lit. they summoned (Α-Υ-ΤΩΖΗ)) to the combat (Ε-Π-ΑΓΩΝ) of the martyrdom (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC) through (ΖΙΤΗ) the grace (ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙC) of our Lord (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕΧC)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:17-29).

b) In relation to other events

As the exponent of past anteriority (Pluperfect), the Temporal designates bounded (or telic) events that had been accomplished some time before the main clause event started.

Examples: ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΑΠΡΟ ΔΕ ΧΙ ΠΟΥΩ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑQΡ ΦΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΑQΤΩΟΥΝ ΑQΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑQΦΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ '[when the gatekeeper (Π-ΠΑ-Π-ΡΟ) had brought (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΧΙ) the news (Π-ΟΥΩ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) to our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) (Pachōm)], he was surprised (Α-Q-Ρ ΦΗΡΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) he stood up (Α-Q-ΤΩΟΥΝ), went (Α-Q-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ), (and) talked (Α-Q-ΦΑΧΕ) to him (the visitor) (ΝΗΜΑ-Q)' (V. Pach. 137:26-28), ΝΤΕΡΕQCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΙ ΑQΒΩΚ ΑQΤΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑQΧΙ ΤΕΥ[ΗΝ] ΑQΤΑΑC ΝΝΕΤΦΑΑΤ '[when he (the brother) had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ) these (words) (Ε-ΝΑΙ)], he went forth (Α-Q-ΒΩΚ), sold them (the books) (Α-Q-ΤΑΑ-Υ ΕΒΟΛ), took (Α-Q-ΧΙ) the price (ΤΕΥ-ΤΗΝ) (and) gave it (Α-Q-ΤΑΑ-C) to the poor (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΦΑΑΤ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:30-34), ΕΠΖΑΕ ΝΤΕΡΕQΤΗCΩΜΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΕΤΑΥΟ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΝΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC

(for ΝΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC) ΑQΩΟΝΤ ΕΡΟQ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟQ ΑQΖΡΟΧΡΧ ΝΝΕQΟΒΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩQ '[finally (Ε-Π-ΖΑΕ), when the dragon (ΠΕ-ΔΡΑΚΩΝ) had not been able (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΤΗ-ΕΩ-ΟΜΟΝ) to cast (Ε-ΤΑΥΟ) Antonius (ΝΝ-ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ), he became furious (Α-Q-ΩΟΝΤ) about him (ΕΡΟ-Q) himself (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Q) (and) gnashed (Α-Q-ΖΡΟΧΡΧ) his teeth (Ν-ΝΕQ-ΟΒΖΕ) against him (ΕΧΩ-Q)' (V. Ant. 9:6-8), ΝΤΕΡΕQΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΧΕ (read ΔΕ) ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝQΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΥCΜΟΤ ΑQ† ΕΧΩΟΥ ΜΠΕCΧΗΜΑ ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΑQΩΟΠΟΥ ΕΡΟQ ΖΗ ΟΥΡΑΦΕ '[when he (Pachōm) had tested (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ) them (the novices) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) and had seen (Ν-Q-ΝΑΥ) that (ΧΕ) their character (ΠΕΥ-CΜΟΤ) was good (ΝΑΝΟΥ)], he put (Α-Q-†) the monkish (Η-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) habit (Η-ΠΕ-CΧΗΜΑ) on them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) (and) received them (Α-Q-ΦΟΠ-ΟΥ ΕΡΟ-Q) with (ΖΗ) joy (ΟΥ-ΡΑΦΕ)' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19), ΝΤΕΡΕQΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΝQΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΑQΦΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΑQΧΕ ΠΕQΑΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΚΩC '[when he had gone (away) (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΒΩΚ) and become (Ν-Q-Ρ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟC)], he became (Α-Q-ΦΩΠΕ) negligent (lit. in (ΖΗ) a negligence (ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΛΙΑ)) and (ΑΥΩ) spent (Α-Q-ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) his time (ΠΕQ-ΑΖΕ) badly (ΚΑΚΩC)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:3-4).

c) Iterated Temporal clauses

It is not uncommon to combine two or more Temporal clauses in a series to describe multifaceted changes of temporal setting before the main course of events started, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΕQQΙ ΖΑ ΝΕΥΖΙCΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΧΗΡ ΝΟΥΡΟΜΠΕ ΑΝ Η CΝΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ QΤΟ Η † (read †Ε) ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕQΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΚΟΤΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΤΗΡQ ΖΗ ΤΕQΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΤΕQΑΝΟΧΗ ΕΤQΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΜΑΥ ΤΟΤΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΦΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ ΑQΒΩΚ ΕΥΜΑ ΜΑΥΑΑQ ΑQΑΖΕ ΡΑΤQ ΑQΦΑΛΗ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΤΗΡC ΕQΜΟΚΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ (...) '[when a *long* (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *time* (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) had passed (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΕΙΝΕ) [while he (Pachōm) suffered (patiently) (Ε-Q-Q1) from (ΖΑ) their (the brothers') trouble-making (ΝΕΥ-ΖΙCΕ) in this manner (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) as well as (ΜΗ) their carelessness (ΝΕΥ-ΧΗΡ)], not (ΑΝ) a year (Ν-ΟΥ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) or (Η) two (CΝΤΕ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) *four* (QΤΟ) or (Η) *five* (†)] and (ΑΥΩ) [when he noticed (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΝΑΥ) about them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) they had not turned themselves (ΗΠ-ΟΥ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) towards God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ)

through (2N) his long-suffering (ΤΕQ-2APΩ-2HT) and (HN) his holding back (ΤΕQ-ΑΝΟΧΗ) that he practised (ΕΤ-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) with them (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ)], [then (ΤΟΤΕ) when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΦΩΠΕ) one day (Ν-ΟΥ-20ΟΥ)], he went (Α-Q-ΒΩΚ) somewhere (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) all by himself (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q), stood on his feet (Α-Q-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Q), (and) prayed (Α-Q-ΦΑΝΑ) all (ΤΙΡ-С) night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ) (long), being grieved (Ε-Q-ΜΟΚ2 Ν-2HT) because of them (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-ΟΥ) (...)’ (V. Pach. 6:14-22).

12.2.2.2.2 ‘AFTER’-clauses used as boundary markers

a) Discourse-linked Temporal clauses

The content of ΝΤΕΡΕ-clauses is either presupposed or contextually inferrable. Very often, the link with the preceding discourse is explicitly marked by anaphoric expressions. Such discourse-linked temporal subclauses have both a recapitulative and a cohesive function, bridging the gap between two narrative units, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕQXΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΙΤΕΛΟC ΑQΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕQΘΛΟC ΕΡΕ ΙCΑΑΚ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΖΙΧΩQ ΑQΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΧΙCΕ (...) ‘[when the angel (Π-ΑΙΤΕΛΟC) had said (ΝΤΕΡΕ-ΧΕ) these (ΝΑΙ) (words)], he raised (Α-Q-ΤΩΟΥΝ) from (ΖΙΧΗ) his bed (ΠΕQ-ΘΛΟC), while Isaac was lying (ΕΡΕ ... ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) on it (ΖΙΧΩQ), (and) went away (Α-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) to the higher (Η-Π-ΧΙCΕ) worlds (Ε-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12-13), ΑQΤΡΕC2ΡΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΧΙΜΩΝ (for ΠΧΕΙΜΩΝ) ΜΠΔΩΜΟC (for ΤΟΜΟC) ΝΤΑΥΖΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤ2ΑΤΕQ2Η ΕΤΕ ΛΕΩΝ ΠΕ ΜΗ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟC ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕQ2ΗΜΟC ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΑQΟΥΩCQ ΝΝΕΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΜΝΤΑCΕΒΗC ‘he (Zēnō) caused her (the church) to find rest (Α-Q-ΤΡΕ-С-2ΡΟΚ) from (ΖΗ) the tempest (Π-ΧΙΜΩΝ) of the document (Η-Π-ΔΩΜΟC) that his predecessors (Ν-ΕΤ-2Α-ΤΕQ-2Η) signed (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-2ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ) to (ΕΡΟ-Q), namely (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ) Leōn and (ΗΝ) Aurellianus. [When the former (ΠΑΙ) had occupied (lit. sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-2ΜΟC) on (ΖΙΧΗ)) the throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟC) of the kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)], he annulled (Α-Q-ΟΥΩCQ) the impious (Η-ΜΝΤ-ΑCΕΒΗC) ordinances (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ)’ (Hil. 1:24-2:3).

b) Inverted subjects

Changes in the temporal setting of the narrative often co-occur with a new set of participants. As a result, ΝΤΕΡΕ-clauses are typically found in switch reference contexts. Very often, the different subject is encoded as presentational focus through subject-verb inversion, denoting referents that appear on stage for the first time or are reintroduced into the discourse after a short period of absence. Focalised inverted subjects can appear in either the subordinate Temporal clause or the following main clause.

Examples: ΑCΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΑΦΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΜΗΗΩΕ ΕΤΗΗΥ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΥΘΑΙΒΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΗΗΩΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΒΕ ΜΠΟΥΖΕ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΕCΩ ‘it happened (Α-С-ΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when the crowds (Η-ΜΗΗΩΕ) that were going (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of the holy (Η-Π-2ΑΓΙΟC) Απα Μēνα had become numerous (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΑΦΑΙ), (that) the (same) crowds (Η-ΜΗΗΩΕ) were very distressed (Α-Υ-ΘΑΙΒΕ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) thirst (Π-ΙΒΕ) (and) could not find (ΗΠ-ΟΥ-2Ε) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)’ (Mena, Mir. 33a:9-16), ΝΤΕΡΕQCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟC ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΑQCΩΟΥ2 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕQΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑQΧΙ ΗΠΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ‘when the great (Π-ΠΝΟC) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-СΩΤΗ) (about it), he gathered (Α-Q-СΩΟΥ2 ΕΖΟΥΝ) (and) tallied (Α-Q-ΧΙ) the number (ΗΠΕ) of them (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ)’ (Eud. 44:25-26), ΑCΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΑQΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΠΕQΜΑ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ‘it happened (Α-С-ΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had overthrown (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΠΩΩΝΕ) the criminal (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Diocletian (Ν-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC) (that) the righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC) became (Α-Q-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) in his place (Ε-ΠΕQ-ΗΑ)’ (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9).

12.2.2.3 ‘SINCE’-clauses

Temporal ‘SINCE’ and ‘EVER SINCE’ clauses are formed with the temporal preposition ΧΙΝ ‘since, from (starting point)’ plus a complement clause containing a Second Tense. The form ΧΙΝΤΑQCΩΤΗ ‘since he heard’ is derived from the cliticisation of the subordinator ΧΙΝ to the relative marker ΝΤ- of the embedded Second Perfect: ΧΙΝ + ΝΤ-Α- → ΧΙΝΤΑ-, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΗΡ ΝΡΟΗΠΕ ΝΧΙΝΤΑΚ† ΗΠΕΙCΧΥΜΑ (for ΗΠΕΙCΧΗΜΑ) ΖΙΩΩΚ ‘look (ΕΙC), how many (ΟΥΗΡ) years (Ν-ΡΟΗΠΕ) (have passed), since you

put (NΧΙ(N)-NT-A-K-†) this (monk's) garment (M-ΠΕΙ-CΧΥΜΑ) on you (ΖΙΩΦ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 6:30).

a) Past anteriority and unbounded duration

'SINCE' ΧΙΝ-clauses provide a starting point for the main event/situation, with the endpoint obligatorily left implicit. The main situation is understood as being realised *after* the time expressed or implied in the subordinate clause, but it is at the same time interpreted as continuing until up to the present moment with a possible extension into the future. In this way, ΧΙΝ-clauses have a dual function as temporal location adjuncts and as aspectual shifters that stretch out an eventuality over the time axis, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΚΤΡΕ ΝΕΛΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 'and (ΑΥΩ) [since you came (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-K-ΕΙ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) this city (Ε-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)], you caused (Α-Κ-ΤΡΕ) the blind (Ν-ΒΛΛΕ) to see (ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ)' (KHML I 5:2-4), ΝΑΜΕ ΕΙΣ ΨΦΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΧΙΝΤΑΙΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΜΠΙΩΝ ΟΥΜΤΟΝ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ 'verily (ΝΑΜΕ) in the seventy (ΨΦΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) [since I have become (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-I-P) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ)], I have not found (ΜΠ-Ι-ΩΝ) a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) day (Ν-ΖΟΥ) of rest (ΟΥ-ΜΤΟΝ)' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 7:1-2).

b) Factivity

The temporal preposition ΧΙΝ has a factive interpretation, meaning that the content of the subordinate clause they initiate is generally taken for granted or is contextually presupposed, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'and (ΑΥΩ) how much (ΟΥΗΗΡ) time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) (has passed), [since you have come (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-K-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]?' (Onnophr. 206:33-34), Α[ΧΜΕΤΑ]ΝΟΙ ΖΗ Π[ΕΡΖΗΤ ΧΙ]ΝΤΑ ΠΕΙΩΜ [ΠΨΙΝ]Ε ΨΩΠΕ Ν[ΑΦ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΝΟΥ[ΤΕ] 'he repented (Α-Φ-ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ) in (ΖΗ) his heart (ΠΕΡ-ΖΗΤ) [since this visit (ΠΕΙ-ΩΜ Π-ΨΙΝΕ) befell (NΧΙ(N)-NT-A ... ΨΩΠΕ) him (ΝΑ-Φ) from (ΖΙΤΝ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:13-14), ΑΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΗΝΝΑ ΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΘΙΛΗΗ ΖΤΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΝΑΖΑΨΦ (for ΜΠΜΕΖΑΨΦ) ΑΟΥΕΖΑΖΝΕ ΝΟΙ ΤΡΡΩ ΕΩΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΗΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΘΙΛΗΗ ΜΝ ΟΙΩΝ 'it happened (Α-Φ-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) after

(ΜΗΝΝΑ) six (ΟΟΥ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥ) [since she had come (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-C-ΕΙ) to Jerusalem (Ε-ΘΙΛΗΗ)] (that), (on) the morning (ΖΤΟΥΕ) of the seventh (day) (Μ-Π-ΜΑΖ-ΑΨΦ), the queen (Τ-ΡΡΩ) ordered (Α-Φ-ΟΥΕΖ-ΑΖΝΕ) to arrest (Ε-ΩΠΕ) for her (ΝΑ-Φ) the Jews (Ν-ΝΙ-ΟΥΔΑΙ) who were living (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΝ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΗ) and (ΜΝ) Zion (ΟΙΩΝ)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

c) Present tense ΧΙΝ-clauses

ΧΙΝ-clauses are largely restricted to the occurrence with the Second Perfect, but can occasionally be used with a present tense to express the idea that some event took place "earlier than expected", e.g. ΑΙΩΠΤΗ ΧΙΝ ΕΙΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΕΙΤ ΝΤΕΡΠΙΣΤΙC ΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ (for ΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΙΡΟΤΟΝΕΙ) ΜΜΟΙ '[already (ΧΙΝ) when I was in Alexandria (Ε-Ι-ΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)], I heard (Α-Ι-ΩΠΤΗ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the fame (Π-ΟΕΙΤ) of his (Pachôm's) faith (Ν-ΤΕΡ-ΠΙΣΤΙC), (even) before I was consecrated (as a bishop) (lit. they consecrated (ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ) me (ΜΜΟΙ))' (V. Pach. 136:3-4), Α ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΓΑΡ ΧΙ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC ΝΧΙΝ ΕΙΖΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) gained (Α ... ΧΙ) for me (ΝΑ-Ι) the office of a tribune (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC) [when I was (as young as) ten (ΜΗΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) old (ΝΧΙΝ Ε-Ι-ΖΝ)]' (KHML II 32:28-9), ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΙΝ ΕΦΖΗ ΠΕΦΩΜΑ 'the angels (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) will serve (ΝΑ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) him (the hermit) (ΕΡΟΦ), [even when he is still alive (lit. in the body (ΧΙΝ Ε-Φ-ΖΗ Π-ΩΜΑ))]'

d) Temporal location adverbs expanded by a relative clause

To express 'AS SOON AS' in the past, Coptic uses the temporal location adverb Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ 'immediately (lit. in the hour)' plus a restrictive relative clause in the Perfect, e.g. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΕΕΦ ΜΟΟΝΕ ΑΦΩΨΤ ΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΕΡΕ ΠΗΝΗΨΕ ΟΟΥΖ ΕΡΟΦ 'as soon as (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [the sailor (Π-ΝΕΕΦ) had moored (the boat) (ΝΤ-Α ... ΜΟΟΝΕ)], he looked around (Α-Φ-ΩΨΤ) (and) saw (Α-Φ-ΝΑΥ) Andrew (Ε-ΑΝΔΡΕΑC) with the crowd (Π-ΜΗΝΨΕ) surrounding (ΕΡΕ ... ΟΟΥΖ) him

(ερο-q)' (Ac. A&P 194:1-2), ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥCΑΖΩΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤ[Ι]ΝΟC ΑΥΚΙΜ ΕΤΕΦΟΙΧ ΕΝΕ[Ρ]ΨΩΟΥ ΝΜΠΕΡCΟC 'as soon as (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [the servants (Ν-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of King (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had withdrawn themselves (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-CΑΖΩ-ΟΥ)], he gestured (Α-Υ-ΚΙΜ) with his hand (Ε-ΤΕΦ-ΟΙΧ) to the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡCΟC) kings (Ε-ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ)' (Eud. 46:27-28).

A related construction is formed with the adverbially used temporal noun Τ-ΑΡΧΗ 'in the beginning', which provides a starting point for the matrix clause situation, e.g. ΑΡΑ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΑΚΖΙCΕ ΤΩΝΟΥ '(in) the beginning (Τ-ΑΡΧΗ) [when you had come (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)], did you suffer (Α-Κ-ΖΙCΕ) a lot (ΤΩΝΟΥ)?' (Onnophr. 208:20-21).

12.2.3 Cause, reason and purpose clauses

Adjunct clauses that belong to the category of cause, reason and purpose describe the external or internal motivation for why a particular event took place in a particular way. In providing an explanation for the main course of action, cause and reason clauses are therefore commonly found in the backgrounded portions of the narrative.

12.2.3.1 Cause and reason clauses

Cause and reason clauses provide felicitous answers to questions initiated by the interrogative adverb ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ 'for what (reason), why'. In such question-answer sequences, the presupposed part of interrogative clause is generally not reproduced in the following response, e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΤΖΜΟΟC ΖΜ ΠΑΜΑΝΩΨΠΕ ΤΖΑΠΛΩΠ (...) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΕΙΩΡΖ ΜΠΗΤΟΝ ΕΤΝΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΚΟΛΑCΙC ΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ '»Why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) do I sit (Τ-ΖΜΟΟC) in (ΖΜ) my living quarter (ΠΑ-ΜΑΝΩΨΠΕ) (and) be weary (Τ-ΖΑΠΛΩΠ)?« (...) »Because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) you have not yet observed (ΜΠΑΤΕ-Κ-ΕΙΩΡΖ) the relief (Μ-Π-ΗΤΟΝ) that we are hoping (ΕΓ-Ν-ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ) for (ΕΡΟ-Q) nor (ΟΥΔΕ) the punishment (Τ-ΚΟΛΑCΙC) that is about to happen (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ)«' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:24-26).

12.2.3.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) The subordinators ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ and ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ 'because, since'

Adjunct clauses of the cause/reason category take the form of prepositional phrases with a finite declarative clause as a complement. The complement clauses is marked by the standard subordinator ΧΕ 'that', while the initial prepositions ΕΒΟΛ and ΕΤΒΕ bring about the more specific cause or reason interpretation, e.g. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠQΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΤΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ 'he (Pachôm's brother) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Q) to him (Pachôm) (ΝΑ-Q) (that) (ΧΕ) »Who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) that you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ) to (ΝΗΜΑ-Q)?«, [because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) he did not see (ΜΠ-Q-ΝΑΥ) the one who was talking (Π-ΕΤ-ΨΑΧΕ) to him (ΝΗΜΑQ)]' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ ΖΩ ΑΙΤΡΕΥΝΟΧΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC (for ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC) ΝΤΕ ΤΡΥΦΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΑΚΑΛΤ ΝΨΜΜΟ ΕΠΑΜΑΝΩΨΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΠΕ 'look (ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ), I myself (ΖΩ) caused you to be thrown out (lit. I caused them to throw you out (Α-Ι-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΝΟΧ-Κ ΕΒΟΛ)) of (ΖΗ) the Paradise (Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC) of (ΝΤΕ) Delight (ΤΡΥΦΗ), [because (ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ) you made me (Α-Κ-ΑΑ-Τ) a stranger (Ν-ΨΜΜΟ) to my residence (Ε-ΠΑ-ΜΑΝΩΨΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) heaven (Τ-ΠΕ)]' (Abbatôn 240:25-27).

Very often, the initial prepositions ΕΒΟΛ and ΕΤΒΕ are omitted. As a result, the cause or reason interpretation of the subordinate clause is left to be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ΧΙΤ ΕΥΜΑ ΕΦΕCΥΧΑΖΕ (for ΕΦΗCΥΧΑΖΕ) ΧΕ ΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ 'bring me (ΧΙΤ) to a quiet (Ε-Q-ΕCΥΧΑΖΕ) place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ), [because (ΧΕ) you see (Κ-ΝΑΥ) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) ill (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:17-20), ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ Ω ΑΔΑΜ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΨΠ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΑΝΤΕQCΩΤΕ ΝΜΟΚ ΝQΚΤΟΚ ΕΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC ΝΚΕCΟΠ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΧΕ ΑQΨΠ ΤΩΨΡΕ ΝΜΟΚ ΕΚΟ ΝΟΜΕ ΜΠΑΤQ† ΠΝΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'for your sake (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Κ), oh (Ω) Adam, will the Son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) bear (ΝΑ-ΨΠ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (hardships) (ΝΑΙ) to redeem (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Q-CΩΤΕ) you (ΝΜΟ-Κ) and he will bring you back (Ν-Q-ΚΤΟ-Κ) again (Ν-ΚΕ-CΟΠ) to the Paradise (Ε-Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) where you came (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) from (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) in the beginning (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ), [because (ΧΕ) he bailed (lit. grasp

(λ-α-φπ) hand (τωρε)) you (μμο-κ) out, when you were (ε-κ-ο) clay (ν-ομε), before he gave (μπατ-α-τ) you (ερο-κ) a spirit (πνλ)]' (Abbatôn 240:7-12).

b) Switch reference

The subject of the lower cause/reason clause is generally different from that of the matrix clause, but same subject sequences are certainly not excluded, as shown by the contrast between *μπε ις εψναζμεα εβολ ζν νασιχ εβολ χε μν νουτε νσα παπολλον* (for *παπολων*) *μν ταρδυμς* (for *ταρτεμς*) '*Jesus* (ις) could not save him (Αρα Nahrow) (*μπε ... εψ-ναζμε-α*) from (ζν) my hands (να-σιχ), [*because* (εβολ χε) (there) is no (μν) god (νουτε) besides (νσα) *Apollôn* (π-απολλον) and (μν) *Artemis* (τ-αρδυμς)]' (KHML I 7:11-13) and *πεαρον δε ντερεαωτη εροα εααχε εβολ χε νεαογυη αν μμοα πε* 'when *his brother* (πεα-ρον) heard (ντερε-α-ωτη) him (Pachôm) (ερο-α) talking (ε-α-ααχε), [*because* (εβολ χε) *he* was not (αν) far away (νε-α-ογυη) from him (μμο-α)]' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

c) Preposed cause/reason adjuncts

Cause and reason clauses typically appear at the end of the main clause in the position of heavy constituents. Akin to other adverbial categories, they may be preposed to an extracausal topic position. Preposed cause/reason adjuncts often have a recapitulative function, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. *εβολ χε ακειρε μπαι κςζογορτ ντοκ ουτε νεαυριον* (for *νεαυριον*) *τηρογ μπκαζ* '[*since* (εβολ χε) you have done (α-κ-ειρε) this (μ-μπαι)], you (ντοκ) are cursed (κ-ςζογορτ) among (ουτε) all (τηρ-ογ) the animals (νε-αυριον) of the earth (μ-π-καζ]' (Abbatôn 238:17-18), but they may also express emphasis and/or contrast, e.g. *εβολ γαρ αν χε σεζοβς ερωτη ζαην μποογ ατεννεπιθμει εεμμε επεαωρχ ντ[οο]τη* '[*not* (αν) *because* (εβολ γαρ χε) they (the achievements of Αρα Zenobius) were concealed (σε-ζοβς) from you (ερω-τη) before (ζαην) today (μποογ)], have you longed (α-τεν-επιθμει) to know (ε-εμμε) their exact nature (ε-πεα-ωρχ) from us (ντοοτ-ν)' (Zen. 199:9-10).

12.2.3.1.2 Temporal relations

Cause and reason clauses show some degree of flexibility with respect to temporal order of events. The subordinate situation is usually earlier or simultaneous with the main clause situation, although it is also possible for it to be later. Thus, consider: *νεακκοτκ δε νζογν μπεακοιτων εττοαος ννογβ ζι ζατ ζν νεαεαη μν νεαμελ[ατε] (...) εβολ χε πρρο πε ντααταμιοα νας* 'she (Eudoxia) slept (νε-α-κκοτκ) in (νζογν) her bed-chamber (μ-πεα-κοιτων), which was inlaid (ετ-τοαος) with gold (ν-νογβ) and (ζι) silver (ζατ) on (ζν) its walls (νεα-εαη) and (μν) its ceilings (νεα-μεατε), [*because* (εβολ χε) (it was) the king (π-ρρο) who had made it (ντ-α-α-ταμιο-α) for her (να-α)]' (Eud. 50:6-9), *αγω α πααος ετογνη ζεν* (for ζν) *ρακοτε μν νετογνη ζεμ* (for ζμ) *πμαρωτης ρααε χε α πνουτε ομ πωμνε μπεαλαος* 'and (αγω) the people (π-λαος) who lived (ετ-ογνη) in (ζεν) Alexandria (ρακοτε) and (μν) those who lived (ν-ετ-ογνη) in (ζεμ) the Mariôtês (π-μαρωτης) rejoiced, [*because* (χε) God (π-νουτε) paid (α ... ομ) a visit (π-ωμνε) to his people (μ-πεα-λαος)]' (Mena, Mir. 89a:25-89b:5), *νεαρεμμε* (for *νεαριμμε*) *δε τηρογ πε χε ογν ογμντεβειν* (for *ογμντεβειν*) *νααζοογ ερωαν πχοεις ομ πααεινε* (for *πεααεινε*) 'they (the brothers) were all (τηρ-ογ) weeping (νε-γ-ρεμμε), [*because* (χε) misery (ογ-μντ-εβειν) would come upon them (ογν ... να-αζο-ογ), [when the Lord (π-χοεις) would come (ερωαν ... ομ) to visit him (Pachôm) (π-α-εινε)] (i.e. when he would die)]' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1).

12.2.3.1.3 Contrastive focus

Despite their backgrounded character, cause and reason clauses may be associated with contrastive focus, witness the fact that they can also appear in the asserted (i.e. focused) part of a negated matrix clause, e.g. *ντειζε ζωων ννεγνακρινε μμον αν χε μπεναιπενογ* (for *μπενεπαινογ*) *μμπετογλαβ καα πχιε ντεααααατροφη αλλα χε αναμελει εγογχα ντειδοτ ετητρνεογονζα εβολ επτηρα* 'similarly (ντειζε) we, too (ζωω-ν), will not be judged (lit. they will not (αν) judge (νν-ε-γ-να-κρινε) us (μμο-ν)), [*because* (χε) we have not

praised (ΜΠΕ-Ν-ΑΙΠΕΝΟΥ) *the saint* (Μ-Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) according to (κατα) the height (Π-ΧΙΣΕ) of his way of life (Ν-ΤΕΓ-ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ), [*but* (αλλα) *because* (χε) *we have been negligent* (Α-Ν-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) towards such (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΘΟΤ) salvation (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) in not revealing it (the salvation) (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΟΥΟΝΖ-Γ ΕΒΟΛ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΓ)]' (Zen. 200:30-32), ΝΤΑΙΝΤΓ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΛΑΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'I have not (ΑΝ) brought it (the wheat) (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΝΤ-Γ) *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *anything* (ΟΥ-ΛΑΑΥ) *but* (αλλα) *my salvation* (ΠΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) also (ΟΝ) [*because* (χε) *you* (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (arc) *men* (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ) *of* (ΝΤΕ) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (V. Pach. 138:2-3).

12.2.3.1.4 Semantic differences between cause and reason

Although there are no morpho-syntactic grounds to distinguish cause and reason adjunct clauses, they have slightly different interpretations. Adjunct clauses that belong to the 'CAUSE' category generally describe an external factor for the main course of action, e.g. ΝΕΛΣΒΩΚ [Ε]ΡΗC ΖΗ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΜΠΕ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΑΓΒΩΚ ΝΟΙ ΠΕCΚΕΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΓΩ ΖΑΖΤΗΓ 'she had departed (ΝΕ-Α-C-ΒΩΚ) southwards (Ε-ΡΗC) in (ΖΗ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) sadness (Ν-ΗΚΑΖ Ν-ΖΗΤ), [*not only* (ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ) *because* (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) *Theodore did not meet* (ΜΠΕ ... ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) *her* (ΕΡΟ-C)], *but* (αλλα) (also) *because* her other small (ΠΕC-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) son (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ) Paphnoute left (Α-Γ-ΒΩΚ) to stay (Α-Γ-CΩ) with him (ΖΑΖΤΗ-Γ)' (V. Pach. 137:7-9), ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΕΤΗΠΕΓΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΠCΟΝ ΨΟCΗ ΕΡΟΚ 'therefore (ΟΥΚΟΥΝ), it (the eagle) did not come (ΕΤ-ΜΠΕ-Γ-ΕΙ) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ) *because of* you (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Κ), [*since* (ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ) *the brother* (Π-CΟΝ) *is angry* (ΨΟCΗ) *with you* (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΕΚCΩΜΑ ΕΦΟΥΛΑΒ ΧΕ ΠΡΠΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΓ 'keep (ΖΑΡΕΖ) your body (Ε-ΠΕΚ-CΩΜΑ) pure (Ε-Γ-ΟΥΛΑΒ), [*because* (χε) (it is) *the temple* (Π-ΡΠΕ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *that lies* (ΕΤ-ΟΥΗΖ) *in it* (ΝΖΗΤ-Γ)]' (Test. Is. 232:11-12).

By contrast, adjunct clauses belonging to the 'REASON' category describe the internal causes or motives why the subject referent is thinking or acting in a particular way, e.g. ΝΤΑΕΙΝΕ (read ΝΤΑΙΕΙΝΕ) ΝΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ CΩΜΑ ΧΕ †CΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΗΥ ΕΑΜΝΤΕ 'I did, indeed (ΡΩ),

bring (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙΝΕ) my soul (Ν-ΤΑ-ΨΥΧΗ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΗ) the body (i.e. I committed suicide) [*because* (χε) *I knew* (†CΟΟΥΝ) [that (χε) you were going (Κ-ΚΝΗΥ) to Hell (Ε-ΑΜΝΤΕ)]]' (Ac. A&P 202:118-119), ΝΤΕΡΕΓCΩΤΗ [ΕΝΑΙ] ΑΓΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΧΕ Ν[ΕΡΕ] ΤΕΠΕΙΘΜΙΑ (for ΤΕΠΕΙΘΜΙΑ) [Ε]Ρ Χ[ΟΕΙC] ΕΠΕΓΖΗΤ 'when he had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-CΩΤΗ) this (Ε-ΝΑΙ), he rejoiced (Α-Γ-ΡΑΨΕ) exceedingly (ΕΜΑΤΕ) [*because* (χε) *lust* (Τ-ΕΠΕΙΘΜΙΑ) *governed* (lit. became (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΕΡ) master (ΧΟΕΙC) over)) *his heart* (Ε-ΠΕΓ-ΖΗΤ)]' (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9), ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΕΓΘΟΝΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΓ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΓ ΧΕ ΑΓΘΜΘΟΜ ΝCΩ[ΒΕ] ΝCΑ ΝΕΓΘΟΡC 'for (ΓΑΡ) hereafter (ΛΟΙΠΟΝ) he (Apa Zenobius) was no longer (ΟΥΚΕΤΙ) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) angry (ΝΕ-Γ-CΟΝΤ) about himself (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Γ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Γ), [*because* (χε) *he could* (Α-Γ-ΘΜ-ΘΟΜ) *laugh* (Ν-CΩΒΕ) *about* (ΝCΑ) *his* (the devil's) *snare* (ΝΕΓ-ΘΟΡC)]' (Zen. 203:29-31).

12.2.3.2 Purpose clauses

There is a close semantic affinity between cause/reason and purpose clauses, since both types of subordinate clauses present a *raison d'être* for a particular course of action. Moreover, purpose often implicates cause, since many situations emerge through the wilful action of some agent. Yet, while purpose clauses always involve agentivity and intent, cause and reason clauses do not.

12.2.3.2.1 Syntactic characteristics

- a) The purposive subordinator *χεκαC* 'so that, in order that'

Purpose clauses are initiated by the subordinating complementiser *χεκαC* 'so that, in order that' plus a full clause containing an affirmative or negative future tense, e.g. ΜΠΕΡΖΕΠ ΑΛΑΥ ΕΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΑΡΕΓCΖΑΙCΟΥ ΝΟΥΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΗΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΜΗΝCΩΤΗΝ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΡΕ ΜΗΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ ΖΩΒ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'do not hide (ΜΠΕΡ-ΖΕΠ) anything (ΑΛΑΥ) from Jacob (Ε-ΙΑΚΩΒ) that he writes them (the teachings) down (ΤΑΡΕ-Γ-CΖΑΙ-CΟΥ) as an ordinance (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ) for the generations (Ν-Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) to come (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) after you (ΜΗΝCΩ-ΤΗ) [*in order that* (χεκαC) *the God-*

loving (people) (Η-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) will practise (ΕΡΕ ... ΕΡ ΖΩΕ) them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]' (Test. Is. 230:8-9), ΝΣΕΝΟΧΟ[Υ] [Ε]ΧΗ ΠΕΦΤΑΦΟΣ ΝΣΕΖΟΒΣQ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΡΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (Ν-ΣΕ-ΝΟΧ-Ο[Υ]) on (ΕΧΗ) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠΕΦ-ΤΑΦΟΣ) and cover it (Ν-ΣΕ-ΖΟΒ-Q) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) no man (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) will remember it (lit. make (ΝΝΕ ... Ρ) its remembrance (ΠΕΦ-ΜΕΕΥΕ))] ' (Eud. 58:21-22).

Very often, the purposive conjunction ΧΕΚΑΣ is replaced by the ordinary "THAT"-complementiser ΧΕ, e.g. ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΑΠΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΦΒΓΓQ (for ΜΠΕΦΦΓΓQ) ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΕΦΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ΧΕ ΕΦΕΤΑΛQ ΜΠΕΦΧΟΕΙC 'Ara Jacob was surprised (ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ) [because (ΧΕ) he (Ara John) had not taken it (the golden coin) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) from (ΖΗ) the ground (Π-ΚΑΖ) despite (the fact that) (ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ) he owed (Ε-Φ-ΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ) it (ΜΜΟ-Q) [so that (ΧΕ) he could return it (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΤΑΛ-Q) to its owner (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΧΟΕΙC)]' (AP Elanskaya 14b:25-31).

b) Switch reference

The central cases of purpose involve intention and design, usually on the part of the agent of the matrix clause. As a result, purpose clauses are for the most part same-subject clauses, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΙΕΝΤΚ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΙΕΤ Ψ[Ι]ΠΕ ΝΑΚ ΖΗ ΤΗΗΤΕ ΝΝΕΙΜΗΗΨΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΗΗΨ ΕΠΑΤΟΠΟΣ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I have brought you (ΝΤΑ-Ι-ΕΝΤ-Κ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) [to (ΧΕΚΑΣ) bring (Ε-Ι-Ε-Τ) shame (ΨΠΕ) upon you (ΝΑ-Κ) in (ΖΗ) the midst (Τ-ΜΗΤΕ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the people (Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) who have come (ΕΤ-ΗΗΨ) to my shrine (Ε-ΠΑ-ΤΟΠΟΣ)]' (Mena, Mir. 25b:19-25), ΑΣΒΩΚ ΧΕ ΕΣΝΑΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟQ 'she went (Α-Σ-ΒΩΚ) - [to (ΧΕ) welcome (Ε-Σ-ΝΑ-ΑΣΠΑΖΕ) him (ΜΜΟ-Q)]' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

Different-subject purpose clauses are certainly not excluded; they are particularly common in contexts that involve a switch from positive to negative polarity, e.g. ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (for ΤΠΥΛΗ) ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΨΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΥ) very strongly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) the apostles (Ν-ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ) could not

go (ΝΝΕ ... ΕΨ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)]' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΦΤΗΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑΦ ΜΗ ΤΕΦCΩΝΕ ΖΗ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΩΒ 'as for the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (Α-Φ-ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) to the people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) of his village (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΤΗΜΕ) [so that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) they would not burden (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ) him (ΝΑ-Φ) and (ΜΗ) his sister (ΤΕΦ-CΩΝΕ) in (ΖΗ) any respect (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΖΩΒ)]' (V. Ant. 4:18-20).

12.2.3.2 Future orientation

Purpose clauses are generally future-oriented: the time expressed or implied in the subordinate purpose clause is characteristically later than the time of the superordinate clause. In affirmative purpose clauses, the deontic Third Future Ε-Φ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he shall hear' is widely used, e.g. ΟΥΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΝCΠΟΥΔΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΨΗΝ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΘΝ ΠΕΦΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΖΑΡΕΖ ΜΠΖΗΤ 'it (ΠΕ) (is) evident (ΟΥ-ΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ) that (ΧΕ) we (will) make (ΕΝ-ΕΙΡΕ) every (ΝΙΜ) effort to a tree (Ε-Υ-ΨΗΝ) [so that (ΧΕ) we will find (Ε-Ν-Ε-ΘΝ) its fruit (ΠΕΦ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ), which is (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) the observance (Π-ΖΑΡΕΖ) of the heart (Μ-Π-ΖΗΤ)]' (AP Elanskaya 23a:11-16), ΑΦΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΨ ΖΑΤΗQ ΨΟΜΗΤ ΝΕΒΟΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΦΨΕΕΡΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΦΕΘΩ ΕΦΝΑΨ ΕΡΟC ΜΜΗΝΕ 'he (the king) kept (Α-Φ-ΚΑΤΕΧΕ) the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΨ) with him (ΖΑΤΗ-Q) (for) three (ΨΟΜΗΤ) months (Ν-ΕΒΟΤ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) his daughter (ΤΕΦ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) he could keep (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΘΩ) seeing (Ε-Φ-ΝΑΨ) her (ΕΡΟ-C) daily (ΜΜΗΝΕ)]' (Hil. 12:8-10), ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΕCΝΗΨ ΑΦΤΩΨ ΝΑΨ ΜΠΕΙΚΑΝΟΝ (for ΜΠΕΙΚΑΝΩΝ) ΝΤΕΙΜΗΝΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΡΩΨΕ ΕΡΟQ 'when he (Pachôm) saw (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΝΑΨ) that (ΧΕ) the brothers (ΝΕ-CΝΗΨ) would gather (Α-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ), he established (Α-Φ-ΤΩΨ) for them (ΝΑ-Υ) this rule (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΚΑΝΟΝ) in such a manner (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΗΝΕ) [that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) every one (ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ) of them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) (the brothers) would be self-sufficient (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΡΩΨΕ ΕΡΟQ)]' (V. Pach. 4:1-3).

Examples with the non-modalised Second Future Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-CΩΤΗ 'he is going to hear' can, however, also be found, e.g. ΑΥCΜΗ ΠΕΙΧΩΜΕ ΖΗ ΝΕΥΖΙCΕ ΜΜΗΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΚΑΛQ ΖΗ ΠΕΥΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΩ

ΝΖΗΤΩ ΕΥΖΗΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΠΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ (for ΟΥΠΑΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) ΝΝΕΤΝΑΨ
 ΝΖΗΤΩ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΤΗ ΕΡΩΩ ΖΝ ΟΥΤ ΖΤΗΩ 'they composed (Α-Υ-ΣΜΝ)
 this book (ΠΕΙ-ΧΩΨΜΕ) through (ΖΝ) their own (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) labour
 (ΝΕΥ-ΖΙΣΕ) (and) placed it (Α-Υ-ΚΑΛ-Ω) in (ΖΜ) their monastery
 (ΠΕΥ-ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑ) *they shall read* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΨΩ)
from it (the book) (ΝΖΗΤ-Ω) for the benefit (Ε-Υ-ΖΗΥ) and (ΜΝ) satisfaction
 (ΟΥ-ΠΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) of those who will read (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩ) from it
 (ΝΖΗΤ-Ω) and (ΜΝ) of him who will listen (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΤΗ) to it (ΕΡΩ-Ω)
 with (ΖΝ) attention (lit. giving (ΟΥ-Τ) one's attention (ΖΤΗ-Ω))]' (Onnophr.
 224:3-5)

Negated purpose clauses are indicated by the Negative Third Future
 ΝΝΕ-Ω-ΨΩΤΗ 'he shall not hear'. In general, they describe the avoidance of
 an undesirable outcome or consequence, e.g. ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΨΩΧΝΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ
 ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΚ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΛΛΩ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΨΩΠΕ ΖΝΟΥΡ ΖΑΛ 'you
 (ΝΤΟΚ), on your part (ΖΩΩ-Κ), take council (ΨΩΧΝΕ), think (ΜΕΕΥΕ), ponder
 (ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚ-Κ), find out (ΕΙΜΕ) what (ΟΥ) (it is) that you are going to do
 (ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΛΛ-Ω) [*in order that* (ΧΕ) *you will not be joked* (ΝΝΕ-Κ-ΨΩΠΕ
 ΖΝ-ΟΥ-Ρ ΖΑΛ)]' (Camb. 9:12-15), ΛΩΨΩΤΗ ΜΠΡΟ ΛΩΚΩ ΝΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ
 ΝΣΑΤΕ ΕΣΡΩΕΙΣ ΕΠΡΟ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΩΣ ΧΕ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΕΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΩΩ
 ΨΑΝΤΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΩΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΩ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΝ ΑΔΑΜ 'he (God) closed
 (Α-Ω-ΨΩΤΗ) the door (Μ-Π-ΡΟ) (and) placed (Α-Ω-ΚΩ) a power
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ) of fire (Ν-ΣΑΤΕ) watching (Ε-Ω-ΡΩΕΙΣ) the door (Ε-Π-ΡΟ)
 of paradise (Μ-Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΩΣ) [*in order that* (ΧΕ) *no one* (ΛΑΛΥ) *would*
enter (ΝΝΕ ... ΕΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ) it (the paradise) (ΕΡΩ-Ω) until all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) what
 he had said (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ω-ΧΟΟ-Υ) was fulfilled (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) on
 (ΕΧΝ) Adam]' (Abbatôn 240:18-21).

12.2.3.2.3 Implied result reading

Subordinate future tense clauses are sometimes ambiguous between a
 purpose and a result reading. On the one hand, they describe why a
 particular course of action was taken by the main clause subject, but at the
 same time they state the intended result or outcome of that pursuit, e.g.
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΝΝΑΝΤΩ ΕΦΜΗΡ ΕΠΕΤΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΩΡ ΨΑΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΤΝΟΩ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΧΕΚΑ ΕΡΕ ΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡΩ ΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΜΝ
 ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΕΡΩΣ 'and (ΑΥΩ) we (ΑΝΟΝ) will

bring him (Constantine) (ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Ω) into (ΨΑ-ΖΟΥΝ) the capital (lit.
 great (Ε-Τ-ΝΟΩ)) city (Μ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) of the empire (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΩ) bound
 (Ε-Ω-ΜΗΡ) to your chariot (Ε-ΠΕΤΝ-ΖΑΡΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) a dog
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΩΡ) [*so that* (ΧΕΚΑ) *the entire* (ΤΗΡ-Ω) *world* (Π-ΚΑΖ) *will*
come to know (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΕΙΜΕ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) king (ΡΡΩ) as
 powerful (Ν-ΧΟΕΙΣ) as (ΝΘΕ) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡΩΣ)
 empire (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΩ)]]' (Eud. 44:11-14), ΑΛΛΑ ΖΜ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 Ε[Τ][Ο]ΝΖ ΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΨΩ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ
 Ο[Υ]ΚΑΙ ΧΕΚΑ ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖΩΣΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖΩΣΕ)
 ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΝΟΩ ΝΖΙΝΗΒ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) through (ΖΜ) the Spirit
 (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) of the living (ΕΤ-ΟΝΖ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) you wish
 (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΟΥΨΩ) their memory (ΠΕΥ-Ρ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ) to be lasting (Ε-ΤΡΕ ...
 ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ) by means of (ΖΙΤΝ) a script (ΟΥ-ΚΑΙ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑ),
 (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned), *you might wake* (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-
 ΝΑ-ΝΕΖΩΣΕ) *us* (ΜΜΟ-Ν) (up) *from* (ΖΜ) *the deep* (Π-ΝΟΩ) *sleep* (Ν-ΖΙΝΗΒ)]'
 (Zen. 199:16-18).

12.3 Infinitival clauses

The various classes of complement and adjunct clauses considered so far
 share many of the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of main
 clauses, the most important difference being their syntactically
 subordinate status. We finally turn to non-finite subordinate clauses, which
 differ from finites with respect to the absence of inflectional tense and the
 omissibility of the subject. Subordinate infinitival clauses are therefore
 generally less explicit than their finite counterparts: components of
 meaning that are directly encoded in finite clauses are left to be derived
 from the context in which infinitivals occur.

12.3.1 Differences between infinitival and finite subordinate clauses

Subordinate infinitival clauses are distinguished from finite subordinate
 clause by the following properties:

a) Prepositional subordinators

Most infinitivals, apart from the clausal complements of aspectual or modal verbs, are initiated by a distinct set of subordinators, all of which are morphologically identical to spatial prepositions. The most common verb phrase subordinator is the directional preposition *ε-* 'to': this is then the standard expression for infinitival subordination.

b) Absence of inflectional tense

Infinitivals have no inflectional tense that allows reference to a specific situation. Instead, the matrix verb contributes significantly to the temporal interpretation of the infinitival clause, e.g. *εΙΘΥΨ ΕΤΟΥΧΕ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ* 'I want (*ε-Ι-ΟΥΨ*) [*to save* (*ε-ΤΟΥΧΕ*) *my soul* (*τα-ψυχη*)]' (AP Chaine no.1, 1:1), *ΑΥΩ ΗΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΗΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΑΔ* 'and (*αυω*) no one (*ουον*) of us (*ημο-ν*) has dared (*ηπε ... τολμα*) [*to do* (*ε-ρ*) what you have done (*π-εντ-α-κ-αα-α*)]' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

c) Infinitives with and without subjects

Whereas the subject is an obligatory sentence constituent of finite clauses, there are no infinitival constructions in which the presence of an overt subject is grammatically required. However, the interpretation of infinitival clauses requires there to be an "understood" subject: the infinitival verb phrase represents a semantic predicate that must be in construction with an argument that it is predicate of. We thus assume that infinitival clauses have an implicit subject (indicated as '___'), whose identity is generally recoverable from the matrix subject, e.g. *ΕΙΘΥΨ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΤΑΩΝΕ ΗΠΑΪΜΟΥ* 'I want (*ε-Ι-ΟΥΨ*) [*to see* (*ε-ΝΑΥ*) *my sister* (*ε-τα-ωνε*) before I die (*ηπαϊ-μου*)]' (KHML I 75:20-21).

Where there is a subject, it always occurs as the non-canonical subject of an analytic causative, which intervenes between the causative verb *τρε* and the subordinate infinitival clause, e.g. *ΕΝΘΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΥΘΩ ΖΗ ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC* (for *ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΗCΙC*) 'and he (the devil) does not want [*them* (the hermits) *to stay* (*ε-τρε-υ-ω*) in (ΖΗ) the solitude (*τ-αναχωριcιc*)]' (Onnophr. 211:18).

d) Negation

There is a clear contrast between negating the verb of a subordinate finite clause and that of an infinitival clause (also with respect to scope). Infinitival verbs must be negated by the auxiliary *τη* 'not to do', which can only take narrow predicate scope over the verb phrase and verb-phrase internal complements and adjuncts (see above, section 9.4.6 of Unit 9), e.g. *ΜΩΝΩΝ* (for *ΜΟΝΟΝ*) *ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑQTAMIOK* 'but (*μωνων*) be careful (*ζαρεζ*) [*not to sin* (lit. to commit (*ε-τη-ρ*) sin (*νοβε*)) against the God (*ε-π-νουτε*) who has created you (*ητ-α-q-ταμιο-κ*)]' (V. Pach. 89:27-28), *ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΧΕ ΤΕΤΝΠΙΘΕ ΕΤΗΤΡΕΝΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΝΝΗΥ ΑΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ (...)* 'but (*αλλα*) if (*εψχε*) you insist (*τετν-πιθε*) upon [*not letting us go* (*ε-τη-τρε-ν-ει*) *inside* (*εζουν*) *the city* (*ε-τ-πολιc*)], we do not (*αν*) go (*ν-τη-νηυ*) inside (*εζουν*)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38-39).

12.3.2 The controlled interpretation of the missing subject

The reference of the missing subject of infinitival clauses is recoverable from one of the main clause arguments. The relation between the "understood" infinitival subject and its controller is a special case of anaphora. As with overt pronouns, the covert subject receives an interpretation via co-reference with an antecedent outside of its clausal domain. The interpretation of the implicit subject may be controlled by the matrix subject or object, but may also be left to be pragmatically inferred.

12.3.2.1 Subject control

This section surveys the most common infinitival constructions in which subject control is required or permitted.

a) Volitional constructions without overt subjects

Verbs of volition, intent or desire provide prototypical exemplars of control structures in which the missing noun phrase of the infinitival complement is co-referential with the matrix subject, e.g. *ΕΙΘΥΨ ΕΧ[ε] ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΡΧΩΝ* 'I want (*ε-Ι-ΟΥΨ*) [*to tell you something* (lit. a word (*ου-ψαχε*))], magistrate (*π-αρχων*)' (KHML II 28:21-29:1), *κγρι*

СПΑΘΑΡΙΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΩ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΤΑΨΑΛΗ 'Lord (κυρι) knight (спаθариε), look (εις), a lot (ου-μηνωε) of times (н-ουοειω) *I wished* (†-επιθυμει) [*to go* (ε-βωκ) *to that* (ε-τημαυ) *place* (ε-π-μα) *to pray* (τα-ψαλη)]' (Hil. 4:29-30), ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΙΡ ΖΝΑΙ ΜΠΩΤ ΝΤΟΟΤQ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ 'but *I* (ΑΝΟΚ) *wished* (Α-Ι-Ρ ΖΝΑ-Ι) [*to escape* (М-ΠΩТ) *from* (ΝΤΟΟТ-Q) *sin* (М-Π-ΝΟΒΕ)]' (Onnophr. 208:7), ΑΙΕΡΗΤ ΕΧΩ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΘΟМ ΜΝ ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΘ ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟС ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ 'I promised (Α-Ι-ΕΡΗТ) [*to tell* (ε-χω) *you* (ερω-τη) *a few* (N-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) *of* (ΖΝ) *the mighty deeds* (N-ΘΟМ) *and* (МН) *wonders* (NЕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) *of the great* (М-Π-ΝΟΘ) *archangel* (N-ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟС) Gabriël' (BMisc. 313:8-10), ΑΥΩ ΑQСМНТC ΕCΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕQΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΑΨΟΥΡ 'and (ΑΥΩ) *he* (the physican) *decided* (Α-Q-СМНТ-C) [*to cut* (ε-сωλп) *off* (ΕΒΟΛ) *his* (the gardener's) *leg* (N-ΤΕQ-ΟΥΡΗΤΕ) *with* (ΖΝ) *a saw* (ΟΥ-ΒΑΨΟΥΡ)]' (AP Elanskaya 17b:10-13).

The controlling subject of volitional verbs may be interpreted as the semantic patient of the event described by the infinitival verb, the result being a passive interpretation, e.g. ΝΟΥΕΨ (for ΕΝΟΥΕΨ) ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΝ ΤCΦΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'we then (ΤΕΝΟΥ) *wished* (ε-Ν-ΟΥΕΨ) [*to be educated* (ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ) *in* (ΖΝ) *the wisdom* (Т-CΦΙΑ) *of God* (М-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Onnophr. 220:19-20).

b) Aspectual verbs

Subject control is mandatory in the infinitival complements of aspectual verbs. The reason for this is that the aspectual verb and its infinitival complement form a complex predicate with a single subject, e.g. ΕCΨΑΝΤΨΟΥΝ ΕΨΑΛΗ ΝΕΨΑCΨΑΛΗ ΝΗΜΑC 'whenever *she* (Hilaria) *rose* (ε-с-ΨΑΝ-ΤΨΟΥΝ) [*to pray* (ε-ΨΑΛΗ)], *she* used to pray (NЕ-ΨΑ-с-ΨΑΛΗ) *with her* (her younger sister) (NΗΜΑ-с)' (Hil. 9:12), ΑΥΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ 'they stood (lit. they stood (Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ) (он) *their feet* (РАТ-ΟΥ)) [*to fight* (ε-μιΨε) *with* (МН) *each other* (NЕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ)]' (Eud. 42:23), ΜΠΟΥΟΥΩZ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΥΝ ΕΧМ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΝΕΖΟΥΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ 'they did not again (lit. they did not place (МΠ-ΟΥ-ΟΥΩZ) *their hands* (ΕΤΟΟТ-ΟΥ)) [*rise up* (ε-ТΨΟΥΝ) *against* (ΕΧМ) *the country* (Π-ΚΑZ) *in all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *the days* (N-ΝΕ-ΖΟΥΥ)

of King (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine]' (Eud. 48:18-19), ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΑQΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΕQΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ (...) 'he (Αρα Onnophrius) (ΝΤΟQ) *began* (Α-Q-ΑΡΧΕΙ) [*to talk* (N-ΨΑΧΕ) *to me* (NΗΜΑ-Ι) *saying* (ε-Q-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-с) *that* (ΧΕ) (...)]' (Onnophr. 207:2-3).

c) Epistemic modal constructions

Subject control also applies to the infinitival complements of epistemic modal verbs like ΕΨ 'to be able to, can' and ΘΜΘΟМ 'to be able to', which indicates dynamic possibility or ability, e.g. ΜΕΥΘΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΕQΕΨ ΘΕΨΡΕΙ ΜΠΗ ΤΗΡQ 'they won't blame (lit. find (ΜΕ-Υ-ΘΝ) blame (ΑΡΙΚΕ)) anybody (ε-ΛΛΑΥ), because (ΧΕ) *he* was not able (ΜΠΕ-Q-ΕΨ) [*to fully* (ΤΗΡ-Q) *observe* (ΘΕΨΡΕΙ) *the sun* (Π-ΡΗ)]' (Zen. 200:26-27), ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΥΘΜΘΟМ ΕΚИМ ΕΡΟQ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤН ΤΕQΖΕΛΠIC 'and (ΑΥΩ) because of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙТН) *his* (Job's) *hope* (ΤΕQ-ΖΕΛΠIC) *they* (the grievances) *could not* (МΠ-ΟΥ-ΘМ-ΘΟМ) [*shake* (ε-КИМ) *him* (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (AP Elanskaya 19b:28-31), ΖΨCΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑZ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖМ ΠΤМЕ ΤМΨΘМΘΟМ ΕΤΨМНТ ΕΡΟQ ΝΖΑZ ΝCΟП 'such that (ΖΨCΤΕ) *many* (ΖΑZ) *of* (NΤΕ) *those who were in* (N-ΕТ-ΖМ) *the village* (Π-ТМЕ) *could not* (NΤΕ ... ТМ-Ψ-ΘМ-ΘΟМ) [*meet* (ε-ТΨМНТ) *him* (the hermit) (ΕΡΟ-Q) *on many* (N-ΖΑZ) *occasions* (N-сОП)]' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

d) Infinitival complements of adjectives

A limited number of adjectival verbs and nouns (including statives) select infinitival clauses as a direct complement. Subject control is, again, mandatory, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΟQ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ Ε†МΨΑ ΝΚΑΛΥ ΖΙΘН ΜΜΟΙ ΑΥΩ ΕQΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΚΨΨ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ), on the contrary (NΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΟQ), it (is) (NΕ) mine (i.e. my sins) mine (ΝΟΥ-Ι) *that I deserve* (ε-†-МΨΑ) [*to place* (N-ΚΑΛ-Υ) *in front of* (ΖΙΘН) *me* (ММО-Ι)] and (ΑΥΩ) [*to take* (ε-QΙ) *care* (ΡΟΟΥΨ) *of* (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)] and (ΑΥΩ) [*to beseech* (ε-ΚΨΨ) *God* (ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *because of* (ΕΤΒΗΗТ-ΟΥ), (saying) »Forgive (κω ΕΒΟΛ) *me* (ΝΑ-Ι)!«] (AP Elanskaya 21b:6-12), ΜΠΑΤΕΚР ΑΖΙΟC ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ 'you have not yet become (ΜΠΑΤΕ-К-Р) *worthy* (ΑΖΙΟC) [*to talk* (N-ΨΑΧΕ) *to him* (NΗΜΑ-Q)]' (KHML II 30:21-22), ΑΝΟΚ †CΒТΨΤ Ε†

ΜΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΕΝΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙC ΠΧC 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) *am prepared* (†-CΒΤΩΤ) [*to surrender* (ε-†) *my body* (Μ-ΠΑ-CΩΜΑ) *to the tortures* (Ε-Ν-ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ) *for* (ΕΤΒΕ) *the name* (Π-ΡΑΝ) *of Jesus* (Ν-ΙC) *Christ* (Π-ΧC)] (ΚΗΜΛ I 78:30-79:1).

e) Infinitival purpose clauses

Infinitival purpose clauses are widely used as the GOAL arguments of verbs of inherently directed motion. Such purposive infinitivals involve temporal projection into the future and a modal feature of potentiality: they describe situations that have not been actualised by the time that the main clause event took place, e.g. ΤΕCΜΑΛΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΑCΒΩΚ ΠΕ ΕΡ ΖΩΒ 'her mother (ΤΕC-ΜΑΛΥ) *had gone* (ΝΕ-Α-C-ΒΩΚ) [*to work* (ε-Ρ ΖΩΒ)]' (AP Elanskaya 16a:6-8), ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΜΝΝCΑ CΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΦΕΙ (for ε-ΦΙ) ΜΠΑΤΡΟΦΕΥC ΝΤΟΟΤ 'did you come (ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΕΙ) *to me* (ΝΑ-Ι) *after* (ΜΝΝCΑ) *sixty* (CΕ) *years* (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) [*to take* (ε-ΦΕΙ) *my bread-winner* (Μ-ΠΑ-ΤΡΟΦΕΥC) (away) *from me* (ΝΤΟΟΤ)]?' (AP Elanskaya 17a:2-5), ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΡΙΜΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΟΥΨΤ ΝΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ 'I have come (ΝΤΑ-Ι-ΕΙ) [*to weep* (ε-ΡΙΜΕ) *about* (ΖΙΧΝ) *my sins* (ΝΑ-ΝΟΒΕ)] *and* (ΑΥΩ) [*to worship* (ε-ΟΥΨΤ) *Jesus* (Ν-ΙC) *Christ* (ΠΕ-ΧC), *the Son* (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) *of the living* (ΕΤ-ΟΝΖ) *God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (AP Elanskaya 18b:4-8), ΑΥΕΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΟΙ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΝΖΑΛΗΝ Ε† ΝΖΝΑΓΑΠΗ (for ΝΖΕΝΑΓΑΠΗ) ΖΝ ΟΥCΤΡΑΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ (read ΟΥCΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ) 'once (Ν-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ) *certain* (ΖΟΙΝΕ) *pagans* (Ν-Ν-ΖΑΛΗΝ) *came* (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) [*to give* (ε-†) *alms* (Ν-ΖΝ-ΑΓΑΠΗ) *in* (ΖΝ) *Ostrakiné* (ΟCΤΡΑΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ)]' (AP Elanskaya 15b:22-25).

f) Nested infinitivals

Two or more infinitival clauses can be embedded within one another, the result being a stacked or nested infinitival construction. Subject control seems to be obligatory in the highest infinitival clause, while the more deeply embedded infinitival permits control by a non-subject constituent, e.g. ΜΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΕΩΩ ΕΤCΑΒΟ ΕCΖΑΙ 'he (Antony) *did not want* (ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΟΥΨ) [*to continue* (ε-ΩΩ) [*to be taught* (ε-ΤCΑΒΟ) [*to write* (ε-CΖΑΙ)]]]' (V. Ant. 3:7-8), ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΙ ΡΩΨΕ Ε† ΑΦΟΡΜ[Η]

ΝΝCΟΦΟC ΕΡ ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *these* (ΝΑΙ) (words) *suffice* (ΡΩΨΕ) [*to give* (ε-†) *a starting point* (ΑΦΟΡΜΗ) *for the wise men* (Ν-Ν-CΟΦΟC) [*to become wiser* (ε-Ρ-ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC)]]' (Zen. 201:14).

12.3.2.2 Object control

The missing subject of infinitivals is consistently interpreted as being co-referential with the matrix subject, but infinitival constructions with object control can also be found.

a) Manipulative verbs

Manipulative verbs appear in subject-different clauses where the different subject of the embedded clause corresponds to the direct object of the main clause. The same anaphoric relation can be found in the infinitival complements of verbs of permission, instruction, and exerting force, whose implicit subject is controlled by the matrix object, e.g. CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΡΚΑ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΕΡ ΖΑΛ ΜΜΟΚ 'be zealous (CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) (and) *do not allow* (ΜΠΡ-ΚΑ) *the world* (ΠΚΟCΜΟC) [*to deceive* (ε-Ρ ΖΑΛ) *you* (ΜΜΟ-Κ)]' (Onnophr. 219:11-12), ΜΠΟΥΚΑΛΝ ΕΒΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'they did not allow *us* (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΚΑΛ-Ν) [*to go* (ε-ΕΙ) *inside* (ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:168), ΝΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΑΡΤCΑΒΟΥ ΝCΖΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΖΙΩΜΑ ΝΤΜΗΝΤΝΟC 'he (King Zênô) *first* (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) *taught them* (his daughters) (Α-Φ-ΤCΑΒΟ-ΟΥ) [*to write* (Ν-CΖΑΙ)] *in accordance with* (ΚΑΤΑ) *the norm* (Π-ΑΖΙΩΜΑ) *of high rank* (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΝΟC)' (Hil. 2:6-7), ΕΛΥΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ (for ΕΛΥΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ) ΜΜΟΥ ΕΡ ΘΥCΙΑ 'and they forced (ε-Α-Υ-ΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ) *them* (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) [*to make* (ε-Ρ) *a sacrifice* (ΘΥCΙΑ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19a:6-7).

The elided direct object of manipulative verbs may act as the controller of the infinitival subject when its reference is retrievable from the preceding context or can be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ΤΝCΩΤΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΝ ΚΕΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΕΦ† CΒΩ ΕΤΗΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) *in* (ΖΝ) (yet) *another epistle* (ΚΕ-ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ) *we hear* (ΤΝ-CΩΤΗ) *him* (Paul) (ΕΡΟ-Φ) *teach* (ε-Φ-† CΒΩ) (*us*) [*not to remember* (lit. give (ε-ΤΗ-Ρ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ) *to* the ancient ones (Ν-Ν-ΑΡΧΑΙΟC) *and* (ΜΝ) *also their works* (ΝΕΥ-ΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ)]' (Zen. 200:14-15).

16), ἀφελεγε εἶνε ναφ ναπα πανσε μν νετογααβ τηρου
 εγcon2 ενεγδix μν νεγογερητε 'he ordered [___ to bring (ε-εινε) to
 him (να-φ) Apa Paêse and (μν) all (τηρ-ου) the saints (ν-ετογααβ),
 (with) their hands (ε-νεγ-δix) and (μν) legs (νεγ-ογερητε) tied up
 (ε-γ-con2)' (KHML 176:9-11).

b) Infinitival clauses embedded into a noun phrase

Infinitival clauses may function as noun modifiers within the structure of a complex noun phrase. The missing subject is anaphorically related to the possessor noun phrase of that nominal group, e.g. ἀλλ εψχε πογωψ μπχοειc πε χιτν εζοyn ερος qναχιτν 'but (ἀλλ) if (εψχε) it (πε) (is) the will (π-ογωψ) of the Lord (μ-π-χοειc) [___ to take us (χιτ-ν) inside (εζοyn) it (ερο-с) (the city), he will take us inside (q-να-χιτ-ν)' (Ac. A&P 196:39-40), τноδ δε νψερε μπρro нeγн оуноδ нрооуψ зixωc εер παρeнoc 'as for the older (τ-ноδ) daughter (н-ψερε) of the king (μ-π-ρro), (there) was (нe-γн) upon her (зixω-с) a great (оу-ноδ) concern (н-рооуψ) [___ to stay (ε-ер) a virgin (παρeнoc)]' (Hil. 2:10-11).

12.3.2.3 Control in impersonal sentence constructions

The expletive subject of an impersonal sentence can never function as the controller of the missing noun phrase of the extraposed infinitival subject clause. Instead, the closest referential noun phrase is selected as an antecedent, typically the indirect object, e.g. πμα δε ετερε πεπ̄nā μπχοειc нзнтq cepon eπicтeyε зioycon xe ceπoλyтeyε (for ceπoλyтeyε) ммау нoi нeφχαpиcмa eтψoβε 'the place (π-μα) where the Spirit (πε-π̄nā) of the Lord (μ-π-χοειc) is in (ετερε ... нзнт-q), it is to us (с-epo-н) [___ to believe (ε-πicтeyε) at the same time (зi-oy-con) [that (xe) there (μμαу) his diverse (eт-ψoβε) gifts (нeφ-χαpиcмa) prevail (ce-πoλyтeyε)]]' (Zen. 201:16-18).

If there is no antecedent at all, the infinitival subject receives a non-controlled interpretation as referring to a plural [+human] antecedent whose identity is left unspecified, e.g. ἀλλα нaнoуc eтнeωк зoλωc εβoλ нзнтoу 'but (ἀλλα) it is better (нaнoу-с) [___ not to go (ε-тн-εωк) into them (the misconceptions of the Origenists) (нзнт-ou) at

all (зoλωc)]' (Contra Orig. 407), нψψε an εaλac нтeιze 'it is not (an) appropriate (н-ψψε) [___ to act (ε-αλ-с) in such a way (н-тeι-ze)]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:4-5).

12.3.3 Complex infinitivals formed with analytic τρε-causatives

Coptic also makes productive use of non-finite clauses of another type that differ from plain subjectless infinitivals in both the morphology of the verb and the presence of an overt subject constituent. Such complex infinitivals are called causative infinitives in most Coptic grammars, since they contain an analytic τρε-causative construction. As shown in section 6.4.3 of Unit 6, analytic causatives are periphrastic biclausal structures formed with the causative verb τρε followed by an infinitival complement clause. The subject of the lower infinitival clause is the direct object of the higher causative verb and appears in the accusative form. More research is needed to arrive at a fuller understanding of the choice between plain ("subjectless") and complex ("causative") infinitivals, which appear in free variation in a range of subordinate clauses. Here we restrict us to those sentence constructions where the causative infinitive is either required or strongly preferred.

a) The "accusative plus infinitive" construction

The causative infinitive is typically used in ditransitive sentences that contain three arguments: the subject, the direct object, and the infinitival complement clause. In the "accusative plus infinitive" construction, the matrix direct object is the antecedent of the pronominal subject of the following causative infinitive. In this construction, the syntactic structure matches the causative semantics of this construction quite straightforwardly: the matrix subject represents the CAUSER and the matrix object the CAUSEE argument of the subordinate infinitival clause that describes the situation aimed for, e.g. αγω αqπακαλει ннecннy τηρου eтpeψнл εxωc 'and (αγω) he (Απα Pambō) asked (α-q-πακαλει) all (τηρου) the brothers (н-нe-сннy) [to pray (ε-тpe-γ-ψнл) for her (Hilaria) (εxω-с)]' (Hil. 8:17-18), αγω αqκωpψ eπeπpeсbγтepoc eтpeqcopoy ннecннy 'and (αγω) he (the

nobleman) *requested* (α-α-κωρψ) *the presbyter* (ε-πε-πρεσβυτερος) [to distribute it (the money) (ε-τρε-α-σορ-ου) among the brothers (ν-νε-σννγ)]' (AP Elanskaya 16b:2-4), αὐτὸς οὐδ' ἄλλο ἐτρέφει νῆνυχρμα (for νῆνυχρμα) ἐτρε νεφχρια μιν μοι 'a (certain) *old man* (οὐ-ἄλλο) was asked (lit. they asked (α-γ-τβ2)) [to take (ε-τρε-α-χι) some money (ν-2ν-χρημα) for (ετρε) his own (μιν μοι-α) needs (νεφ-χρια)]' (AP Elanskaya 15b:3-6), αὖ αἰπαρακαλει μοι ἐτρφχω (for ἐτρεφχω) ἐροι ἡπεφραν 'and (αὖ) I asked (α-ι-παρακαλει) *him* (Ara Onnophrius) (μοι-α) [to tell (ε-τρ-α-χω) me (ερο-ι) his name (ι-πεφ-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 210:16-17).

b) Volitional constructions with overt subjects

Infinitival clauses with and without overt subjects differ systematically from one another in volitional constructions. While plain infinitives are selected when the matrix subject acts as a controller for the missing noun phrase, the syntactically more complex causative version must appear in their place in different-subject infinitival clauses. Thus, compare: ἀλλὰ ἐψωπε κοῦωυ εἶρε νῆνκοῦι νταλσο ἀρικοῦ νὰκ ἡπεολ ντπολις ψαντρ πε2οοῦ σναγ 'but (ἀλλὰ) if (ἐψωπε) you want (κ-οῦωυ) [to do (ε-εἶρε) a few (ν-2ν-κοῦι) healings (ν-ταλσο), do them (ἀρικοῦ) outside (μ-π-βολ) the city (ν-τ-πολις) at a distance (lit. until you make (ψαντ-κ-ρ)) of two (σναγ) days (πε-2οοῦ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34) vs. πασιωτ εἰοῦωυ ἐτρεκβαπτίζε μοι 'My Father (πα-εἰωτ), I want (ε-ι-οῦωυ) [you to baptize (ε-τρε-κ-βαπτίζε) me (μοι-ι)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-31b:2), ἡπχοεῖς οὔωυ ἂν ἐτρεφλο ἡπειμα ψα ὅαν 'the Lord (π-χοεῖς) does not (ἂν) want (μ-... οὔωυ) [it (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (ε-τρε-α-λο) this place (μ-πει-μα) until (ψα) the end (ὅαν < τ-2αν)]' (Eud. 76:18).

c) Infinitival adjunct clauses of temporal location

Causative infinitives are widely used in adjunct clauses of temporal location. The normal subordinator ε- is replaced by the locative-temporal preposition μννσα 'after' to form the infinitival version of 'AFTER'-clauses, e.g. μννσα τρε οὐςγγχωρησις δε ψωπε πεχε πρρο ναπα

θεοφιλος χε (...) '[*after* (μννσα) *consent* (οὐ-ςγγχωρησις) was given (τρε ... ψωπε)], the king (π-ρρο) said (πεχε) to Apa Theophilos that (χε) (...)'] (Eud. 74:17), αςωπε δε μννσα τρεφναγ επ2ορομα (...) τότε ντοα μν πεφcon αλρχει νοῦωυς εβολ ἡπη ετεγοῦνη2 ν2ητq ἐτρεῦσντq νοῦκοῦι νσοοῦ2c 'it happened (α-ςωπε) [*after* (μννσα) he (Pachôm) had seen (τρε-α-ναγ) the vision (ε-π-2ορομα)], then (τότε) he (Pachôm) and (μν) his brother (πεφ-con) began (α-γ-αρχει) [to expand (ν-οῦωυς) the place (μ-π-μα) where (ν2ητ-q) they were living (ετε-γ-οῦνη2) [to set it up (ε-τρε-γ-σντ-q) as a small (ν-οῦ-κοῦι) convent (ν-σοοῦ2c)]' (V. Pach. 1:8-13).

Infinitival 'WHEN'-clauses are initiated by the locative preposition 2μ 'in'; the infinitival complement takes the form of a definite noun phrase, e.g. 2μ [πτρ]εφωψ δε [εἰς] π2αγιος ἀπα [μ]η[να] αqα2ε ρατq [εχ]ω[q] 2μ οὔ2ο[ρ]ο[μ]α '[*when* (2μ) he (the camel-herd) dozed off (π-τρε-α-ωψ)], look (εἰς) the holy (π-2αγιος) Apa Mena stood (α-α-2ε ρατ-q) before him (εχω-q) in (2μ) a dream (οὔ-2ορομα)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-6), αὖ 2μ πτρατμδν 2ωβ μν λααγ ἱνασδρα2τ αὖ ππαθος ναλο ν2ητ 'and (αὖ) [*when* (2μ) I do not have (π-τρα-τμ-δν) anything (2ωβ) (to do) with (μν) anyone (λααγ)], I will find peace (ἱ-να-σδρα2τ) and (αὖ) the passion (π-παθος) will leave (να-λο) me (ν2ητ)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:17-18), νθε νοῦχωπε εακoτq επεφνι 2μ πτρεφχρο 2μ ππολῦμος (for ππολεμος) 'like (νθε ν-) a hero (οὔ-χωπε) who returned (ε-α-α-κοτ-q) to his house (ε-πεφ-νι) [*after* (2μ) having been victorious (π-τρε-α-χρο) in (2μ) the war (π-πολῦμος)]' (KHML II 50:15-16).

d) Infinitival purpose clauses

Like propositional complements of volitional verbs, complex infinitivals are consistently used in different-subject purpose clauses, e.g. ναπσωμα μεν αqχωρηγει ναν ἡπρη ἐτρεφρ οὔοειν ερον ἡπε2οοῦ 'as for those (scil. the eyes) of the body (να-π-σωμα), *he* (God) provided (α-α-χωρηγει) us (να-ν) with *the sun* [to shine (lit. to make (ε-τρε-α-ρ) light (οὔοειν)) for us (ερο-ν) by day (μ-πε-2οοῦ)]' (Hil. 1:7-8),

ΝΤΑΨΕΖ ΠΑΙ ΝΛΑΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΥΝΟΘ 'he (Paul) had written (ΝΤ-Α-ΨΕΖ) this (ΠΑΙ) to every (ΝΙΜ) nation (Ν-ΛΑΟΣ) [*that they remember* (lit. make (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-Ρ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of)] their great (leaders) (Ν-ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΘ)]' (Zen. 200:13-14), ΧΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΚΗΜΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΨΕ ΣΝΟΟΥΣ ΖΝ [Τ]ΕΥΗΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΝΣΕΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ 'send (ΧΟΟΥ) to Egypt (Ε-ΚΗΜΕ) after (ΝΣΑ) *the holy men* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) who are (lit. make (Ε-Υ-ΕΙΡΕ)) seventy-two (Ν-ΨΕ ΣΝΟΟΥΣ) in (ΖΝ) number (ΤΕΥ-ΗΠΕ) [*that they come* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) and baptize (Ν-ΣΕ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)]' (Eud. 42:2-4).

The causative infinitive seems to be strongly preferred when the main clause subject has undergone inversion for focalisation purposes, e.g. ΑΨΩ ΑΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΝΘΙ ΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟC ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΨ 'and (ΑΨΩ) *the chariots* (Ν-ΖΑΡΜΑ) of the Persians (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡΣΟC) surrounded (Α-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) him (Constantine) (ΕΡΟ-Ψ) [*to kill* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ) him (ΜΜΟ-Ψ)]' (Eud. 42:25), ΑΥΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΘΙ ΝΕCΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗC ΝΤΕ ΤΘΟΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΝΤΨ 'the *generals* (ΝΕ-CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗC) of (ΝΤΕ) the army (Τ-ΘΟΜ) came (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) [*to get him* (Constantine) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΝΤ-Ψ)]' (Eud. 38:5-6), ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΓΑΜΟC [ΑΥ]ΧΙ CΒΩ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΕΤΡΕΨ ΝΠΕΨΚΕΟC (for ΠΕΨΚΕΥΟC) ΖΝ ΟΥΤΕΒΟ ΜΝ ΟΥΤΜΗ 'as for those who are married (lit. who are in (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ) marriage (Π-ΓΑΜΟC)), *they* were taught (lit. they received (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) instruction (CΒΩ)) *each one* (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) [*to bear* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ψ-Ν) his vessel (ΠΕΨ-ΚΕΟC) in (ΖΗ) purity (ΟΥ-ΤΕΒΟ) and (ΜΝ) honour (ΟΥ-ΤΜΗ)]' (Zen. 203: 34-35).

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, complex infinitivals are available as a marked option in same-subject purpose clauses with first person singular reference, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΤΟΟΥΕ CΤΡΑΝΗCΤΕΥΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) went (Α-Ι-ΒΩΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) into the desert (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥΕ) [*to fast* (Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:95-96), [Α]ΨΩ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΤΡΑΧΙΤΨ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ 'and (ΑΨΩ) I had already gone (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙ) [*to take it* (the golden coin) (Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΧΙΤ-Ψ) from you (ΝΤΟΟΤ-Κ) as an act of charity (Ν-ΑΓΑΠΗ)]' (AP Elanskaya 14b:19-21).

e) Infinitival result clauses

Complex infinitivals may be used to express a resulting or subsequent situation. The resultative interpretation of complex infinitivals is often made explicit by means of the consecutive conjunction ΖΩCΤΕ 'such that', e.g. ΝΓΨΙ ΜΠΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΝCΑΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΙ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΗΤΡΑΩΩΝΤ ΕΠΤΗΡΨ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ 'and take (Ν-Γ-ΨΙ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) this fleshy (Ν-CΑΡΞ) thought (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) from me (ΜΜΟ-Ι) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) I won't become angry (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΑ-ΩΩΝΤ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΨ) in (ΖΗ) my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ)]' (V. Pach. 2:4-6), Α ΤΑΘΟΜ ΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΗΤΡΑΛΙCΟΑΝΕ ΕΠΤΗΡΨ ΧΕ ΤΖΚΟΕΙΤ Η ΤΘΒΕ 'my strength (ΤΑ-ΘΟΜ) came back (Α ... ΕΙ) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) I did not notice (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΑ-ΛΙCΟΑΝΕ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΨ) [whether (ΧΕ) I was hungry (Τ-ΖΚΟΕΙΤ) or (Η) thirsty (Τ-ΘΒΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 209:26-27), ΝΕΨΑΡΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΝΤΤΟΝ (for ΝΤ ΤΩΝ) ΕΙ ΕΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΥ[Η]ΚΑΖ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ 'some minor (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) quarrels (ΕΝ-ΤΤΟΝ) came (ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΕΙ) into their midst (Ε-ΤΕΥ-ΜΗΤΕ) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) they got upset (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΚΑΖ) with (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) times (Ν-CΟΠ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) this (ΠΑΙ)]' (Zen. 201:37-39).

Key Terms:

Impersonal sentences	contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g. $\eta\omega\omega\epsilon \Delta\epsilon \epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \chi\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\eta \eta\epsilon \eta\alpha\iota \lambda\gamma\omega \zeta\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon \eta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'it is sufficient ($\eta\omega\omega\epsilon$) [to just ($\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$) state ($\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon$) [that ($\chi\epsilon$) » these ($\eta\alpha\iota$) (are) errors ($\zeta\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\eta$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) contrary ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to the truth ($\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$)]' (Contra Orig. 408).	§12.1.1.1
Mandative constructions	typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like $\zeta\alpha\pi\text{-}c$ 'it is necessary, must' and $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\text{-}c$ 'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations.	§12.1.1.2
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta \pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \chi\epsilon \pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma \chi\epsilon \chi\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\chi\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) $\epsilon\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$ (for $\epsilon\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$) $\epsilon\eta\upsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ 'you know ($\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$), my lord ($\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), [that ($\chi\epsilon$) this race ($\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$) called ($\chi\epsilon$) Christians ($\chi\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) bears ($\epsilon\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$) the tortures ($\epsilon\eta\upsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).	§12.1.2.1

Direct vs. indirect reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g. $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\eta \eta\alpha\iota \chi\epsilon \lambda\zeta\epsilon \lambda\iota\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon \tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'he said ($\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}\eta$) to me ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\iota$) [(that) ($\chi\epsilon$) » Yes ($\lambda\zeta\epsilon$), I suffered ($\lambda\text{-}\iota\text{-}\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon$) a lot ($\tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$)]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs. $\lambda\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \eta\eta\mu\alpha\eta \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \tau\omega\beta\epsilon \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \eta\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \alpha\pi\alpha \eta\eta\eta\alpha \psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\kappa\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'he (the archbishop) told ($\lambda\text{-}\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) him (the brick-maker) ($\eta\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}\eta$) [to make ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\eta\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$) bricks ($\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$) for the shrine ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of the holy ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) Apa Mēna [until they finished it ($\psi\alpha\eta\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\chi\omicron\kappa\text{-}\eta$) $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$]]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).	§12.1.3
Open vs. remote conditionals	Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota \eta\epsilon\epsilon\delta\eta\tau\eta \epsilon\eta\eta\eta\varsigma \tau\eta\eta\lambda\chi\iota \epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ '[when they come ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) and find us ($\eta\text{-}\epsilon\epsilon\delta\eta\tau\eta\text{-}\eta$) awake ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\varsigma$)], we will be glorified (lit. receive ($\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\chi\iota$) glory ($\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$)]' (AP Chaine no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \eta\epsilon\iota\eta\lambda\beta\omega\kappa \tau\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \eta\mu\omicron\eta$ '(if) the Lord ($\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) were ($\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$) in this place ($\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\eta\alpha$), I would go ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$) and appeal ($\tau\alpha\text{-}\pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$) to him ($\eta\mu\omicron\text{-}\eta$)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).	§12.2.1

Control is a special case of anaphoric relation §12.3.2 between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.

Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

πεχαί^a χε εἰνατῶυν τᾶωτ ἡμοι. ἀρ ῥορπ ἐροῦ^b εἰμντε^c.
 ἀρεῖ ἐρραι ἐπειμα ἀρρῖ ννεῖψυχοοῦε τηροῦ ἀρῳω^d νᾶμντε
 ῥατν ταψυχη μαῶας. α νεμνοῦτ^e νᾶμντε ριμε ἐζοῦν
 ἐπιδιβολος εὔχω ἡμος χε ἐκρ ο[γ] ἐκῳοῦῳῳ ἡμοκ ἐκχω
 ἡμος χε ἀνοκ πε πρρο ἁῳ ἡν κῳῶα νῆλλαι. τῆνοῦ δε
 ἀνεῖμε δε ντοκ ἀν πε πρρο ἐβολ χε α πετο νχοεῖς ἐροκ εἰ
 ἀρρῖτοῦ ντοοτκ τηροῦ. τοτε πεχε πιδιβολος ἡπεντο ἐβολ
 ννερενεργια (for ννερενεργεια)^f τηροῦ χε ῳ νᾶομ τηροῦ
 ἐτετνηεεγε χε οὔχωῳρε πε παραον; ἡμον ἀλλᾶ ἐπειδῆ^g ἀρεῖ
 ἐπειμα ἀλλᾶ εἰς κεψυχη ἡμᾶῳ ἡπερεῳδῆομ ἐρῖτς. τοτε ἰϥ
 ἀρῳοῦτε ἐμῖχανᾶ πενταρῖντῖ ἡμᾶῳ ἐπεσῖτ νᾶμντε πεχαῖ
 νᾶῖ χε ἀνι τεψυχη νιοῦδᾶς ἐρραι χεκάς ννε πιδιβολος ὀν
 λοῖδε εἰχω (read εἰχω). ἀρεῖ νῳ ἡῖχανᾶ ἀρῖντ ἐρραι. ἡννσα ν[αἰ
 α ἡῖχα][ἡλ] ῳῳ ἐβολ χε χῖ ῳῖπε νᾶκ πᾶλχ[ε] νῳῳ^h. [ἡ][ἡννσα]
 ναι πεχε πχοεῖς [ἡ]ἡῖχανᾶ χε [κτο] ντεψυχη ἐνταρταρος
 νᾶμντε. ἀρρῖμε νῳ ἰοῦδᾶς χε ἐκνᾶῳκ νγκᾶατ ῖν νεικολαςῖς;^j
 νταεῖνε (read νταεῖνε) νταψυχη ρῳ ἐβολ ῖν σῳῃα χε ῖσοοῦν
 χε κῖνῃ εἰμντε νγκῖ ννεῖψυχοοῦε τηροῦ χε ἐκεῖ τῳ ῖω.
 ἀρῳῳῳῳ νῳ ἰϥ πεχαῖ νιοῦδᾶς χε πταλῖπῳρος^k ντακρ οὔ
 τῆνοῦ ῳαντκπαῖτ νῳῳῳῳτ ἡπιδιβολος; πεχε ἰοῦδᾶς νᾶῖ χε

πχοεῖ[ς] νταρεῖ εἰχω ἡπεσῖμοτ νιοῦδᾶρων^l ἐρε ρῳ[ς] οὔῳν
 ἐρῳῳῳ ἐοῖκτ ἀρ ῖοτ[ε] [αἰοῳῳ]ῳ[τ] νᾶῖ. πεχε [ἰϥ] νᾶῖ χε ῳ
 πταλῖπῳρος [ἡ]πῖνᾶῖ ντ[αῖ]εῖ [ῳ]ᾶροκ ἐνε [ντ]ᾶκ[χ]οος χε ἰϥ
 βο[ῖ]εῖ^m ἐροῖ νεκῖνᾶοῦχαι ἀλλᾶ ἀκρ πκεῳκⁿ ἀκείρε νιοῦῖῳ
 ἐρε πῖνοῦτε ἡοστε ἡμοῖ ἐκῖμοῦοῦτ ἡμοκ ἡῳῳῳκ. ἐτβε πᾶ
 ἐκεῳῳπε ῖν νταρταρος ῳᾶ πεῖσοῦ ἡῖῖῖῖ ἑτερε πχοεῖς νᾶῖ
 ῖῖῖ ἐροκ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. ἀμντε 'the West, Hell' d. ῳῳ 'to lay waste, destroy' e. ἡνοῦτ 'porter' f. ἐνεργια 'force' g. ἐπειδῆ 'indeed, really' h. ὀῳ 'weak' i. ταρταρος 'the Tartarus' j. κολαςῖς 'torture, punishment' k. ταλῖπῳρος 'miserable' l. ᾶρων 'dragon' m. βοῖεῖ 'to help' n. ἀκρ πκεῳκ 'you took a different route'

HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHÔMIUS

νεῦν οὔςῖμε δε ἐρε πεσῖνοῖ ῖαρος νιοῦνοῖ νιοῦοεῖῳ ἁῳ
 ντερεσῳτῖ χε ἐρε ἀπα διονῖσιος νᾶῳκ ῳᾶ πρῳῃ
 ἡπῖνοῦτε ἀπα παῖῳν ἁσῳῳν ἁῳῳκ ῳᾶροῖ ἁῳῳῖοῦ^a ἡμοῖ
 ἐσῳ. χε ῖσοοῦν χε πεκῳῳῖρ πε πρῳῃ ἡπῖνοῦτε ἀπα παῖῳν.
 ῖοῳῳ ἐτρεκῖτ ἡμᾶκ τᾶνᾶῖ ἐροῖ. ῖπῖστεγε γᾶρ χε
 εῖῳᾶνῖνᾶῖ ἐροῖ ἡμᾶτε πχοεῖς νᾶῖ ναι ἡπταλῳ. ντοῖ δε
 ἀρῖοε (for ἀρῖοε)^b ῖν πῖῳῳ ἐβολ χε ῖσοοῦν ντῖᾶσῖῖ^c
 ἐτῖῖῖ. ντεῖνοῦ ἁῳῳῳς εὔχοι ἁῖε ἐῖῖτ ῳᾶ πενεῖῳτ. ἀπα
 διονῖσιος δε ἀρῳκ ἐζοῦν ῳᾶροῖ ἁῳ ἡννσα τρεῖοῳ
 ἐρῳῳῳ ἡμᾶ῏ ἐτβε νεσῖνῃ ἐνταῖπορῳοῦ ἐβολ ἡννσῳς
 ἀρῳῖοῦ ἡμοῖ ἐρῳ ἡμος χε ῖοῳῳ ἐτρεκῖῳῳν ντῖνῳκ
 ἐβολ ἐπῖᾶ ἡπῖο ἐτβε πεῖῖῳῳ νᾶνᾶγκᾶῖον^d. ντοῖ δε ἀρῖῳῳν
 ἀρῳῳῳῳ νσῳῖ ἁῖε ἐβολ ἁῳ ἁῖῖμοος ἁῳῳῳ ἡν νεῖῖῖῖ.
 τεσῖῖμε δε ἁῖε ῖπᾶῖοῦ ἡμοῖ ῖραι ῖν τεσῖνοῖ ἡπῖσῖς.
 ντερεσῳῳ ἡμᾶτε ἐνεῖῖῖῖ ντενοῦ ἁσῳῳ. πρῳῃ δε
 ἡπῖνοῦτε ἀπα παῖῳν νεᾶρῖῖῖῖ ῖῖῖ ῖν πῖῳῳ ῳᾶ ῖραι ἐπῖῖοῦ
 ἐβολ χε νιοῦοεῖῳ νῖῖ νεῖοῳῳ ἁν εἰ εῖοῦ ἐβολ ῖῖῖ
 νρῳῃ. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

Key Terms:

Impersonal sentences	contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g. $\varphi\omega\psi\epsilon \Delta\epsilon \epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \chi\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\eta \eta\epsilon \eta\alpha\iota \lambda\gamma\omega \zeta\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon \eta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$ 'it is sufficient ($\varphi\omega\psi\epsilon$) [to just ($\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$) state ($\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon$) [that ($\chi\epsilon$) » these ($\eta\alpha\iota$) (are) errors ($\zeta\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\eta$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) contrary ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to the truth ($\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$)]' (Contra Orig. 408).	§12.1.1.1
Mandative constructions	typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like $\zeta\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon$ 'it is necessary, must' and $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ 'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations.	§12.1.1.2
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta \pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \chi\epsilon \pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma \chi\epsilon \chi\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\chi\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) $\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon$ (for $\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon$) $\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ 'you know ($\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$), my lord ($\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), [that ($\chi\epsilon$) this race ($\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$) called ($\chi\epsilon$) Christians ($\chi\eta\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) bears ($\epsilon\zeta\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon$) the tortures ($\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).	§12.1.2.1

Direct vs. indirect reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g. $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\varrho \eta\alpha\iota \chi\epsilon \lambda\gamma\epsilon \lambda\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon \tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'he said ($\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\varrho$) to me ($\eta\alpha\iota$) [(that) ($\chi\epsilon$) » Yes ($\lambda\gamma\epsilon$), I suffered ($\lambda\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$) a lot ($\tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$)]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs. $\lambda\varrho\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \eta\eta\mu\alpha\varrho \epsilon\tau\epsilon\varrho\varrho\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \tau\omega\beta\epsilon \epsilon\iota\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \mu\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \lambda\pi\alpha \mu\eta\eta\alpha \psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\kappa\varrho \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'he (the archbishop) told ($\lambda\varrho\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) him (the brick-maker) ($\eta\eta\mu\alpha\varrho$) [to make ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varrho\varrho\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$) bricks ($\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$) for the shrine ($\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of the holy ($\mu\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) Apa Mēna [until they finished it ($\psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\kappa\varrho \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).	§12.1.3
Open vs. remote conditionals	Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota \eta\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\eta\tau\eta \epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon \tau\eta\eta\alpha\chi\iota \epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ '[when they come ($\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota$) and find us ($\eta\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\eta\tau\eta$)] we will be glorified (lit. receive ($\tau\eta\eta\alpha\chi\iota$) glory ($\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \eta\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa \tau\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \eta\eta\omicron\varrho$ '(if) the Lord ($\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) were ($\eta\epsilon\eta\epsilon$) in this place ($\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$), I would go ($\eta\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$) and appeal ($\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$) to him ($\eta\eta\omicron\varrho$)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).	§12.2.1

Control is a special case of anaphoric relation §12.3.2 between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.

Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

ΠΕΧΑΙ^a ΧΕ ΕΙΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΤΑΩΣΤ ΜΜΟΙ. ΑΙΡ ΦΟΡΠ ΕΡΟQ^b ΕΑΜΝΤΕ^c.
 ΑΓΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΑΓQΙ ΝΝΕΙΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑQΩQ^d ΝΑΜΝΤΕ
 ΨΑΤΝ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΜΑΓΑΑΣ. Α ΝΕΜΝΟΥΤ^e ΝΑΜΝΤΕ ΡΙΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΠΑΔΙΒΟΛΟΣ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΚΡ Ο[Υ] ΕΚΨΟΥΨΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΚΧΩ
 ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΑΥΩ ΜΗ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΝΒΑΛΑΙ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ
 ΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ Α ΠΕΤΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΚ ΕΙ
 ΑQQΙΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΤΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΑΔΙΒΟΛΟΣ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΝΕQΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ (fōg nneqenergeia)^f ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ Ω ΝΑΒΟΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΤΕΤΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΟΝ; ΜΜΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ^g ΑΓΕΙ
 ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙC ΚΕΨΥΧΗ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΕQΕΨΘΜΘΜ ΕQΙΤC. ΤΟΤΕ ΙC
 ΑQΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΠΕΝΤΑQΝΤQ ΝΜΜΑQ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΑΜΝΤΕ ΠΕΧΑQ
 ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΑΝΙ ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΧΕΚΑC ΝΝΕ ΠΑΔΙΒΟΛΟΣ ΘΝ
 ΛΟΙΘΕ ΕΧΩ (read ΕΧΩΙ). ΑΓΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΑQΝΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ. ΜΝΝCΑ Ν[ΑΙ
 Α ΜΙΧΑ][ΗΛ] ΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΧΙ ΨΙΠΕ ΝΑΚ ΠΧΑΧ[Ε] ΝΘΩΒ^h. [Μ][ΝΝCΑ]
 ΝΑΙ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC [Μ]ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΧΕ [ΚΤΟ] ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΕΝΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC
 ΝΑΜΝΤΕ. ΑQΡΙΜΕ ΝΟΙ ΙΟΥΔΑC ΧΕ ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΓΚΑΑΤ ΖΝ ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑCΙC;ⁱ
 ΝΤΑΕΙΝΕ (read ΝΤΑΙΕΙΝΕ) ΝΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ CΩΜΑ ΧΕ ΨCΟΟΥΝ
 ΧΕ ΚΝΗΥ ΕΑΜΝΤΕ ΝΓQΙ ΝΝΕΙΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΚΕQΙ ΤΩΙ ΖΩ.
 ΑQΟΥΨΩΒ ΝΟΙ ΙC ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΧΕ ΠΤΑΛΑΙΨΩΡΟC^k ΝΤΑΚΡ ΟΥ
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΨΑΝΤΙΚΠΑΖΤ ΝΓΟΥΨΩΤ ΜΠΔΙΒΟΛΟC; ΠΕΧΕ ΙΟΥΔΑC ΝΑQ ΧΕ

ΠΧΟΕΙ[C] ΝΤΑQΕΙ ΕΧΩΙ ΜΠΕCΗΟΤ ΝΟΥΔΡΑΚΩΝ^l ΕΡΕ ΡΩ[Q] ΟΥΩΝ
 ΕQΟΥΨΩ ΕΟΜΚΤ ΑΙΡ ΖΟΤ[Ε] [ΑΙΟΥΨ]Ω[Τ] ΝΑQ. ΠΕΧΕ [ΙC] ΝΑQ ΧΕ Ω
 ΠΤΑΛΑΙΨΩΡΟC [Μ]ΠΝΑΥ ΝΤ[ΑQ]ΕΙ [Ω]ΑΡΟΚ ΕΝΕ [ΝΤ]ΑΚ[Χ]ΟΟC ΧΕ ΙC
 ΒΟ[ΗΘ]ΕΙ^m ΕΡΟΙ ΝΕΚΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΚΡ ΠΚΕΒΩΚⁿ ΑΚΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ
 ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟCΤΕ ΜΜΟQ ΕΑΚΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΑΓΑΑΚ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ
 ΕΚΕΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΝΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC ΨΑ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΑΨ
 ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΚ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. ΑΜΝΤΕ 'the West, Hell' d. ψωq 'to lay waste, destroy' e. ΜΝΟΥΤ 'porter' f. ΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ 'force' g. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 'indeed, really' h. ΘΩΒ 'weak' i. ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC 'the Tartarus' j. ΚΟΛΑCΙC 'torture, punishment' k. ΤΑΛΑΙΨΩΡΟC 'miserable' l. ΔΡΑΚΩΝ 'dragon' m. ΒΟΗΕΙ 'to help' n. ΑΚΡ ΠΚΕΒΩΚ 'you took a different route'

HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHÔMIUS

ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΗΟQ ΖΑΡΟC ΝΟΥΝΟΘ ΝΟΥΟΕΨ ΑΥΩ
 ΝΤΕΡΕCΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΔΙΟΝΗCΙΟC ΝΑΒΩΚ ΨΑ ΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ ΑCΤΩΟΥΝ ΑCΒΩΚ ΨΑΡΟQ ΑCΑΞΙΟΥ^a ΜΜΟQ
 ΕCΧΩ ΧΕ ΨCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΠΕΚΨΒΗΡ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ.
 ΨΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΚΧΙΤ ΝΜΜΑΚ ΤΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ. ΨΙCΤΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ
 ΕΙΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΑΨ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΤΑΛΘΟ. ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ
 ΑQΠΙΘΕ (fōg aqpeiθe)^b ΖΗ ΠΖΩΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ QCΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΜΑCΤΙΞ^c
 ΕΤΖΙΧΩC. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΑΛΟC ΕΥΧΟΙ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΗΤ ΨΑ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ. ΑΠΑ
 ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC ΔΕ ΑQΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΨΑΡΟQ ΑΥΩ ΜΝΝCΑ ΤΡΕQΟΥΨ
 ΕQΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑQ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΝΤΑQΠΟΡΧΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΝΝCΩC
 ΑQΑΞΙΟΥ ΜΜΟQ ΕQΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΨΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΚΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΤΝΕΒΩΚ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΟ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΖΩΒ ΝΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ^d. ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΑQΤΩΟΥΝ
 ΑQΟΥΑΖQ ΝCΩQ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΖΜΟΟC ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.
 ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΑCΕΙ ΖΗΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟQ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ ΤΕCΗΟΘ ΜΠΙCΤΙC.
 ΝΤΕΡΕCΩΖ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΝΕQΖΟΙΤΕ ΝΤΕΝΟΥ ΑCΤΑΛΘΟ. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ ΝΕΑQΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΖΗ ΠΖΩΒ ΨΑ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΜΟΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΨ ΝΗΜ ΝΕQΟΥΨΩ ΑΝ ΕΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ
 ΝΡΩΜΕ. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

NOTES: a. αἰτιόγ 'to ask' b. πιθε 'to agree on' c. μαστιξ 'whip, metaph. scourge, plague' d. αναγκαιον 'urgent'

MONASTIC LITERATURE

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

Α ΟΥΣΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΨΤ ΝΚΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΩ ΧΕ ΨΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕΧΠΙΟ ΖΗ ΠΕΩΖΗΤ ΦΝΑΧΠΙΟ ΝΑΩ ΝΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΣΟΝ ΝΑΩ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΠΙΟ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΧΠΙΕ ΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ ΖΗ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΩΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΖΑΠΣ ΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΩΧΟΟΣ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΖΡΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΗ ΡΩΜΕ; ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΑΙ ΣΝΗΥ ΝΑΩ ΝΟΙ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7-14).

ΑΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΙ ΕΨΗΤ ΜΗ ΖΗΧΡΗΜΑ (for ΖΕΝΧΡΗΜΑ)^a ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΕΞΕΝΗ^b ΑΥΩ ΑΩΚΩΡΨ ΕΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ^c ΕΤΡΕΩΣΟΡΟΥ ΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΩ ΧΕ ΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ Ρ ΧΡΙΑ^d ΑΝ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΩΧΙΤΩ ΝΧΝΑΖ^e ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΑΩΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΤΒΑΙΡΕ^f ΕΡΕ ΜΝΟΥΒ ΖΙΩΨΣ ΖΙΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΩ ΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΕΩΧΙ. ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΗΤΩ^g ΕΡΟΟΥ. ΖΗΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΩΨΤ ΡΩ ΕΧΩΟΥ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΩΝΤΟΥ ΧΕ Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΕΚΑΓΑΠΗ^h. ΒΩΚ ΝΓΤΑΛΥ ΜΝΖΗΚΕ. ΝΤΟΩ ΔΕ ΑΩΨ ΖΗΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΩΒΩΚ. (AP Elanskaya 16a:33-16b:27)

NOTES: a. χρημα 'money' b. τε-ξενη 'abroad' c. πρεσβύτερος 'priest' d. ρ χρια 'to be in need (of)' e. χι νχναζ 'to force somebody' f. βαίρε 'basket' h. ζητ= 'to approach' g. αγαπη 'alm'.

ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ ΨΗΡΕ ΣΝΑΥ ΕΖΝΣΟΝ (for ΕΖΕΝΣΟΝ) ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ^a ΕΩΡΩ^b ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΥΖΕΘΟΣ^c (for ΠΕΥΗΘΟΣ). ΑΥΣΕΡ (for ΑΥΣΩΡ)^d ΝΨΗΝΕ^e ΝΑΖΜΕ ΜΗΛΙΟΝ^f ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΚΑ ΜΗΜ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΟΝΤΟΥ ΜΠΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΨΗΝΕ ΝΕ ΕΥΕΘΟΠΟΥ^g ΝΣΕΖΟΤΒΟΥ ΖΗ ΝΚΟΝΤΟΣ.^h ΑΥΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ ΜΗ ΠΕΩΜΑΘΗΤΗΣⁱ ΣΝΑΥ. ΑΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΩ ΕΥΡΗΝΒΩ (ΕΥΡΗΝΩΨ)^j ΠΕ ΕΩΖΑ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΩΕΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΗΡΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ. ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΩ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΠΗΛ^k ΑΧΙΣ ΕΡΟΝ. ΠΕΧΑΩ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΡΕΩΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΡΙΜΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΟΥΨΤ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ^l ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΣΑ ΠΡΗ ΜΗ ΠΚΩΖΤ ΜΗ ΠΜΟΥ -- ΕΝΕΥΨΜΨΕ^k ΓΑΡ ΝΑΥ -- ΑΛΛΑ Ψ ΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΝΓΘΥΣΙΑΖΕ^l ΝΑΥ. ΝΤΟΩ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΩ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΠΑΛΑΝΑ.^m ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΖΗΝΣΩΝΤ (for ΖΕΝΣΩΝΤ)ⁿ ΝΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΨΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΩΤΗ Ε-ΤΡΕ-ΤΕΤΗ-ΚΕΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΣΟΥΩΝΩ. ΝΤΟΩ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΩΣΩΝΤ ΝΝΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΣΩΒΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΩΔΙΟΩ^o ΑΥΩ ΑΥΣ-ΡΩΥ ΜΜΩ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ; ΠΕΧΑΩ ΧΕ ΕΖΕ ΝΤΟΩ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΕΛΩΣ-ΡΩΥ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ ΑΩΖΩΤΒ ΜΠΜΟΥ. ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΩ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ. ΑΥΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ^p ΔΕ ΜΜΩ ΜΗ ΠΚΕΣΝΑΥ ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ (for ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ)^q ΜΜΟΥ ΕΡ ΘΥΣΙΑ. ΠΣΟΝ ΔΕ ΣΝΑΥ ΑΥΦΕΙ (for ΑΥΦΙ) ΝΤΕΥΑΠΕ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΑΥΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ ΜΜΩ ΝΖΗΖΟΥΟΥ (for ΝΖΕΝΖΟΥΟΥ) ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ. ΕΠΖΑΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΑΖΟΩ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΑΥΔΟΞΕΥΕ (for ΑΥΤΟΞΕΥΕ)^r ΕΡΟΩ. Α ΟΥΑ ΝΗΧ (for ΝΕΧ) ΣΟΤΕ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΜΩ ΑΥΩ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΖΙ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΩ ΕΩΖΗ ΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΩ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ^s ΑΤΕΤΗΩΕΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ ΕΠΩΖΤ^t ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΣΝΟΩ ΝΑΤΝΟΒΕ ΠΕΙΝΑΥ ΠΑΙ ΝΡΑΣΤΕ ΤΕΤΝΜΑΛΥ ΝΑΡ ΑΤΨΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΜΠΕΣΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΣΝΟΩ ΝΑΠΩΖΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΝΣΟΤΕ ΜΜΗΝ ΜΜΩΤΗ. ΑΥΣΩΨ^u ΔΕ ΜΠΕΩΨΑΧΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΟΕ ΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΩΡΩ ΝΣΩΩ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΔΟΠΩ ΑΥΝΗΧ (for ΑΥΝΕΧ) ΣΟΤΕ ΕΡΟΩ ΑΥΡΕΖΤ^w ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΜΜΗΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ. (AP Elanskaya 18a:19-19b:8)

NOTES: a. con κατά σαρξ 'blood brother' b. ωρσ 'to hunt' c. ζεοος 'custom, habit' d. ωρ 'to spread out' e. ψνε 'net' f. ναζμε μιλιον '(at a

distance) of about forty (N-A-2ME) miles (H-MILION) g. OME 'to seize, catch' h. KONTOC 'pike, pole' i. MAETHIC 'disciple' j. PMN-BW 'hairy man' k. OMME 'to serve, worship' l. EYCIAZE 'to sacrifice' m. PALANA 'to deceive, mislead' n. COWNT 'creation' o. (T)DA(E)IO 'to condemn' p. BACANIZE 'to torture' q. ANAGGAZE 'to force s.o.' r. DOZEYE 'to shoot with the bow' s. EPAN 'since' t. TOWZT EBOA 'to pour out' u. COWQ 'to despise' v. (E)IOYA 'hind, deer' w. POWZT 'to strike, hit'

HISTORIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE CAMBYSES NOVEL

NQAIWINE ΔΕ ΕΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΥΣΟ[Υ ΝΔΙ ΝΑΒΟΥΧ]ΟΔΟΝΟCOP^a ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ
ΕΡΑ[Τ]Q ΑΥ[ΤΑΜΟQ (?)]^b [Ε][Ζ]ΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ†
ΝΑQ ΝΝΕΠ[ΙC]ΤΟΛΟΟΥΕ. ΝΤΕΡΕΦΩΟΥ ΔΕ ΑQΨΟΡΤΡ. ΑQΧΟΟΥ ΔΕ
ΑQΗΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΕQΡΕQΧΙ ΦΟΧΝΕ^d ΑQΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕQΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ
ΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΝΑΛΑ[Q] ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝCΩΤΗ ΕΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕ ΝΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΙ
ΝΔΙ ΝΕΤΦΟ[ΟΠ] ΖΝ ΜΜΑ ΝΨΑ ΜΠΡΗ^e ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ
ΝΤΝΝΑΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE^f ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΘΟΜ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΧΕ CΨΟΟΠ
ΝΜΜΑΝ. ΤΕΤΝΟΥΨΩ Δ[Ε] ΕΤΡΕΝΤΑΛΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΨΟΡΠ
ΝΤΝΠΑΤΑCCE^g ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΠΡΟ ΝCΗQE ΑΥΩ ΚΗΜΕ ΤΗΡQ
CΕΝΑCΩΤΗ ΝCΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ (...). ΝΕΥΨΟΟ[Π] [ΔΕ ΝΗ]ΜΑQ ΝΔΙ CΑΨQ
ΝΡΕQΧΙ ΦΟΧΝΕ ΕΡΕ [ΟΥΑ] [ΜΗ]ΟΟΥ [Ε]ΡΕ ΠΕQΨΑΧΕ ΘΜΘΟΜ.
ΠΕΧΑ[Q] [ΜΠΕΜΤΟ] [Μ]ΠΡΡΟ ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΩΝΖ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ. CΩΤΗ [ΔΕ]
[ΕΠΨΟΧ]ΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΤΑΑΚ Ε[ΖΡΑΙ ΕΡΟ]ΟΥ ΜΠΡ[†]
ΜΠΕΚΖΟ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ (...). ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤ[ΟQ] [ΠΕ] [ΦΩΒ] ΕΤΚΝΑΛΑQ.
ΧΟΟΥ ΝΖΕΝ[QAI] ΨΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ] ΚΗΜΕ Τ[Η]ΡQ ΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΦ[ΑΡΩ]^h
ΑΥΩ Μ]ΠΡΑΝ ΝΖΑΠΕⁱ ΠΕΥΝΟΥΤ[Ε] [ΖΝ] ΖΕΝΨΑΧ[Ε] ΕΝΕCΩΟΥ
ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ[ΥCΩΟΥΖ Ε]ΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΨΑ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΟΘΠ ΝΡΡΟ [ΑΥΩ
ΕΤΡΕΥ]ΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ^k ΜΝ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΑ[ΤΡΟ]ΟΥΨ ΕΜΝ ΠΟ[Χ]ΕΜΟC
ΝΖΗΤQ. ΖΟΤΑΝ^l ΘΕ ΕΥΨΑΝCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ QΝΑΝΑΥ ΝΔΙ ΠΕΥΧΟΕΙC
ΧΕ Α ΚΕΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC ΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝQΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝQ† ΜΠΚΑΖ
ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΕΚΘΙΧ. ΕΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΚΝΑΨΠ ΖΙCΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΙΡ
ΨΟΡΠ ΧΟΟQ ΝΑΚ.^m ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΑΖΕ Ρ[ΑΤ]Q ΕΜΨΕ ΜΝ
ΝΕΙΟΥΖΟΟΡ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΤΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΙΑΡΞ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΟQ ΠΕΤΝΑCΩΡ
ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΨΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΗΟΥΙ ΑΧΝ ΦΟΧΝΕ ΖΙ CΒΩ ΖΙ ΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ

ΧΕΚΑC ΕQΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ, ΕΙC ΠΑΨΟΧΝΕ ΑΙΧΟΟQ ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
ΠΑΧΟΕΙC [Π]Ρ[ΡΟ] ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΜΑΡΕQΡ ΑΝΑΚ. ΚCΟΟΥΝ [ΔΕ ΖΩΩΚ]
ΝΡΡΜΗΚΗΜΕ (for ΝΗΡΜΗΚΗΜΕ) ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΡΕQ[ΜΨΕ ΝΕ] ΑΥΩ
ΝΕΥΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝΡΕQΝΕΧ [Ω]ΝΕ ΝΕ Ζ[Ν] [ΟΥCΦΕΝ]ΔΟΝΗⁿ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΧΠΟ
ΝΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ [ΕΥΤCΑΒΟ] ΜΜΟΥ ΕΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ (...). (Camb. 7:7-8:25)

NOTES: a. ΝΑΒΟΥΧΟΔΟΝΟCOP 'Nebukadnezar' b. The reconstruction of this passage is uncertain c. ΕΠ[ΙC]ΤΟΛΟΟΥΕ *pl* 'letters' d. ΡΕQ-ΧΙ ΦΟΧΝΕ 'counselor' e. ΜΨΑ ΝΨΑ ΜΠΡΗ 'the places (H-MΑ) of sun (H-Π-ΡΗ) rise (H-ΨΑ)' (*metaph.* for the East) f. ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE 'to be obedient' g. ΠΑΤΑCCE 'to beat, strike' h. ΦΑΡΑΨ 'Pharaoh' i. ΖΑΠΕ '(the god) Apis' j. ΨΑ 'feast' k. ΑΜΕΛΙΑ 'inattention' l. ΖΟΤΑΝ 'when' m. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΙΡΨΟΡΠ ΧΟΟQ ΝΑΚ 'in (ΚΑΤΑ) the manner (ΘΕ < T-ΖΕ) that I have already (ΕΝΤ-Α-Ι-Ρ-ΨΟΡΠ) told (ΧΟΟ-Q) you (ΝΑ-Κ)' n. CΦΕΝΔΟΝΗ 'sling'

The inflectional paradigms of Sahidic tense-aspect-mood markers

PRESENT TENSES					
	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE PRESENT	PRETERIT PRESENT	
1 st sing.	†-	ḡ-I-	ḡ-I-	Nḡ-I-	
2 nd sing. masc.	K-	ḡ-K-	ḡ-K-	Nḡ-K-	
2 nd sing. fem.	Tḡ(p)-	ḡ-pḡ-	ḡ-pḡ-	Nḡ-pḡ-	
3 rd sing. masc.	q-	ḡ-q-	ḡ-q-	Nḡ-q-	
3 rd sing. fem.	C-	ḡ-C-	ḡ-C-	Nḡ-C-	
1 st plural	TN-	ḡ-N-	ḡ-N-	Nḡ-N-	
2 nd plural	TḡTN-	ḡ-TḡTN-	ḡ-TḡTN-	Nḡ-TḡTN-	
3 rd plural	Cḡ-	ḡ-Y-	ḡ-Y-	Nḡ-Y-	
FUTURE TENSES					
	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE	PRETERIT FUTURE	NEGATIVE FUTURE
1 st sing.	†-NA-	ḡ-I-NA-	ḡ-I-ḡ-	Nḡ-I-NA-	NNA-
2 nd sing. masc.	K-NA-	ḡ-K-NA-	ḡ-K-ḡ-	Nḡ-K-NA-	NNḡ-K-
2 nd sing. fem.	TḡP-NA-	ḡPḡ-NA-	ḡ-P-ḡ-	NḡPḡ-NA-	NNḡ-
3 rd sing. masc.	q-NA-	ḡ-q-NA-	ḡ-q-ḡ-	Nḡ-q-NA-	NNḡ-q-
3 rd sing. fem.	C-NA-	ḡ-C-NA-	ḡ-C-ḡ-	Nḡ-C-NA-	NNḡ-C-
1 st plural	TḡN-NA-	ḡ-N-NA-	ḡ-N-ḡ-	Nḡ-N-NA-	NNḡ-N-
2 nd plural	TḡTN-NA-	ḡ-TḡTN-NA-	ḡ-TḡTN-ḡ-	Nḡ-TḡTN-NA-	NNḡ-TN-
3 rd plural	Cḡ-NA-	ḡ-Y-NA-	ḡ-Y-ḡ-	Nḡ-Y-NA-	NNḡ-Y-
PERFECT TENSES					
	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT	RELATIVE PERFECT	PRETERIT PERFECT	NEGATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing.	λ-I-	NT-λ-I-	ḡ-λ-I-	Nḡ-λ-I-	HNḡ-I-
2 nd sing. masc.	λ-K-	NT-λ-K-	ḡ-λ-K-	Nḡ-λ-K-	HNḡ-K-
2 nd sing. fem.	λ-pḡ-	NT-λ-pḡ-	ḡ-λ-pḡ-	Nḡ-λ-pḡ-	HNḡ-
3 rd sing. masc.	λ-q-	NT-λ-q-	ḡ-λ-q-	Nḡ-λ-q-	HNḡ-q-
3 rd sing. fem.	λ-C-	NT-λ-C-	ḡ-λ-C-	Nḡ-λ-C-	HNḡ-C-
1 st plural	λ-N-	NT-λ-N-	ḡ-λ-N-	Nḡ-λ-N-	HNḡ-N-
2 nd plural	λ-TḡTN-	NT-λ-TḡTN-	ḡ-λ-TḡTN-	Nḡ-λ-TḡTN-	HNḡ-TN-
3 rd plural	λ-Y-	NT-λ-Y-	ḡ-λ-Y-	Nḡ-λ-Y-	HNḡ-OY-

HABITUAL TENSES					
	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE HABITUAL	HABITUAL PAST	NEGATIVE HABITUAL
1 st sing.	ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-
2 nd sing. masc.	ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲱⲗⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲉ-	ⲙⲉ-
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲱⲗ-ⲙ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲙ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲙ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲙ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲙ-
1 st plural	ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-
2 nd plural	ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-
3 rd plural	ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲱ-
RELATIVE TENSES					
	TEMPORAL	TERMINATIVE	CONJUNCTIVE	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	
1 st sing.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲓ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲓ, ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲁ	(ⲛ)ⲧⲗ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲓ-ⲙⲱⲧⲛ	
2 nd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛ-ⲓ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-	
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲙ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲙ-	ⲛ-ⲙ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲙ-	
1 st plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	
2 nd plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	
3 rd plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩ-	ⲱⲁⲛⲧ-ⲟⲩ-	ⲛ-ⲙⲉ-	ⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟⲩ-	
MOODS					
	JUSSIVE	CONDITIONAL	INFERENTIAL		
1 st sing.	ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲓ-		
2 nd sing. masc.	imperative	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-		
2 nd sing. fem.		ⲉ-ⲡ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-		
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-		
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲙ-	ⲉ-ⲙ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲙ-		
1 st plural	ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲛ-		
2 nd plural	imperative	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-		
3 rd plural	ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ-	ⲉ-ⲱ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ		

Sahidic Coptic words

Sahidic Coptic words are listed according to their root consonants. Lexical items that share the same sequence of root consonants are ordered with respect to vowels. Tense-aspect-mood markers are cited together with their 2nd person singular feminine form. The relevant paragraphs of the grammar are given in brackets. Lexical items with a word initial \dagger (< $\tau + \iota$) and Θ (< $\tau + \zeta$) are listed under the letter τ . Abbreviations: Arabic numbers indicate grammatical person (1, 2 or 3), *act* 'active', *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *aux* 'auxiliary verb', *cl* 'clitic pronoun', *comp* 'complementiser', *conj* 'conjunction', *det* 'determiner', *f* 'feminine', *imp* 'imperative', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *num* 'numeral', *pass* 'passive', *pcl* 'particle', *prfx* 'pronominal prefix', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *pron* 'personal pronoun', *ptcp* 'participle', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *sg* 'singular', *sfx* 'pronominal suffix', *supp.* 'suppletive', *TAM* 'tense-aspect-mood marker', *vb* 'verb'. Stem patterns: *nominal state* (verb-), *pronominal state* (verb=), *stative* (verb \dagger)

λ

λ -*pcl* approximately

λ *TAM* PERFECT (§7.3.4)
2:*sg:f* λ ⲡⲉ

$\lambda\lambda$ =*vb* see ϵ ⲡⲉ 'to do'

$\lambda\lambda\lambda$ *vb* to grow, increase

$\lambda\beta\omega$ <i>nf</i>	drag net
$\lambda\beta\omega\omega\epsilon$ <i>pl</i>	
$\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ <i>vb</i>	to climb, to mount,
$\lambda\lambda\eta\Upsilon$	to go on board
$\lambda\lambda\omega$ = <i>imp</i>	stop! See $\lambda\omega$
$\lambda\mu\epsilon$ <i>nm</i>	shepherd
$\lambda\mu\eta\Upsilon(\epsilon)$ <i>pl</i>	
$\lambda\mu\omega\Upsilon$	Come! See $\epsilon\iota$
suppl. <i>imp:sg:m</i>	
$\lambda\mu\eta$	
<i>imp:sg:f</i>	
$\lambda\mu\eta\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$	
<i>imp:pl</i>	
$\lambda\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ <i>nm</i>	Netherworld, Hell
$\lambda\mu\��$ <i>nm</i>	baker
$\lambda\mu\��\Upsilon$ <i>pl</i>	
$\lambda\mu\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon$ <i>vb</i>	to rule, prevail, grasp, detain
$\lambda\mu$ <i>adv</i>	not (in double negative μ ... $\lambda\mu$) See §9.3
$\lambda\mu\alpha$ =	to be pleasing,
$\�$ $\lambda\mu\alpha$ = <i>vb</i>	please
$\lambda\mu(\epsilon)\eta\eta\epsilon$ <i>imp</i>	Bring! See $\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$
$\lambda\mu\omega\kappa$	I (§2.4.3)
<i>free pron 1:sg</i>	
$\lambda\mu\Gamma$	
<i>cl 1:sg</i>	
$\lambda\mu\omega\eta$	we (§2.4.3)
<i>free pron 1:pl</i>	
$\lambda\mu\eta\eta$, $\lambda\mu$	
<i>cl 1:pl</i>	
$\lambda\mu\eta\beta\epsilon$ <i>nf</i>	school
$\lambda\mu\eta\beta\epsilon$	
$\lambda\mu\alpha\omega$ <i>nm</i>	oath
$\lambda\mu\alpha\gamma\omega$ <i>pl</i>	
$\lambda\mu\alpha\Upsilon$ <i>imp</i>	Look! See $\lambda\mu\alpha\Upsilon$

ΑΠΑ <i>nm</i>	Apa
ΑΠΕ <i>nf</i>	head
ΑΠΗ <i>nm</i>	chief, leader
ΑΠΗΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΠΟΤ <i>nm</i>	cup
ΑΠΗΤ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΡΙΚΕ <i>nm</i>	blame, fault
ΟΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ <i>vb</i>	to find fault, blame, reproach
ΑΡΗΥ <i>adv</i>	perhaps, maybe
ΑΡΩΗΝ <i>nm</i>	lentils
ΑΡΙ <i>inp</i>	Do! See ΕΙΡΕ
ΑΣΠΕ <i>nf</i>	language, speech
ΑΥΩ <i>conj</i>	and
ΑΟΥΩΝ <i>imp</i>	Open! See ΟΥΩΝ
ΑΨ <i>adj</i>	which?, what kind of?
ΑΨΑΙ <i>vb</i>	to become many,
ΟΥ†	multiply
ΑΨΗ <i>nf</i>	multitude, many
ΑΦ, ΑΒ <i>nm</i>	flesh, meat
ΑΖΕ <i>nm</i>	length, limit of life
ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ= <i>vb</i>	to stand
ΑΖΟ <i>nm</i>	treasure
ΑΖΩΩΡ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΖΟΜ <i>nm</i>	sigh, groan
ΑΨ ΑΖΟΜ <i>vb</i>	to sigh
ΑΖΡΟ= <i>adv</i>	why?, how come?
ΑΧΙ= <i>imp</i>	Speak! See ΧΩ
ΑΧΝ- <i>prep</i>	without
ΑΧΝΤ=	

ΑΦΗΗ <i>nf</i>	barren (female)
Β	
ΒΗΒ <i>nm</i>	cave, hole
ΒΩΚ <i>vb</i>	to go, depart
ΒΗΚ†	
ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ	to enter
ΒΕ(Ε)ΚΕ <i>nm</i>	wage, reward
ΒΥΚΕ	
ΒΕΚΗΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΒΑΛ <i>nm</i>	eye
ΒΩΛ <i>vb</i>	to loosen, untie
ΒΕΛ-, ΒΟΛ=,	
ΒΗΛ†,	
ΒΑΛ <i>ptcp:act</i>	
ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ	to melt, dissolve
ΒΑΛΖΗΤ <i>adj</i>	innocent, naive
ΒΑΛΕ <i>nm</i>	blind (person)
ΒΑΛΗ <i>nf</i>	
ΒΑΛΕΕΥ(Ε) <i>pl</i>	
ΒΑΧΕ <i>nm</i>	pottery
ΒΑΛΜΠΕ <i>nm</i>	ram, goat
ΒΩΩΝ(Ε) <i>adj</i>	evil, bad
ΒΟΟΝΕ <i>nf</i>	evil, misfortune
ΒΗΝΕ <i>nf</i>	date, date palm- tree
ΒΙΡ, ΒΑΙΡΕ <i>nm</i>	basket
ΒΩΩΡΕ <i>vb</i>	to push, drive,
ΒΕΕΡΕ-,	fend off, repel
ΒΟΟΡ=,	
ΒΟΟΡΕ†	
ΒΡΡΕ <i>adj</i>	new, young
ΒΩΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to pollute, hate,
ΒΕΤ-, ΒΗΤ†	abominate
ΒΟΤΕ <i>nf</i>	abomination

ΒΩΨ <i>vb</i>	to loosen
ΒΕΨ-, ΒΩΨ=,	
ΒΗΨ†	
ΒΑΨΟΥΡ <i>nf</i>	saw
ΒΟΥΖΕ <i>nm</i>	eyelid
Ε	
-Ε <i>sf: 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.2)
Ε-, 2:sg:f ΕΡΕ-	RELATIVE MARKER (§§7.2, 11.1)
Ε-, ΕΡΟ- <i>prep</i>	to, against,
2:sg:f ΕΡΟ,	compared to
2:pl ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ	
ΕΒΙΩ <i>nm</i>	honey
ΕΒΟΛ <i>pcl</i>	out, forth
ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ <i>comp</i>	since, because
ΕΒΗΗ <i>nm/nf</i>	poor, wretched person
ΕΒΟΤ <i>nm</i>	month
(Ε)ΚΙΒΕ <i>nf</i>	breast
ΕΛΟΟΛΕ <i>nm</i>	grape
ΕΗΗΤ <i>nm</i>	the west
ΕΝΕ <i>Q-pcl</i>	introduces yes-no questions
ΕΝΕΖ <i>adv</i>	(for)ever, never
ΕΡΗΤ <i>vb</i>	to vow, promise
ΕΡΩΤΕ <i>nm</i>	milk
ΕΡΗΥ <i>pron</i>	each other
ΕΣΗΤ <i>nm</i>	ground
ΕΠΕΣΗΤ <i>pcl</i>	down, under

ΕΣΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	sheep
ΕΤ-, ΕΤΕ-,	RELATIVE
ΕΤΕΡΕ-	MARKER (§11.1.1)
ΕΤΒΕ <i>prep</i>	for, about, as
ΕΤΒΗΗΤ=	for, because of
ΕΤΗΜΑΥ <i>det</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE (§4.1.1) that, those
ΕΤΗ- <i>prep</i>	to (the hand) of, to
ΕΤΟΟΤ=	
ΕΤΟΥΝ- <i>prep</i>	beside, with
ΕΤΟΥΩ=	
ΕΠΠΩ <i>nf</i>	burden
ΕΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	honour, glory
† ΕΟΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to glorify
ΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to be glorified
ΕΨΩΠΕ <i>conj</i>	if, when
ΕΨΧΕ <i>conj</i>	if, when
ΕΖΕ <i>interj</i>	yes
ΕΖΟΥΝ <i>pcl</i>	inside
ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-	into
ΕΖΡΑΙ <i>pcl</i>	above, up
ΕΖΡΑΙ <i>pcl</i>	below, down
ΕΖΟΥΕ	more than
Ε- <i>adv</i>	See ΖΟΥΟ
ΕΧΝ- <i>prep</i>	upon, over
ΕΧΩ=	against
Η	
Η(Ε)Ι <i>nm</i>	house
ΡΜΗ-Η(Ε)Ι <i>nm</i>	superintendent
ΗΠΕ <i>nf</i>	number
ΗΡΠ <i>nm</i>	wine

(ε)ι	
-ι sfx 1:sg	I (§2.4.2)
ει vb	to come, go
νιουγ† (supp. stat)	
αμογ (supp. imp)	
ει ερατ=	to come to
ει εβολ	to come forth
ει εζογν	to enter
ειε Q-pcl	introduces non-biased yes-no questions
ειω nm	donkey
ειβε vb	to get thirsty
οβε†	
ειεβτ nm	the east
ειογλ nm/f	hind
(ε)ιομ nm	sea, Fayyûm
ειμε vb	to know
εινε vb	to bring, bear
(ε)ν-, (ε)ντ=	
αν(ε)ινε imp	
εινε ν- vb	to resemble, be like
ειοπε nf	craft, art
ρεϥ-ρ-ειοπε nm	craftsman
ειοορ nm	canal
χιοορ vb	to ferry over
(< χι-ειοορ)	
ειρε vb	to make, do,
(ε)ρ-, λα=	act
ο†, ω†	to be
αρι-, αρι= imp	
ειωρ2 vb	to perceive,
ειερ2-,	see

(ε)ιρο2=	
ειc interj	Behold, Look!
(ε)ιωτ nm	father
ειοτε pl	
ειτν nm	rubbish, trash
ειψε vb	to hang,
αψτ-, εψτ-,	suspend
αψτ=, αψε†	
ειωζε nm	field
ειαζογ pl	
κ	
κ-, -κ (-r)	you (man)
pfx, sfx 2:sg.m	(§2.4.2)
κε det, pron	(an)other,
σε, κετ sg:m,	different
κετε sg:f,	(also used as
κοογε pl	focus pcl) also,
	too (§4.3.4)
κω vb	to place,
κα-, καα=,	set down
κη†	to lie
κω εβολ	to release,
	dismiss
κβα nm	vengeance
κβο vb	to become cool
κηβ†	be cool
κογι adj	small, little
νογκογι adv	a little
καϊσε nf	shroud
κωκ αζηγ vb	to strip, make
	naked
κακε nm	darkness
κελωλ nm	pitcher, jar

κλοολε nf	cloud
κλoм nm	crown, diadem
κελενκε2 nm	elbow
κωλ2 vb	to strike, knock
κα2-, κολ2=,	
κολ2†	
κιμ vb	to move, be
кемт-, кемт=	moved
κμομ vb	to become black
κμη†	be black
καμε, -η adj	black
κμηε nm	Egypt
κννε vb	to be fat
κω(ω)nc vb	to slay, wound
кeнc-,	
ко(о)nc=	
κoнc†	
κno(o)c vb	to stink, rot
κoнc†	
κωπi vb	to hide
κμη†	
κμηте nf	vault, cellar
κpo nm	shore, bank
κpмpм vb	to murmur, be
	vexed
κωpψ vb	to request,
кepψ-,	persuade,
кopψ=	entreat
κpoq nm	guile, ambush
κac nm	bone
καac, кeec pl	
κacкc vb	to whisper

κωт vb	to build, form
кeт-, кoт=,	
кнт†	
κто vb	to turn,
ктe-, ктo=,	surround,
ктнγ†	go around
κωтe vb	to turn, go
кeт-, кoт=,	around
кнт†	
κα2 nm	earth, soil
κω2 vb	to envy
κη2†	be zealous
κα2κ2 vb	to hew out,
кe2кe2-,	smoothen
кe2κω2=,	
кe2κω2†	
κω2т nm	fire
λ	
λο vb	to cease, stop
λο= imp	
λαc nm	tongue,
	language
λαaγ pron	some/anyone,
	some/anything
	(§4.3.3)
λiε vb	to rage
λοβε†	be mad
λοiε nf	cause, excuse
μ	
μα nm	place
μα imp:sg supp	Give! See †
μαo adj	rich
ρ(ε)μ(μ)ao	

ME TAM 2:sg:f MEPE-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL (\$9.4.2)	MHN <i>pcl</i> (HMO=)	own (\$4.3.5)	(E)MΠΩA <i>vb</i>	to be worthy	(E)MTON <i>vb</i>	to be at ease,
ME <i>vb</i>	to love	MHON <i>interj</i>	No!	MΠΩ <i>nf</i>	harbour	MOTN [†]	rest, relax
MEPE-, MEPIΓ-, MAI <i>ptcp:act</i>	loving	MMATE <i>adv</i>	very much	MOYΠ <i>vb</i>	to bind, tie, gird	MOYTN <i>vb</i>	to set at, rest
MEPIΓ <i>ptcp:pass</i>	beloved	MMAΥ <i>adv</i>	there	M(E)P-, MAP=, MOP=, MHP [†]		METN-, MOTN=	
MEPATE <i>pl</i>		(M)M(E)N <i>vb</i>	(there) is not	MAPE TAM	JUSSIVE (\$8.2.2)	MOTNEC <i>nf</i>	contentment, ease
ME <i>nf</i>	truth, justice	MN-, <i>prep</i> NMMA=	with, and	MEPE <i>n</i>	midday	MAAY <i>nf</i>	mother
MO <i>imp:sg supp</i>	Take! See XI	MOYN <i>vb</i>	to remain,	MORT <i>nf</i>	beard	MOOY <i>nm</i>	water
MHIETN suppl. <i>imp:pl</i>		MHN [†]	continue	MAC <i>nm</i>	young	MAΥAA= <i>adv</i>	alone, single (\$4.3.5)
MIO= <i>interj</i>	be hale, thanks	MANE, MAN-	herdsman	MACE <i>nm</i>	young bull, calf	MEEYE <i>vb</i>	to think
MAIN <i>nm</i>	sign, mark	MINE <i>nf</i>	manner, kind	MICE <i>vb</i>	to bear, deliver	P MEEYE <i>vb</i>	to remember
MOGIT <i>nm</i>	road, path	NTEIMINE <i>adv</i>	in this way, thus	MECT(T)-, MACT=, MECT=, MOCE [†]		MOYI <i>nm</i>	lion
MOY <i>vb</i>	to die	MOONE <i>vb</i>	to pasture, land			MOYOYT <i>vb</i>	to kill
MOOYT [†]		MENE-, MANOY=				MEYT-, MOOYT=	
MAAB, -E <i>num</i>	thirty	MANOOUT [†]		MECIO <i>nf</i>	midwife, nurse	MHHWE <i>nm</i>	crowd, troop
MOKHEK <i>vb</i>	to think, pounder	MOYNK, <i>vb</i>	to form, make	MOTTE <i>vb</i>	to hate	MIWE <i>vb</i>	to fight, quarrel
MOKZ <i>nm</i>	neck	MOYNT		MECTE-, MECTW=		MOOWE <i>vb</i>	to walk, go
MOYKZ <i>vb</i>	to afflict,	MENK-, MONK=, MONT [†]		MCAZ <i>nm</i>	crocodile	MEΨAK <i>adv</i>	perhaps, maybe
MEKZ-, MOKZ=	oppress	MNNCA - <i>prep</i> MNNCW=	after	MCOOZ <i>pl</i>		MOYZ <i>vb</i>	to fill
MKAZ, MOKZ [†]	to be painful,	MNOYT <i>nm</i>	door-keeper	MTO <i>nm</i>	presence	MEZ-, MEZ-, MAZ=, MOZ=, MHZ [†] , MEZ [†]	
MKAZ NZIIT	be grieved	MNTPE, <i>nm</i>	witness,	MΠMTO		MAZE <i>nm</i>	ell, cubit
MOKZC <i>nf</i>	pain, grief	METPII	testimony	EBOL <i>prep</i>	before	(E)MIZIT <i>nm</i>	north
MEAWT <i>nf</i>	ceiling	MNTPEEY <i>pl</i>		(E)MTW <i>nf</i>	depth of sea	MAAXE <i>nm</i>	ear, handle
MEAAE <i>pl</i>		MΠE TAM	NEGATIVE PERFECT (\$9.4.1)	MHT, -E <i>num</i>	ten	N	
MOYAZ <i>nm</i>	wax	MΠΩP <i>interj</i>	No, certainly not!	MATE <i>vb</i>	to reach, obtain	N- <i>prep</i>	LINKAGE MARKER (\$§3.1.3, 3.1.4)
MMO= <i>prep</i>	See N-	MΠATE TAM	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE (\$9.4.3)	MITE <i>nf</i>	middle, midst	N- TAM	NEGATIVE PREFIX (in double negative N ... AN) See §9.3
MHHNE <i>adv</i>	daily			MOTE <i>nm</i>	neck		
				MOYTE <i>vb</i>	to speak, call		
				MATOI <i>nm</i>	soldier		

N- TAM 1:sg (N)TA-, 2:sg:f NTΓ-, 2:sg:f NTE-, 3:pl NCE-	CONJUNCTIVE (§8.1.4)
N-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)
-N sfx 1:pl	we, us (§2.4.2)
N(ε)- det:pl	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2.1)
N- prep NHO=	in, as (also used as direct object marker)
H-, NA= prep 2:sg:f NE, 2:pl NH-TN	for, to
N- prep N2HT= 1:sg N2HT, 2:sg:f N2HTE, 2:pl N2HTTHYTN	in, inside
NA- aux	FUTURE MARKER (§7.3.3)
NA- pron:pl	POSSESSIVE PREFIX they of (§4.1.2.2)
NAA-, NAA= vb	to be great
NA(A), NAE vb	to have pity
NA(ε)IAT- vb	blessed is
NAI pron 3:pl	DEMONSTRATIVE these (§4.1.1.2)
NE- det:pl	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg NA- 2:sg:f NOY-	my your (woman)
NE- TAM	PRETERIT (§7.3.5)

2:sg:f NEPE-	
NE cl 3:pl	they (§2.4.3)
NOY- pron:3:pl	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f NOY	yours (woman)
NH(H)BE vb	to swim, float
NOYB nm	gold
NORE nm	sin
NEA- prep NEAAA=	beyond, except besides
N(ε)I- det:pl	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE these (§4.1.1.1)
NOEIK nm	adulterer
NKA nm	thing, property
(ε)NKOTK vb	to sleep
NIM pron HEWE NIM	who?, which of? so-and-so (§4.2.1.2)
NIM adj	every, all (§4.3.1)
NAME adv	verily, truly
NNE- TAM	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE (§9.4.4)
NANOY- vb NANOY=	to be good, fair
NOYN nm	abyss (of Hell)
NOYNE nf	root, radish
NCA- prep NCW= 2:pl NCATHYTN	behind, except
NECE- vb NECW=	to be beautiful

NECBW= vb	to be intelligent
(ε)NT-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)
NTE- prep NTA=	LINKAGE MARKER (§3.1.4)
NTO free pron 2:sg:f NTE cl 2:sg:f	you (woman) (§2.4.3)
NAHT adj	merciful
NOYTE nm ΠNOYTE	god God
NTOK free pron 2:sg:m NTK free pron 2:sg:m cl 2:sg:m	you (man) (§2.4.3)
NTN- prep NTOOT=	in, by hand of, by, with, from
NTEP(ε)- TAM	TEMPORAL (§8.1.2)
NTOC free pron 3:sg:f NTWTN free pron 2:pl NTETN cl 2:pl	she (§2.4.3) you (plural) (§2.4.3)
NTOOY free pron 3:pl	they (§2.4.3)
NTEYNOY adv	immediately see OYNOY
NTOQ free pron 3:sg:m	he (§2.4.3)
NAY vb ANAY imp	to see, look
NAY nm	hour, time
NAWE- vb NAW=	to be many, much
NOYEWN- prep	without
(ε)NWOYOT vb NAWT†	to be hard, strong, difficult
NEEQ nm	sailor, ferryman
NIQE vb NEQT=	to blow, breathe
NOYQE adj	sweet
NE2 nm	oil
NOY2 nm	rope, cord
NOY2(ε) vb NE2-, NA2=, NH2†	to shake, cast off, set apart
NOY2E nf	sycamore
NOY2H vb NE2H-, NA2H-, NA2H(ε)=, NA2H†	to save, preserve
NA2PN- prep NA2PA=	in front of, before
NE2CE vb	to awake, arise
NA2TE vb N2ET-, N2OYT†	to trust, believe
NE2-ΨAQ nm	terror
NOYX adj	lying, false
NOYXE vb NEX-, NOX=, NHX†	to throw, cast
NOO adj	big, large, great

ნოი <i>focus pcl</i>	marks the inverted subject noun (§10.1.5)
ნეσω(ω)= <i>vb</i>	to be ugly
ნოδნეძ <i>vb</i>	to reproach, mock
ნეძნეძ-, ნეძნოყძ=	
ნოყძ <i>vb</i>	to make angry
ნოძც†	be angry
ო	
ო† <i>vb</i>	to be See <i>ეიპე</i>
ობზე <i>nf</i>	tooth
ოეიკ <i>nm</i>	bread, loaf
ონე <i>nm</i>	clay, mud
ონ <i>pcl</i>	also, too
ოოზ <i>nm</i>	moon
π	
π(ε)- <i>det.sg:m</i>	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2)
πα- <i>pron: sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE PREFIX he of (§4.1.2.2)
παι <i>pron 3: sg:m</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE this (§4.1.1.2)
πε- <i>det.sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg <i>πα-</i>	my
2:sg:f <i>πογ-</i>	your (woman)
πε <i>cl 3:sg:m</i>	he (§2.4.3)
πε <i>nf</i>	heaven, sky
πιγე <i>pl</i>	

π(ε)ι- <i>det: sg:m</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE this (§4.1.1.1)
π(ε)ι <i>nf</i>	kiss
πω- <i>pron: 3:sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f <i>πω-</i>	yours (woman)
πω(ω)νε <i>vb</i>	to change, turn
πεεने-, ποоне=, παανε=, ποоне†	
παποι <i>nm</i>	bird, chicken
πωπιε <i>vb</i>	to knead (clay), make bricks
παπε-, παπω=,	
πρω <i>nf</i>	winter
π(ε)იპე <i>vb</i>	to come forth (of light), shine
პოբე†, პრეიოყ†	
პოპყ <i>vb</i>	to spread
π(ε)პყ-, პოპყ=, პოპყ†	
პოპყ ებოლ	to spread out
პოპყ <i>vb</i>	to divide, separate
π(ε)პყ-, პოპყ=, პოპყ†	
პიც(ε) <i>vb</i>	to cook, melt
π(ε)ც(ტ)-, პეცტ=, პოცე†	
პატ <i>nf</i>	knee

პოტ, პი†	to run, flee, go
პაყე <i>nf</i>	division, half
პოყ(ე) <i>vb</i>	to divide, separate
პეყ-, პოყ=, პიყ†	
პოყც <i>vb</i>	to amaze, turn
პოყცყ, პეცყ-, პოყც=, პაცყ=, პოყც†, პოცყ†	aside, leave
პოზ <i>vb</i>	to reach
π(ε)ზ-, პიზ†	
პაზრე <i>nm</i>	drug, medicine
პოზტ <i>vb</i>	to bend
პეზტ-, პაზტ=, პაზტ†	
პოზტ <i>vb</i>	to pour, flow
პეზტ-, პაზტ=, პაზტ†	
პოზტ ებოლ	to pour out
პაზოყ <i>nm</i>	hind parts, back
ჰპაზოყ <i>prep</i>	behind
პეყე- <i>vb</i>	said
პეყა=	
პოდე, პოძ=, პოგ=, პოგე†	to break
პ	
პი <i>nm</i>	sun
პი <i>nf</i>	cell, room

პო <i>nm</i>	mouth, door, gate
პო=	
პო <i>pcl</i>	even, indeed
(ε)პბე <i>nf</i>	enclosure
პიპ <i>nm</i>	pig, boar
პოეიკ <i>vb</i>	to watch,
პიჩ†	be awake
პიკე <i>vb</i>	to bend, turn
პეკტ-, პაკტ=, პეკტ=, პაკე†, პოკე†	
პოკზ <i>vb</i>	to burn
პეკზ-, პოკზ=, პოკზ=, პოკზ†	
პ(ε)იპე <i>vb</i>	to weep, cry
პრეიი <i>nf</i>	tear
პრეიოოყე <i>pl</i>	
პოპე <i>nm</i>	man, human
პომპე <i>nf</i>	year
პიპოოყე <i>pl</i>	
პან <i>nm</i>	name
პნტ=	
პინ-პან <i>nm</i>	dignitary
პიპე <i>nm</i>	temple
პიპყე <i>pl</i>	
პპო <i>nm</i>	king
პპო <i>nf</i>	queen
(ε)პპოოყ <i>pl</i>	
პიჩ <i>nm</i>	south
პაქტე <i>nm</i>	tomorrow, the next day
პატ= <i>nm</i>	foot

ρωτ <i>vb</i>	to grow	co <i>nm</i>	refrain, pardon
ρετ-, ριιτ†		† co	
ρooyψ <i>vb</i>	to care for, be concerned about	-coy <i>sfx 3:pl</i>	they (§2.4.1)
qi ρooyψ	to take care	cw <i>vb</i>	to drink
ραυε <i>vb</i>	to rejoice	ce-, ca-, coo=	
ρωυε <i>vb</i>	to suffice,	cew <i>nf</i>	doctrine,
ρεωτ-, ραωτ-, ραω(τ)=	content	ceoooye <i>pl</i>	teaching
		† cew <i>vb</i>	to teach
ρψων <i>nm</i>	coat	xi cew <i>vb</i>	to be taught
ρoγze <i>nm</i>	evening	cae <i>adj sg:m</i>	wise, prudent
ρωze <i>vb</i>	to wash	caeh <i>sg:f</i>	
ραze†	be clean	caeey(ε) <i>pl</i>	
ρωzt <i>vb</i>	to strike, cast	cawe <i>vb</i>	to laugh, mock
ρεzt-, ραzt=, ραzt=, ραzt†		coe(ε)τ <i>nm</i>	wall, fence
ραztoy <i>nm</i>	monastic garment	cozte <i>vb</i>	to make ready,
		cbte-, cbtwt=, cbtwt†	prepare, set in order
c		caeie <i>adj</i>	beautiful,
c-, -c	she (§2.4.2)	ca(ε)ih	handsome
pfx, sfx 3:sg:f		caein <i>nm</i>	doctor, physician
ca <i>nm</i>	side, part	coeit <i>nm</i>	fame, report
(n)caca <i>nim</i>	on every side	cwk <i>vb</i>	to draw, gather,
nca <i>prep</i>	after	c(ε)k-, cak-, cok=, cak=, cok†	move swiftly
ca <i>nm</i>	beauty	cwalp <i>vb</i>	to break, burst
ce-, -ce	they (§2.4.2)	c(ε)alp-, coalp=, coalp†	
pfx, sfx 3:pl		cwalp εβολ	to cut off
ce <i>interj</i>	yes	colca <i>vb</i>	to comfort,
ce <i>num</i>	sixty	calca-, calcwal=, calcwal†, calcoal†	encourage
c(ε)i <i>vb</i>	to be filled,		
chy†	enjoy		

chh <i>nf</i>	voice	cnr <i>nm</i>	rib
choy <i>vb</i>	to bless	cnpooye <i>pl</i>	
chaha(n)†		concp <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray
chne <i>vb</i>	to appeal	cnep-, cnepw=, cenepw†	
chine <i>vb</i>	to set right,	cwp <i>vb</i>	to scatter,
chn-, chnt=, chont†	construct, establish	cep-, cop=, chr†	spread
chot <i>nm</i>	form, character, pattern, likeness	coyre <i>nm</i>	thorn, spike
con <i>nm</i>	brother, fellow monk	cwrh <i>vb</i>	to mislead,
cwne <i>nf</i>	sister	ceph-, coph=, coph†	lead astray
cnhy <i>pl</i>		crqe <i>vb</i>	to be at lease
cine <i>vb</i>	to pass by, leave	croqt†, croet†	
c(ε)n-, cnt=		croqreq <i>vb</i>	to let fall,
cwnt <i>vb</i>	to create, found	creqpwq=	dissipate
c(ε)nt-, cont=, cont†		carabwoyψ <i>nm</i>	hare
cnte <i>nf</i>	foundation	cate <i>nf</i>	fire
cnay <i>num sg:m</i>	two	cite <i>vb</i>	to throw, sow
c(ε)nte <i>sg:f</i>		cet-, cit-, cat=, cet=, cht†	
ca(a)ny <i>vb</i>	to make live, nourish	cote <i>nm</i>	arrow, dart
calny=		coote <i>pl</i>	
cnog <i>nm</i>	blood	ctoi <i>nm</i>	smell, scent
cwnz <i>vb</i>	to bind,	ct-noyqe	fragrance,
conz=	be bound	cwth <i>vb</i>	to hear, listen
conz†		cehn-, cotne=	
cna2 <i>nm</i>	bondage, fetter	cwti <i>vb</i>	to choose
cnay2 <i>pl</i>		cepi-, cotpi=, cotpi†	be better
cop <i>nm</i>	occasion, time	ctpTp <i>vb</i>	to tremble
c(ε)π- noycop <i>adv</i>	once		
ceete <i>vb</i>	to remain, be left		

РѠТ <i>vb</i>	to grow
РЕТ-, РИТ†	
РООУ <i>vb</i>	to care for, be concerned about
ҚІ РООУ	to take care
РАУЕ <i>vb</i>	to rejoice
РѠУЕ <i>vb</i>	to suffice,
РЕУТ-, РАУТ- РАУ(Т)=	content
РѠУН <i>nm</i>	coat
РОУЕ <i>nm</i>	evening
РѠУЕ <i>vb</i>	to wash
РАУЕ†	be clean
РѠУТ <i>vb</i>	to strike, cast
РЕУТ-, РАУТ=, РАУТ=, РАУТ†	
РАУТОУ <i>nm</i>	monastic garment
С	
С-, -С	she (§2.4.2)
<i>pf, sfx 3.sg:f</i>	
СА <i>nm</i>	side, part
(Н)САКА <i>nm</i>	on every side
НА <i>prep</i>	after
СА <i>nm</i>	beauty
СЕ-, -СЕ	they (§2.4.2)
<i>pf, sfx 3:pl</i>	
СЕ <i>interj</i>	yes
СЕ <i>num</i>	sixty
С(Е)І <i>vb</i>	to be filled,
СИ†	enjoy

СО <i>nm</i>	refrain, pardon
† СО	
-СОУ <i>sfx 3:pl</i>	they (§2.4.1)
СѠ <i>vb</i>	to drink
СЕ-, СА-, СОО=	
СѠ <i>nf</i>	doctrine,
СРОУЕ <i>pl</i>	teaching
† СѠ <i>vb</i>	to teach
ХІ СѠ <i>vb</i>	to be taught
САВЕ <i>adj sg:m</i>	wise, prudent
САВН <i>sg:f</i>	
САВЕУ(Е) <i>pl</i>	
СѠВЕ <i>vb</i>	to laugh, mock
СОВ(Е)Т <i>nm</i>	wall, fence
СОВТЕ <i>vb</i>	to make ready,
СЕТЕ-, СЕТѠТ=, СЕТѠТ†	prepare, set in order
САВЕ <i>adj</i>	beautiful,
СА(Е)НН	handsome
САГІН <i>nm</i>	doctor, physician
СОГІТ <i>nm</i>	faine, report
СѠК <i>vb</i>	to draw, gather,
С(Е)К-, САК-, СОК=, САК=, СОК†	move swiftly
СѠЛТ <i>vb</i>	to break, burst
С(Е)ЛТ-, СОЛТ=, СОЛТ†	
СѠЛТ ЕБОЛ	to cut off
СОЛСА <i>vb</i>	to comfort,
САСА-, САСОЛ=, САСОЛ†, САСОЛ†	encourage

СНН <i>nf</i>	voice
СНОУ <i>vb</i>	to bless
СНАМАА(Н)Т†	
СНМЕ <i>vb</i>	to appeal
СНМЕ <i>vb</i>	to set right,
СНН-, СНМТ=, СНМТ†	construct, establish
СНОТ <i>nm</i>	form, character, pattern, likeness
СОН <i>nm</i>	brother, fellow monk
СѠНЕ <i>nf</i>	sister
СНН <i>pl</i>	
СІНЕ <i>vb</i>	to pass by, leave
С(Е)Н-, СНТ=	
СѠНТ <i>vb</i>	to create, found
С(Е)НТ-, СНТ=, СНТ†	
СНТЕ <i>nf</i>	foundation
СНАУ <i>num sg:m</i>	two
С(Е)НТЕ <i>sg:f</i>	
СА(А)НУ <i>vb</i>	to make live,
СААНУ-, САНУУ=	nourish
СНОУ <i>nm</i>	blood
СѠНУ <i>vb</i>	to bind,
СОНУ=, СОНУ†	be bound
СНАУ <i>nm</i>	bondage, fetter
СНАУУ <i>pl</i>	
СОН <i>nm</i>	occasion, time
С(Е)Н- НОУСОП <i>adv</i>	once
СЕТЕ <i>vb</i>	to remain, be left

СНН <i>nm</i>	rib
СНРОУЕ <i>pl</i>	
СОПСН <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray
СПСП-, СПСОП=, СЕПСѠТ†	
СѠР <i>vb</i>	to scatter,
СЕР-, СОР=, СН†	spread
СОУРЕ <i>nm</i>	thorn, spike
СѠРН <i>vb</i>	to mislead,
СЕРН-, СОРН=, СОРН†	lead astray
СРРЕ <i>vb</i>	to be at lease
СРОУТ†, СРѠТ†	
СРОУРЕУ <i>vb</i>	to let fall,
СРЕУРѠУ=	dissipate
САРАѠУУ <i>nm</i>	hare
САТЕ <i>nf</i>	fire
СІТЕ <i>vb</i>	to throw, sow
СЕТ-, СІТ-, САТ=, СЕТ=, СН†	
СОТЕ <i>nm</i>	arrow, dart
СООТЕ <i>pl</i>	
СТОІ <i>nm</i>	smell, scent
С†-НОУРЕ	fragrance,
СѠТН <i>vb</i>	to hear, listen
СЕТН-, СОТН=	
СѠТН <i>vb</i>	to choose
СЕТН-, СОТН=, СОТН†	
СОТН†	be better
СТРП <i>vb</i>	to tremble

CTWT <i>vb</i>	to tremble
CHY <i>nm</i>	time, season
COY-	day of month
CIOY <i>nm</i>	star
COOY <i>num sg:m</i>	six
CO <i>sg:f</i>	
COYO <i>nm</i>	corn, wheat
COOYN <i>vb</i>	to know
COY(ε)N-, COYWN=	
CIOYP <i>nm</i>	eunuch
COOYT _N <i>vb</i>	to straighten,
COYT _N -, COYTWN=, COYTWN†	stretch
CWOY ₂ <i>vb</i>	to gather,
CEY ₂ -, COOY ₂ =, COOY ₂ †	collect
COOY ₂ C <i>nf</i>	congregation
COO ₂ E <i>nf</i>	egg
CWE <i>vb</i>	to be like gall,
CAWE†	bitter
CAWQ <i>num sg:m</i>	seven
CAWQE <i>sg:mf</i>	
CWQ <i>vb</i>	to despise,
CEWQ-, COWQ=, COWQ†	condemn
CAQ <i>nm</i>	yesterday
CHQE <i>nf</i>	sword, knife
CWQ <i>vb</i>	to pollute,
CEEQ-, COOQ=, COOQ†	defile

CA ₂ <i>nm</i>	writer, teacher
COO ₂ E <i>vb</i>	to set up
CA ₂ E-, CA ₂ W=	
C ₂ AI <i>vb</i>	to write
CE ₂ -, CA ₂ T=, C ₂ AIT=, CI ₂ †	
C ₂ IME <i>nf</i>	woman
ZIOME <i>pl</i>	
CA ₂ NE <i>nm</i>	order
OYE ₂ CA ₂ NE	to command
CA ₂ OY(ε)	to curse
C ₂ OY(ε)P-, C ₂ OYWP=, C ₂ OYOPT†	
CW ₆ <i>vb</i>	to paralyse
CE ₆ -, CO ₆ =, CI ₆ †	be lame
CO ₆ N <i>nm</i>	ointment
CO ₆ PA ₂ T <i>vb</i>	to rest, pause
T	
-T <i>sfx 1:sg</i>	me (§2.4.1)
T(ε)- <i>det:sg:f</i>	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.1.1)
TA- <i>pron: sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE PREFIX she of (§4.1.2.2)
TAI <i>pron 3: sg:f</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE this (§4.1.1.2)
TE- <i>det sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg TA-	my
2:sg:f TOY-	your (woman)
TE <i>cl 3:sg:f</i>	she (§2.4.3)

-TE <i>sfx 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.2)
TEI-, †-	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE this (4.1.1.1)
TE(p)- <i>pfx 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.2)
†- <i>pfx 1:sg</i>	I (§2.4.2)
†, TI <i>vb</i>	to give
†-, TAA=, TO†, TW†	
MA <i>supp. imp:sg</i>	
† EBOA	to sell
TW- <i>pron 3:sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f TW-	yours (woman)
TBA <i>num</i>	ten thousand
THHE <i>nm</i>	finger
TWBE <i>nf</i>	brick
TW(ω)BE <i>vb</i>	to repay, requite
TEBE-, TOOB=	
TBBO <i>vb</i>	to make pure,
TBBE-, TBBO=, TBHHY†	purify
TBNH <i>nm</i>	cattle
TBNOOYE <i>pl</i>	
TWBC <i>vb</i>	to incite, stimulate
T(ε)BC-, TOBC=	motivate, urge, admonish
TBT <i>nm</i>	fish
TWBE ₂ <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray,
TB ₂ -, TOB ₂ =	console

TA(ε)IO <i>vb</i>	to honour, pay
TAEIE-, TAEIO=, TA(ε)HY†	respect
TO(I)(ε) <i>nf</i>	part, share
TAIBE <i>nf</i>	chest, coffin
TAKO <i>vb</i>	to destroy, perish
TAKε-, TAKO=, TAKHY(T)†	
TAAO <i>vb</i>	to lift, set on
TAAε-, TAAO=, TAAHY†	
TWAM <i>vb</i>	to defile, besmirch
TOAM=, TOAM†	
TAAO <i>vb</i>	to heal
TAAOε-, TAAO=, TAAOKHY†	
T(ε)M- <i>aux</i>	do not (used to negate infinitivals and relative tenses) (§9.4.6)
TOM <i>nm</i>	mat
TAMO <i>vb</i>	to tell, inform
TAME-, TAMO=	
†ME <i>nm</i>	village, small town
TIME	
TAMIO <i>vb</i>	to make, create
TAMIE-, TAMIO=, TAMHHY†	
TMMO <i>vb</i>	to feed, nourish
TH(M)ε-, TH(M)O=, THHHY†	

τωμc,	to bury
τ(ε)μc-,	
τομ(ε)c=,	
τομc†	
τωμντ vb	to meet, befall
τομντ†	
τ(ε)ν-	we (§2.4.2)
pfx 1:pl	
-τν	you (plural)
sfx 2:pl	(§2.4.2)
των adv	where?
†των vb	to dispute, quarrel
τννοογ vb	to send, summon
τν(ν)εγ-,	
τν(ν)οογ(τ)=	
τν2 nm	wing
ταν2ογτ vb	to trust, believe
ταν2ετ-,	
ταν2ογτ=,	
ταν2ηγτ†	
ταπρo nf	mouth
τρε- aux	CAUSATIVE INFINITIVE (§6.4.3)
τηρ= adj	all, whole, every
επτηρq adv	entirely, at all
ταρε TAM	INFERENTIAL
l:sg ταρι	(§8.2.4)
τωρε nf	hand, handle
τοοτ=	
ψ(ε)π τωρε vb	to undertake, stand bail
†(ν)τοοτ= vb	to give hand, help

τωριτ vb	to seize, rob
τ(ε)ριτ-, τοριτ=	
τριρ nf	oven
τρεε vb	to be afraid
τρεωογ†	
τco vb	to give to drink
τce-, tco=,	
τchγ†	
τcαβo vb	to teach, instruct
τcαβε-, τcαβo=,	
τcαβηγ(τ)†	
τcα(ε)io vb	to decorate,
τcαie-,	make beautiful
τcαeio=,	
τcαiehγ†	
(τ)cto vb	to return, bring
(τ)cte-,	back
τcto=,	
(τ)cthγ†	
τwt vb	to agree to,
τετ-, tot=,	persuade
τht†	
τετν- pfx 2:pl	you (plural)
	(§2.4.1)
τα(ο)γο vb	to send, put
τα(ο)γε-,	forth, produce,
τα(ο)γο=	
†ογ, †ε nm	five
τα(ε)ioγ nm	fifty
τοογ nm	mountain,
	monastery
ρμντοογ nm	monk, hermit
τοογε nm	shoe

twoγn vb	to rise, carry
τογn-, twoγn=	
τογnoc vb	to wake, raise,
τογno(γ)c-,	set up
τογnoc=	
τογwt nm	idol, statue,
	pillar
-τηγτ(ε)n	you (plural)
sfx 2:pl	(allomorph of
	-τν) (§2.4.1)
τωψ vb	to limit, fix,
τεψ-, τοψ=,	determine
τηψ†	
τοψ, τωψ nm	district
ταψo vb	to increase
ταψε-, ταψo=	
εββio vb	to humiliate
εββie-, εββio=,	
εββiehγ†	be humble
εμko vb	to afflict
εμkc-, εμko=,	
εμknhγ†	
τα2o vb	make to stand,
τα2ε-, τα2o=,	reach, befall
τα2hγ†	
τω2m vb	to summon
τε2m-, τα2m=,	
τα2m†	
τε2ne nf	forehead
τω2c vb	to anoint,
τ(ε)2c-,	pour, smear
τα2c=, το2c=,	upon
τα2c†	
τογxo vb	to save
τογxe-, τογxo=,	
τογxhγ†	
ταxpo vb	to make
ταxpe-, ταxpo=,	strong, firm,
ταxphγ†,	be strong
ταxpaeit†	
τωωδε vb	to fix, join,
τεδ-, τεκ-,	plant
τοок-, тос=,	
то(о)к=,	
тhδ†, тhк†	
τωδε nm	plant
(τ)δα(ε)io vb	to disgrace,
(τ)δα(ε)ie-	condemn
(τ)δα(ε)io=,	
(τ)δα(ε)ihγ†	
τωδc vb	to bleach, dye
τωδc=, таδc=,	
тоδc†	
таδce nf	foot-sole
ογ	
ογ- det.sg	INDEFINITE
	ARTICLE
	a (certain)
	(§2.2.2.2)
-(ο)γ sfx 3:pl	they (§2.4.2)
ογ pron	what?
ογα pron	one
sg:f ογei	
ογα ογα	one by one
πογα πογα	each one
πογα ...	the one ...
пkeoγa	the other
ογα nm	blasphemy

ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲃ	to speak blasphemy
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲃ	to depart,
ⲟⲩⲛⲩⲧ	be distant
ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲃ	to cease, stay
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ	he is already dead
ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲙ	news, report
(ⲉ)ⲣ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲃ	to reply
ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- prep	opposite,
ⲟⲩⲃⲛ=	against
† ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- ⲛⲃ	to fight
ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲃ ⲛⲙ	priest See ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲱ ⲛⲃ	to become white,
ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱ†	be white
ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ interj	woe!
ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ ⲛⲙ	rush, course
† ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ ⲛⲃ	to advance, go forward
ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ ⲛⲙ	peasant,
ⲟⲩⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓⲛ ⲛⲓ	cultivator
ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲙ	light
ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ adj	Greek
ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲙ	time, occasion
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ	to eat, bite
ⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲛⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲛ=	
ⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲛ ⲛⲃ	(there) is
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ pron	someone/anyone
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ	to open
ⲟⲩⲛⲛ†	
ⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲱⲛ imp	
ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲃ	to pass by

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓ	hour
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲓ	
ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲛⲓ	right hand
ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ- ⲛⲃ	to have
ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁ=	
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ ⲛⲙ	wolf
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲃ	to rejoice
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲃ	to reveal,
ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲓⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲓⲓ=	appear, show
ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲓⲓ†	
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲃ	to be pure,
ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲉ†	holy
ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲉ	the holy
ⲟⲩⲛ(ⲓ)ⲣ adj	how great?, how many?, how much?
ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲛⲃ	to be glad
ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ†	
ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓ	foot
ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲛ ⲛⲃ	to broaden,
ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛ†	be broad
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ adj	single, alone
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲃ	to be green,
ⲟⲩⲉⲧ-, ⲟⲩⲉⲧ=	fresh
ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩⲉⲧ ⲛⲃ	to be green
ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ†	pallid
ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲟ)ⲧⲉ ⲛⲙ	greens, herbs
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ- prep	between,
ⲟⲩⲧⲱ=	among
ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲃ	to change, pass
ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉ-,	through, remove
ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲉ=,	
ⲟⲩⲟⲧ(ⲉ)ⲃ†	

ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲙ	fruit
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲃ	to want, wish
ⲟⲩⲉⲱ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲱ=	
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲓ	night
ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲱⲛ adv	by night
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲛⲃ	to answer,
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ	respond
ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲉ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲉ=	
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ	to knead, bruise
ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲱⲛ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲱⲛ=,	
ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲛ†	
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲃ	to broaden
ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲥ-,	
ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲥ=,	
ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲥ†	be at ease
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲃ	to worship, greet
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲃ	to crush, perish
ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲩ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲩ=,	
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ†	
ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲛⲃ	to put, set, lie
ⲟⲩⲉⲓ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲓ=,	
ⲟⲩⲛⲓ†	
ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ=	to repeat, do again
ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛ ⲛⲃ	to repeat, answer
ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛ=,	
ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ†	
ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲣ ⲛⲙ	dog
ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲣ ⲛⲓ	
ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲓ ⲛⲃ	to be whole, safe
ⲟⲩⲟⲁⲧ†	
ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲛ ⲛⲃ	to break
ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲛ	
ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲛ-,	
ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲛ=,	
ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲛ†, ⲟⲩⲟⲁⲛ†	

ⲱ	
ⲱⲓⲥ, -ⲧⲉ ⲛⲙ	nine
ⲱ	
ⲱⲉⲱ ⲛⲃ	to forget, sleep
ⲉⲃⲱ-, ⲟⲉⲃⲱ=,	
ⲟⲉⲃⲱ†	
ⲱⲕⲙ ⲛⲃ	to be dark,
ⲉⲕⲙ-, ⲟⲕ(ⲉ)ⲙ†	
ⲱⲗ ⲛⲃ	to hold, contain,
ⲟⲗ-, ⲱⲗ-,	gather
ⲟⲗ=, ⲛⲗ†	
ⲱⲙⲕ ⲛⲃ	to swallow
ⲉⲙⲕ-,	
ⲟⲙⲉⲕ=	
ⲱⲙⲥ ⲛⲃ	to sink, dip
ⲉⲙⲥ-, ⲟⲙⲥ=	
ⲟⲙⲥ†	
ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲙ	stone
ⲱⲛⲕ ⲛⲃ	to leap (reflexive)
ⲟⲛⲕ=, ⲟⲙⲕ=	
ⲱⲛⲓ, ⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲃ	to live
ⲟⲛⲓ†	be alive
ⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ	to count, esteem
ⲉⲛ-, ⲟⲛ=,	
ⲛⲛ†	
ⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲃ	to swear oath
ⲱⲣⲕ-, ⲟⲣⲕ=	
ⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲃ	to be firm,
(ⲉ)ⲣⲁ-, ⲟⲣⲁ=,	secure
ⲟⲣ(ⲉ)ⲁ†	
ⲱⲥⲕ ⲛⲃ	to delay,
ⲟⲥⲕ†	be prolonged
ⲱⲥⲓ ⲛⲃ	to reap See ⲱⲥⲥ

ωππ <i>vb</i>	to shut, enclose,
εππ-, οππ-, οππ†, οππ†	imprison
ωππ <i>vb</i>	to load
οιππ-, οππ-, οππ†	
ωψ <i>vb</i>	to cry, announce,
εψ-, οψ=	read
ωζε, οζε <i>vb</i>	to stand, stay
λζε-, λζε†	
λζε (ε)πατ=	to stand (on foot)
ωζε, ωζε <i>vb</i>	to reap, mow
εζε-, ωζε-, οζε=, οζε=	
ωχν <i>vb</i>	to cease, perish,
ωχν-, οχν=	destroy
ωστ <i>vb</i>	to choke, strangle
εστ-, οστ=	
ψ	
(ε)ψ- <i>aux</i>	to be able to, can
ψα- <i>prep</i>	to, towards
ψαρο=	
ψα <i>TAM</i>	HABITUAL ASPECT
2:sg:f ψαρε-	(§7.3.6)
ψα <i>nm</i>	festival
ψε <i>nm</i>	wood
ψε <i>num</i>	hundred
ψε <i>interj</i>	(in swearing) by
ψι <i>vb</i>	to measure, weigh
ψι-, ψιτ=	
ψιιγ†	
ψο <i>num</i>	thousand

ψωβ <i>vb</i>	to shave, clip
ψβ-, ψεβτ- ψοβ=, ψοβ=, ψηβ†	
ψιβε <i>vb</i>	to change
ψβ-, ψ(ε)βτ-, ψ(ε)βτ=, ψεβτ=, ψο(ο)βε†, ψο(ο)βε†,	
ψβηρ, ψβρ <i>nm</i>	friend
ψβεερ <i>pl</i>	
ψεει <i>vb</i>	to come and go, wander
ψικε <i>vb</i>	to dig
ψεκτ-, ψακτ=, ψοκε†	
ψκακ <i>nm</i>	cry, shout
χι ψκακ εβολ	to cry out
ψικε <i>nm</i>	depth, pit
ψωλ <i>vb</i>	to spoil,
ψ(ε)λ-, ψολ=	destroy
ψαλ- <i>ptcp:act</i>	
ψαηλ <i>vb</i>	to pray
ψελεετ <i>nf</i>	bride
ψιμ <i>adj</i>	small, little
ψωμ <i>nm</i>	summer
ψιμμο <i>nm</i>	stranger
ψιμογν <i>num sg:m</i>	eight
ψιμογνε <i>sg:f</i>	
ψομ(η)τ <i>num sg:m</i>	three
ψομτε <i>sg:f</i>	
ψιμψε <i>vb</i>	to serve,
ψιμψε-, ψιμψιτ=	worship
ψνε, ψνη <i>nm</i>	net
ψνηγ(ε) <i>pl</i>	

ψαν <i>TAM</i>	CONDITIONAL (§8.2.3)	ψαρελ <i>nm</i>	scorching heat
ψην <i>nm</i>	tree	ψορπ <i>num sg:m</i>	first
ψ(ε)ινε <i>vb</i>	to seek, ask	ψορπε <i>sg:f</i>	
ψεν(τ)-, ψντ=		νψορπ <i>adv</i>	at first
οη πωινε	to visit	ψωρπ <i>vb</i>	to be early
ψωνε <i>vb</i>	to become sick	ψ(ε)ρ(ε)π -,	do first
ψο(ο)νε†	be sick, ill	ψορπ=	
ψοονε <i>vb</i>	to be mericful	ψορψ <i>vb</i>	to upset, destroy,
ψ(ε)ν-,		ψρψρ-, ψρψρρ=,	
ψαν- <i>ptcp:act</i>		ψρψρ†, ψρψορ†	
ψνκ <i>nm</i>	linen	ψωκ <i>nm</i>	shepherd
ψαντ(ε) <i>TAM</i>	TERMINATIVE (§8.1.3)	ψοοκ, ψωωκ <i>pl</i>	
1:sg ψαν†-,		ψωκ(ε)ν <i>vb</i>	to annoy, fatigue
ψαντα-		ψοκν†	be disheartened
2:sg:f ψαντε-		ψιτε <i>vb</i>	to demand,
ψιπε <i>vb</i>	to cmbarras	ψετ-, ψιτ-,	extort
ψωπ <i>vb</i>	to receive, take	ψιτ=, ψα(λ)τ=,	
ψ(ε)π-, ψοπ=,	contain, suffer	ψιτ <i>num</i>	two hundred
ψηπ†		ψω(ω)τ <i>vb</i>	to cut, slay, be
ψωπ <i>nm</i>	moment, instant	ψ(ε)τ-,	cut short, needy
ζνογψπ(ε)	all of a sudden	ψα(λ)τ=,	
νψωπ <i>adv</i>		ψαα†	
ψωπε <i>vb</i>	to become, happen, befall	ψωτε <i>nf</i>	well, cistern, pit
ψοοπ†	to be, live (at)	(ε)ψτεκο <i>nm</i>	prison
ψπηρε <i>nf</i>	wonder, amazement	ψτεκωογ <i>pl</i>	
ψααρ <i>nm</i>	skin	ψωτν <i>vb</i>	to shut
ψαρε <i>pl</i>		ψ(ε)πν-,	
ψηρε, ψρ- <i>nm</i>	son, child	ψοτν†	be shut
ψερε <i>nf</i>	daughter	ψτν <i>nf</i>	garment, tunic
ψηρε ψην	small child, lad	ψτορτρ <i>vb</i>	to disturb,
ψ(ε)ιρε <i>adj</i>	small	ψτρτρ-,	trouble,
ζ(ε)ρ-ψιρε <i>nm</i>	young servant	ψτρτωρ=,	
		ψτρτωρ†	
		ψαγ <i>nm</i>	use, value

ψοογ(ε) <i>nm</i>	incense, perfume
ψοογε <i>vb</i>	to dry out,
ψογωγ†	be dry
ψογο <i>vb</i>	to flow, pour
ψογω=, ψογο=,	
ψογει†	to be empty, idle
ψψε <i>vb</i>	to befitting
ψωψ <i>nf</i>	antelope
ψωψ <i>vb</i>	to spread, scatter
ψεψ-, ψοψ=,	
ψηψ†	
ψογψογ <i>vb</i>	to boast
ψωq <i>vb</i>	to waste, destroy
ψεq-, ψοq=,	
ψηq†	be deserted
ψqe <i>num</i>	seventy
ψαqtε <i>nm</i>	impious person
ψαχε <i>vb</i>	to speak, talk
ψοχνε <i>vb</i>	to take counsel
ψωχπ <i>vb</i>	to remain,
ψεχπ-, ψοχπ=,	
ψοχπ†	be left over
ψωωσε <i>vb</i>	to hurt, wound
ψε(ε)σε-, ψο(ο)σ=,	
ψο(ο)σε†	
q	
q-, -q	he (§2.4.1)
<i>pfx, sfx 3:sg:m</i>	
q(ε)ι <i>vb</i>	to bear, carry
q(ε)ι-, qιτ=,	
qιιγ†,	
<i>ptcp:act qai</i>	
qai-ψινε <i>nm</i>	messenger

qω, εω <i>nm</i>	hair
q(ε)NT, BNT <i>nm</i>	worm
qωτε <i>vb</i>	to wipe,
qετ-, qοτ=	obliterate
qωτε εκολ	exterminate
qτοογ <i>num sg:m</i>	four
qτοε <i>sg:f</i>	
qωσε <i>vb</i>	to leap, move
qεσ-, qοσ=,	hastily
βησ†	
2	
2λ- <i>prep</i>	under, in, at
2λπο=	
2λε <i>num sg:m</i>	final, last
2λη <i>sg:f</i>	
2λεεγ <i>pl</i>	
επ2λε <i>adv</i>	at last
2ε <i>nf</i>	manner
ηθε <i>adv</i>	in the manner,
(< N-T-2ε)	like
2ε <i>vb</i>	to fall, find
2ηγ†	
2η <i>nf</i>	forepart
2ληη <i>prep</i>	in front of
2λτεq2η	
2ι- <i>prep</i>	on, at, in
2ιω=	
2ιηαι <i>adv</i>	thus
2ιηη <i>prep</i>	to, at front
2ο <i>nm</i>	face
2πα=	
2ω <i>vb</i>	to suffice
2ω(ω)= <i>pron</i>	-self, also, too,

2ωε <i>nm</i>	thing, matter
2βηγε <i>pl</i>	
P 2ωε <i>vb</i>	to work
2βογρ <i>nf</i>	left hand
2λ(ε)ρεε <i>nf</i>	shadow
2ωε(ε)ς <i>vb</i>	to cover, protect
2(ε)βς-,	
2οβς=,	
2οβς†	
2βο(ο)ς <i>nmf</i>	garment
2βωως <i>pl</i>	
2βςω <i>nf</i>	garment
2βςοογε <i>pl</i>	
2η <i>nf</i>	road, path
2ιοογε <i>pl</i>	
2αι <i>nm</i>	husband
2οειν <i>nm</i>	wave
2ηηε <i>pl</i>	
2οινε <i>pron</i>	some
2ο(ε)ιτε <i>nmf</i>	linen garment
2κο <i>vb</i>	to hunger,
2καει†,	be hungry
2κοει†	
2η(η)κε <i>adj</i>	poor
2ακ <i>adj</i>	sober, prudent
2ω(ω)κ <i>vb</i>	to gird, brace
2εκ-,	
2ο(ο)κ=,	
2ηκ†	
2ω(ω)κ(ε) <i>vb</i>	to scrape, shave
2εκ-, 2οοκ=,	
2οοκε†	
2αλ <i>n</i>	betrayal
P 2αλ	to deceive

2αλο, <i>nm</i>	old man, senior monk
2αλω <i>nf</i>	old woman
2ωωλε <i>vb</i>	to slip, fall down
2ολε†	
2λοπα(ε)π <i>vb</i>	to make weary,
2απλωπ=,	plague, distress
2λεπλωπ†	
2λοστ(ε)ν <i>nm</i>	mist
2αλητ <i>nm</i>	bird
2αλα(λ)τε <i>pl</i>	
2λοδ <i>vb</i>	to be sweet
2ολδ†	
2ηε <i>num</i>	forty
2ημοι <i>interf</i>	would that
2μογ <i>nm</i>	salt
2ηομ,	to become hot
2ηη†	be hot
2ηηε <i>nf</i>	heat, fever
2ηηε <i>vb</i>	to steer, guide
2ηεε <i>num</i>	eighty
2οηητ <i>nm</i>	copper, bronze
2ηοος <i>vb</i>	to sit, dwell
2ηοτ <i>nm</i>	grace, gift
2η2αλ <i>nmf</i>	servant, slave
2η2η <i>vb</i>	to roar, neigh
2ηx <i>nm</i>	vinegar
2η- <i>prep</i>	in, at, on, with
η2ητ=	
2εη- <i>det:pl</i>	INDEFINITE ARTICLE (§2.2.2.2)

2NE- *n* will, desire
 2NA=
 P 2NA= *vb* to be willing, desire
 2WN *vb* to approach, come
 2N-, 2ON=,
 2IIN†
 2WN *vb* to bid, command
 2ON=
 2INHБ *vb* to sleep, doze
 2NT= *vb* to move forward
 2ENEETE *nf* monastery
 2NA(A)Y *nm* vessel, pot
 2AT *nm* judgement, inquest
 2AT-C it is necessary, must
 2O(O)π *nm* (marriage) feast
 2WN *vb* to hide
 2EP-, 2OP=
 2IIN†
 2IP *nm* road, street
 2POK *vb* to cease, be still
 2OPK†
 2APN- *prep* beneath, before
 2APO=
 2IPN- *prep* at, upon
 2IPW=
 2WPπ *vb* to drench
 2(E)Pπ-, 2OPπ=,
 2OPπ†
 2POOY *nm* voice, noise
 2POY-BAI *nm* thunder
 2POW *vb* to be heavy, slow
 2(E)PW-, 2OPW†
 2APW *ptcp: act*

2APW N2HT patient
 2APE2 *vb* to keep, guard
 2ICE *vb* to trouble, toil
 2ACT-, 2ACT=,
 2OCE†
 2ICE *nm* labour, weariness,
 trouble, grief
 † 2ICE *vb* to give trouble
 Wπ 2ICE *vb* to take trouble,
 suffer
 2AT *nm* silver, coin, money
 2HT *nm* heart, mind,
 2TH=
 † 2TH= *vb* to observe
 2TO *nm* horse
 (E)2TWP *pl*
 2OT *nm* opposite
 2WT *n* sail
 P 2WT *vb* to sail
 2OTE *nm* fear
 P 2OTE *vb* to be afraid
 2WTБ, to kill
 2ETБ-, 2OTБ=,
 2OTБ†
 2ITN- *prep* by, through
 2ITOOT=
 2TOOYЕ *nm* dawn, morning
 2HY *nm* profit
 2OOY *nm* day
 (E)MPOOY today
 2OOY *vb* to be bad, evil
 2IOYE *vb* to strike, cast,
 2I-, 2IT= smite

2OYO *nm* greater part
 (E)P 2OYO *vb* to be more, exceed
 EΠE2OYO *adv* greatly, very, more
 N2OYO *adv* most of all
 2OOYT *nm* male, husband
 2OQ *nm* serpent
 2QW *nf*
 2A2 *adj* many, most
 2WX *vb* to be in straits
 2EX-, 2HX†
 2UXN- *prep* on, upon
 2UXW=
 2OX2(E)X *vb* to compel,
 2(E)X(2)X-, straighten
 2EX2WX=,
 2EX2WX† be distressed
 X
 XE *comp* that
 EBOA XE because
 ETEE XE because
 XE *pcl* called
 XI *vb* to take, get
 XI-, XIT=,
 XHY†,
 XAI- *ptcp: act*
 MO suppl. *imp: sg*
 MMHEITN *imp: pl*
 XO, XW *vb* to sow, plant
 XE-, XO-,
 XO=, XHY†
 XO, XW *vb* to put, send forth
 XE-, XI-, XO= spend
 XO(E) *nf* wall
 EXI *pl*

XW *vb* to say, speak
 XE-, XOO=,
 AXI- *imp*
 XW= *nm* head
 XA(E)TE *nm* desert
 XO(E)I *nm* ship
 EXHY *pl*
 XOEIC (X̄C) lord, master
 XICOOYE *pl*
 XOEIT *nm* olive tree, olive
 XWK EBOA *vb* to complete,
 XEK-, XAK-, accomplish
 XOK=, XHK†
 XWKH *vb* to wash, clean
 XEKH-, XOKH=,
 XOKH†
 XEKA(A)C *comp* in order that
 XWAM *vb* to make merry
 XOAM† to get busy
 XWOME *nm* papyrus roll,
 book
 X(E)N *conj* or
 XI(N)- *prep* from, since
 XHOY *vb* to ask, question
 XNE-, XHOY=
 X(E)π- hour
 XΠO *vb* to beget, bring
 XΠE-, XΠO=, forth, acquire
 XΠAEIT†
 XΠIO *vb* to blame
 XΠIE-, XΠIO=,
 XΠIHT†

χρο <i>vb</i>	to be strong
χραγιτ†	
χωρη <i>adj</i>	strong
χιρ <i>vb</i>	to be wanton
χερο <i>vb</i>	to burn, blaze
χε(ε)ρε-, χερο=, χερω=	
χιοορ <i>vb</i>	to ferry over <i>See</i> ειοορ
χροπ <i>nm</i>	obstacle
χιε <i>vb</i>	to exalt,
χεστ-, χιστ=, χοσε†	be high
χαι <i>ptcp:act</i>	
χαι-ζητ	arrogant
χατρε <i>nm</i>	reptile
χοογ <i>vb</i>	to send
χεγ-, χοογ-, χοογ=	
χιογε <i>vb</i>	to steal
ηχιογε <i>adj</i>	secretly
χογωτ <i>num sg:m</i>	twenty
χογωτε <i>sg:f</i>	
χω2 <i>vb</i>	to touch
χε2-, χη2†	
χω2 <i>vb</i>	to smear,
χε2-, χα2=	anoint
χη2†	
χω2μ <i>vb</i>	to defile,
χε2μ-, χα2μ=, χα2μ†	pollute
χα2χ2 <i>vb</i>	to strike, beat,
χε2χω2=	gnash
χαχ <i>nm</i>	sparrow

χαχε <i>nmf</i>	enemy
χιχεεγ(ε) <i>pl</i>	
σ	
σε <i>pcl</i>	then, therefore, but, again
σε <i>det</i>	other <i>See</i> κε
σω <i>vb</i>	to continue, stay,
σεετ†, σηητ†	remain, persist
σωβ <i>adj</i>	weak
σωβε <i>nf</i>	leaf
σβ-	
σβοι <i>nm</i>	arm
σολ <i>nm</i>	lie
χι σολ <i>vb</i>	to tell lies
σο(ε)με <i>vb</i>	to visit, deposit
σαε-, σαλω=, σαληγ†, σαλωγ†	
σαε <i>nm</i>	lame, crippled
σαεεγ <i>pl</i>	person
σωλπ <i>vb</i>	to uncover, reveal
σ(ε)λπ-, σολπ=, σολπ†	
σωλχ <i>vb</i>	to entangle, wrap
σ(ε)λχ-, σολχ=, σολσ=, σολχ†, σολχ†	entwine
σλοσ <i>nm</i>	bed
σολ <i>nf</i>	power, strength, mighty deed
σολ σολ <i>vb</i>	to be able
σωμ <i>nm</i>	garden, vineyard
σoom <i>pl</i>	

σμε <i>nm</i>	gardener,
σμηγ, σμεεγ <i>pl</i>	vinedresser
σαμογλ <i>nm</i>	camel
σαμογγλε <i>nf</i>	she-camel
σαμαγλε <i>pl</i>	
σινε <i>vb</i>	to find
σν-, σμ-, σ(ε)ντ=	
σνον <i>vb</i>	to become smooth,
σν†, σον†	be soft, weak
σονc <i>nm</i>	violence
χι σονc <i>vb</i>	to use violence
σωντ, σοντ†	to rage be angry
σινovyηλ <i>nm</i>	ship
σепи <i>vb</i>	to hasten
σопе n	small quantity
σωπ(ε) <i>vb</i>	to seize, take
σ(ε)π-, σωπ-, σоп-, σоп=, σлт=, σнп†	
σрнпe <i>nf</i>	diadem
σρω2 <i>vb</i>	to be in need
σωрс <i>vb</i>	to waylay, hunt
σорσ†	
σорсc <i>nf</i>	ambush, snare
σосc(ε)c <i>vb</i>	to dance
σот <i>nf</i>	size, age, form
нтеисот <i>adv</i>	of this sort, such
σооyне <i>nf</i>	hair-cloth, sack

Glossary of Greek

loan words

Greek loan verbs are given in their 1st person singular Present Indicative Active or Middle citation form. Copto-Greek nouns generally take the same grammatical gender specification as the Greek model; neuter gender of the Greek model noun is usually rendered by masculine gender in the corresponding Coptic target noun. Abbreviations: *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *conj* 'conjunction', *f* 'feminine', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *nt* 'neuter', *pcl* 'particle', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *vb* 'verb'.

α

ΑΓΑΘΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγαθός, -ή, -όν	good
ΑΓΑΠΗ <i>nf</i> ἀγάπη	love, act of charity
ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀγαπητός, -ή, -όν	beloved
ΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀκανακτεῖ	to become angry
ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγγελικός, -ή, -όν	angelic
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἄγγελος	angel
ΑΓΕΛΗ, ΑΓΕΛΕΙ <i>nf</i> ἀγέλη	herd
ΑΓΡΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγριος, -α, -ον	wild, savage
ΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀγωνίζε	to fight
ΑΓΩΝΙΖΟΜΑΙ	

ΑΓΩΝ <i>nm</i> ἀγών	combat, contest
ΑΕΤΟΣ, ΑΙΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀετός	eagle
ΑΘΛΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀθλητής	athlete
ΑΙΘΑΝΕ <i>vb</i> αἰσθάνομαι	to perceive, realise
ΑΙΤ(Ε)Ι, ΕΤΕΙ <i>vb</i> αἰτέω	to ask for
ΕΝΙΓΜΑ <i>nm</i> αἰνίγμα <i>nnt</i>	'dark' saying, riddle
ΑΙΤΗΜΑ <i>nm</i> αἴτημα <i>nnt</i>	request, demand
ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> αἰχμαλωτεύω	to enslave, take as a prisoner
ΑΙΩΝ, ΕΩΝ <i>nm</i> αἰών	millennium, world era
ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκάθαρτος, -ον	unclean person, leper
ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκέραιος, -ον	unharmed, unravaged
ΑΚΡΙΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκριβής, -ές	exact, accurate
ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀληθινός, -ή, -όν	true, truthful
ΑΛΗΘΩΣ <i>adv</i> ἀληθῶς	actually, really, verily
ΑΛΛΑ <i>conj</i> ἀλλά	but, rather
ΑΜΕΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀμελέω	to neglect, be careless
ΑΜΕΛΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἀμέλεια	negligence, carelessness
ΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀναγκάζω	to force

ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀναγκαῖος, -α, -ον	necessary, urgent	ΛΞΙΟΥ <i>vb</i> ἄξιόω	to esteem, ask, request	ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιεπίσκοπος	archbishop	ΑΦΟΡΜΗ <i>nf</i> ἀφορμή	starting point
ΑΝΑΓΚΗ <i>nf</i> ἀνάγκη	necessity	ΛΞΙΩΜΑ <i>nm</i> ἄξιωμα <i>nn</i>	rank, position, principle	ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιερεύς	highpriest	ΑΨΥΧΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἄψυχος, -ον	lifeless
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀνάγνωσις	Scripture reading	ΑΠΑΝΤΑ <i>vb</i> ἀπαντάω	to meet, encounter	ΑΡΧΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιπροφήτης	archprophet	Β	
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀνάστασις	resurrection	ΑΠΕΙΘΕ <i>vb</i> ἀπειθέω	to defy, disobey	ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιμανδρίτης	Archimandrite	ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> βαπτίζω	to baptize
ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ <i>nf</i> ἀναστροφὴ	behaviour, mode of life	ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἀπολογία	speech	ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιστράτηγος	commander-in- chief	ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ <i>nm</i> βάπτισμα <i>nn</i>	baptism
ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀναχωρέω	to depart, live as a hermit	ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀπολογίζομαι	to reckon, justify	ΑΡΧΩΝ <i>nm</i> ἄρχων	ruler, governor	ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> βάρβαρος	barbarian
ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀναχωρητής	hermit	ΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i> ἀποτάσσω	to renounce, part	ΑΣΕΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> ἀσεβής, -ές	impious, godless	ΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> βασανίζω	to torture
ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀναχωρισίς	solitude, seclusion	ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀπόστολος	apostle	ΑΣΚΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀσκέω	to practise, go into training	ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> βάσανος	torture
ΑΝΕΧΕ, ΑΝΙΧΕ <i>vb</i> ἀνέχω	to hold up, bear	ΑΡΑ <i>conj</i> ἄρα	thus (also used as a Q-pcl)	ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀσκῆσις	exercise, ascetic life- style	ΒΗΜΑ <i>nm</i> βῆμα <i>nn</i>	tribunal, raised seat
ΑΝΟΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἀνομία	crime, sin	ΑΡΓΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀργός, -ή, -όν	lazy, idle	ΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀσκητής	hermit, monk	ΒΙΟΣ <i>nm</i> βίος	life
ΑΝΟΜΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἄνομος, -ον	lawless, criminal	ΑΡΕΤΗ <i>nf</i> ἀρετή	virtue	ΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ, ΑΣΚΥΤΗΣ ἀσκητής		ΒΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ <i>adj</i> βιωτικός, -ή, -όν	of this world
ΑΝΖΟCΙΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀνόσιος, -ον	unholy, profane impious	ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀριθμός	number, military unit	ΑΣΠΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀσπάζομαι	to kiss, greet	ΒΟΗΘΕΙ <i>vb</i> βοηθέω	to help, rescue
ΑΝΟΧΗ <i>nf</i> ἀνοχή	holding back, stopping	ΑΡΞ <i>nm</i> ἄρξ	bear	ΑΣΠΑCΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀσπασμός	greeting	ΒΟΗΘΟΣ <i>nm</i> βοηθός	saviour
ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ <i>vb</i> ἀντιλέγω	to contradict, protest	ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀρχαῖος, -α, -ον	old, ancient	ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> (lat. <i>augustus</i>)	Augustus	Γ	
ΑΝΤΓΚΙΜΕΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀντίγκιμενος	opponent, adversary	ΑΡΧΗ <i>nf</i> ἀρχή	beginning	ΑΥΛΗ <i>nf</i> αὐλή	court, courtyard	ΓΑΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> γάμος	wedding, marriage
ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΣ		ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχάγγελος	archangel	ΑΥΞΑΝΕ <i>vb</i> αὐξάνω	to increase, grow	ΓΑΡ <i>pcl</i> γάρ	since, for
ΑΞΙΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἄξιος, -α, -ον	worthy			ΑΥΤΩΚΡΑΤΟΡ <i>nm</i> αὐτοκράτωρ	Emperor	ΓΕΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> γένος <i>npl</i>	race, origin, generation

ΓΝΩΜΗ <i>nf</i> γνώμη	opinion, advice	ΔΙΗΚΕΙ <i>vb</i> διήκω	to pervade, guide
ΓΡΑΦΗ <i>nf</i> γραφή	Scripture	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ δίκαιος, -α, -ον	righteous
Δ		ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ <i>nf</i> δικαιοσύνη	righteousness
ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ δαιμόνιον <i>nn</i>	evil spirit, demon	ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ, ΤΙΣΤΑΖΕ διστάζω	to hesitate
ΔΑΙΜΩΝ, ΔΕΜΩΝ <i>nm</i> δαίμων	evil spirit, deimon	ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> δοκιμάζω	to test, assay
ΔΕ <i>pcl</i> δέ	topic-indicating pcl	ΔΟΥΞ <i>nm</i> δούξ (lat. <i>dux</i>)	commander
ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> δεσπότης	lord	ΔΡΑΚΩΝ <i>nm</i> δράκων	dragon
ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ <i>nm</i> δημιουργός	creator, producer	ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ <i>nf</i> δύναμις	power
ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ διάβολος	devil	ΔΩΡΟΝ <i>nm</i> δῶρον <i>nm</i>	gift
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ <i>nf</i> διαθήκη	testament	Ε	
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ <i>nf</i> διακονεία	service	ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> ἐγκώμιον <i>nm</i>	praise, eulogy
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ <i>vb</i> ΔΙΑΚΩΝΕΙ διακονέω	to service, to minister	ΕΞΗΓΙΣΘΑΙ <i>vb</i> ἐξηγέομαι	to tell at length
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> διακονητής	servant	(2) ΕΘΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἔθνος	pagan
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> διάκονος	deacon	ΕΙΔΟΣ <i>nm</i> εἶδος <i>nm</i>	property, thing
ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> διάκρισις	examination, evaluation	ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ <i>nm</i> εἰδωλον <i>nm</i>	idol
ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ <i>nf</i> διαφορά	distinction, difference	ΕΙΜΗΤ(Ε)Ι <i>prep</i> εἰμητ̄ εἰμήτι	unless
		(Ε)ΙΡΗΝΗ <i>nf</i> εἰρήνη	peace

ΕΙΤΕ ... ΕΙΤΕ <i>conj</i> εἴτε ... εἴτε	either ... or	ΕΠ(Ε)ΙΔΗ <i>conj</i> ἐπειδὴ	for, since
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐκκλησία	church	ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐπιθυμέω	to wish, desire
ΕΚΣΤΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἔκστασις	vision	ΕΠ(Ε)ΙΘΥΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐπιθυμία	desire
ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἐλάχιστος, -η, -ον	humble	ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐπικαλέω	to call upon, summon
ΕΛΕΓΧΕ <i>vb</i> ἐλέγζω	to reveal, expose	ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἐπίσκοπος	bishop
ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἐλεφάντινος, -η, -ον	ivory	ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐπιστολοογε <i>pl</i> ἐπιστολή	letter
ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐνεργέω	to effect	ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐπ(ε)ιτήμια ἐπιτιμία	reprimand, punishment
ΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐνέργεια	cosmic force	ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐργασία	profession
ΕΝΤΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐντολή	authorisation, order	ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρκατής ἐργάτης	worker
ΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐνοχλέω	to trouble, burden	ΕΡΗΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐρημία	desert
ΕΞΗΓΙΣΘΑΙ <i>vb</i> ἐξηγέομαι	to expose, to explain	ΕΡΗΜΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἐρήμος, -ον	deserted, lonely
ΕΞΩΡΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἐξορίζω	to banish, get rid of	ΕΤΙ, ΑΙΤΕΙ <i>pcl</i> ἔτι	yet, still
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐξουσία	power, strength	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> εὐαγγέλιον <i>nm</i>	Gospel
ΑΙΠΕΝΟΥ <i>vb</i> ἐπαινέω	to praise, applaud	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> εὐαγγελιστής	Evangelist
ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἐπαρχος	governor	ΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ <i>adj</i> εὐγενής, -ές	noble
ΕΠΕΙΒΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐπιβουλή	plot, snare		

ΕΓΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> εὐεργεσία	good deed, kindness	ΘΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> θυσία	sacrifice	ΚΑΝΟΝ <i>nm</i> κανών	rule	ΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> κόλασις	punishment
ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> εὐσεβής, -ές	pious	ΘΥΣΙΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> θυσιάζω	to sacrifice	ΚΑΡΠΟΣ, ΓΑΡΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> καρπός	fruit	ΚΟΝΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> κοντός	pike, pole
Ζ		ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> θυσιαστήριον <i>nm</i>	altar	ΚΑΤΑ <i>prep</i> καταρ=	according to	ΚΟΣΜΕΙ <i>vb</i> κοσμέω	to rule, to equip
ΖΩΟΝ <i>nm</i> ζῷον <i>nm</i>	living being, animal	Ι		ΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΙΑ <i>nf</i> καταλαλία	slander	ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> κοσμικός, -ή, -όν	worldly
Η		(Ε)ΙΟΥΔΑΙ <i>nm</i> ιουδαίος	Jews	ΚΑΤΕΧΕ <i>vb</i> κατέχω	to withhold, keep	ΚΟΣΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> κόσμος	world
Η <i>conj</i> ή	or	ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ) Ἰησοῦς	Jesus	ΚΑΤΩΡΘΩΜΑ <i>nm</i> κάτορθωμα <i>nm</i>	achievement, success	ΚΟΥΜΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> κόμβος	girth
ΕΣΥΧΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ήσυχάζω	to be quiet	Κ		ΚΕΛΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> κελεύω	to command, order	ΚΡΑΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> κράτος <i>nm</i>	power, might
ΕΣΥΧΙΑ <i>nf</i> ήσυχία	silence, stillness	ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> καθαρός, -ά, -όν	pure, clean	ΚΕΣΤΩΝΑΡΙΟΣ <i>nm</i> κεστωνάριος (lat. <i>quaestonarius</i>)	torturer, executioner	ΚΡΙΝΕ <i>vb</i> κρίνω	to judge
Θ		ΚΑΘΗΚ(Ε)Ι <i>nf</i> καθηγέομαι	instruction	ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> κινδύνος	danger, hazard	ΚΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> κρίσις	decision, judgement
ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ <i>nf</i> θάλασσα	sea	ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ <i>nf</i> καθολικός	Catholic (Church)	ΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ <i>nm</i> καγρικός κληρικός	cleric	ΚΡΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> κριτής	judge
ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ <i>nm</i> θέατρον <i>nm</i>	theatre	ΚΑΙΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> καιρός	time, period	ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> κληρονόμος	heir	ΚΥΠΗ <i>nf</i> κύπη	basement, vault
ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> θεραπεύω	to heal	ΚΑΙΤΟΙ <i>pcl</i> καί τοι	and indeed, and yet	ΚΛΗΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> κλήρος	heritage	ΚΥΡΙ <i>nm</i> κύριος	Lord
ΘΕΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i> θεωρέω	to see, observe	ΚΙΝΗ <i>nf</i> καινός	The New Testament	ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ <i>vb</i> κοινωνέω	to live together	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ <i>nf</i> κυριακή	Sunday
ΘΗΡΙΟΝ, ΘΥΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> θηρίον <i>nm</i>	beast, wild animal	ΚΑΚΩΣ <i>adv</i> κακῶς	badly	ΚΟΙΤΩΝ <i>nm</i> κοιτών	bed-chamber	ΚΩΛΥ <i>vb</i> κωλύω	to withhold, hinder
ΘΛΙΒΕ <i>vb</i> θλίβω	to afflict, distress	ΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> κάλεω	to call, invite	ΚΟΛΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> κολάζω	to punish	ΚΩΜΙΚ, ΚΟΜΙΚ <i>nm</i> κόμης (lat. <i>comes</i>)	governor
ΘΛΙΨΙΣ <i>nf</i> θλίψις	trouble, obstacle	ΚΑΛΩΣ <i>adv</i> κάλως	well, rightly	ΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> κολακεύω	to flatter		
ΘΡΟΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> θρόνος	throne	ΚΑΝ <i>conj</i> κάν	even if				

λ	
λαος <i>nm</i>	people
λαός	
λιβιτον <i>nm</i>	garment
λεβίτων	
λειψανον <i>nm</i>	remains, corpse
λείψανον <i>nm</i>	
λίβανος <i>nm</i>	frankincense
λίβανος	
λογος, λωγος <i>nm</i>	account, apology
λόγος	
λοιπον <i>adv</i>	furthermore, also
λοιπόν	
λγπει, λιπε <i>vb</i>	to be sad, grieved
λυπέω	
μ	
μαγια <i>nf</i>	magic
μαγεία	
μαγος <i>nm</i>	wizard, enchanter
μάγος	
μαοιπης <i>nm</i>	disciple
μαθητής	
μακαριζε <i>vb</i>	to bless, congratulate
μακαρίζω	
μακαριος, -α <i>adj</i>	blessed
μακάριος ος, -α, -ον	
μαλιστα <i>adv</i>	most of all, especially
μάλιστα	
μαλλον <i>adv</i>	more, rather
μᾶλλον	
μαρτυρια <i>nf</i>	testimony, martyrdom
ματυρία	

μαρτυριον <i>nm</i>	shrine of a martyr
μαρτύριον <i>nm</i>	
μαρτυρος <i>nm</i>	martyr
μάρτυρος	
μαστιξ <i>nf</i>	whip
μάστιξ	
μελετα, μελιτα <i>vb</i>	to attend to, study
μελετάω	
μελος <i>nm</i>	body part, limb
μέλος	
μεν <i>pcl</i>	indeed
μέν	
μετανο(ε)ι <i>vb</i>	to repent
μετανοέω	
μετανοια <i>nf</i>	repentance, remorse
μετάνοια	
μετροπολις <i>nf</i>	capital city
μητροπόλις	
μη <i>Q-pcl</i>	involves a bias towards a negative response in affirmative interrogatives, and vice versa.
μή	
μηπως <i>conj</i>	that not
μήπως	
μιαιον <i>nm</i>	mile
μίλιον <i>nm</i>	
μοναστηριον <i>nm</i>	monastery
μονη	
μοναστήριον <i>nm</i>	
μοναχος <i>nm</i>	monk
μωναχος, μονοχος	
μοναχός	

μονον, μωνων <i>adv</i>	only
μόνον	
μυστηριον <i>nm</i>	mystery, divine secret
μυστήριον <i>nm</i>	
ν	
ναζωραιος <i>nm</i>	Nazarene
ναζωραῖος	
νηστεια <i>nf</i>	fast
νηστια	
νηστευε <i>vb</i>	to fast
νηστεύω	
νηφε <i>vb</i>	to be self-controlled, sober
νήφω	
νοι <i>vb</i>	to perceive, think, know
νοέω	
νομισμα <i>nm</i>	solidus (a golden coin)
νόμισμα <i>nm</i>	
νομος, νωμος <i>nm</i>	law
νομός	
ξ	
ξενος, -η	foreign
ξένος, -α, -ον	
ξεστης <i>nm</i>	pint
ξέστης	
(lat. sextarius)	
ο	
οικουμένη <i>nf</i>	world
οίκουμένη	
οικονομια <i>nf</i>	service
οικωνομια	
οικονομία	

οικονομος <i>nm</i>	steward
εικωνωμος	
οικονόμος	
οντως <i>adv</i>	really, verily
όντως	
οπτασια <i>nf</i>	appearance, vision
όπτασία	
οργη <i>nf</i>	anger, wrath, impulse
όργη	
ορφανος <i>nm</i>	orphan
όρφανός	
ουδε, ουτε <i>conj</i>	and not
οὐδέ	
ουκετι <i>adv</i>	no more, no longer
οὐκέτι	
ουκογν <i>adv</i>	certainly not
οὐκοῦν	
ουγια <i>nf</i>	state of being, essence
οὐσία	
π	
παθος <i>nm</i>	emotion, grief, passion,
πάθος	
παιδεγε <i>vb</i>	to educate
παιδεύω	
παλαια <i>nf</i>	The Old Testament
παλαιός	
παλατιον <i>nm</i>	palace
παλάτιον <i>nm</i>	
(lat. palatium)	
παντοκρατωρ <i>nm</i>	Almighty
παντωκρατωρ	
παντοκράτωρ	
παντως <i>adv</i>	entirely, altogether
πάντως	

(Η)ΠΑΡΑ <i>prep</i>	against,	Π(Ε)ΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	temptation,
ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=	compared	πειρασμός	trial
παρά	with	ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΤΑΡΧΟΣ <i>nm</i>	leader of a
ΠΑΡΑΒΑ <i>vb</i>	to transgress,	πεντηκόνταρχος	company of
παρβαίνω	overstep	ΠΕΡΠΕΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vainglorious,
ΠΑΡΑΓΕ <i>vb</i>	to pass by	πέρπερος	braggart
παράγω		ΠΕΡΣΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Persian
ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΛΕ <i>vb</i>	to give order,	πέρσης	
παράλλω	summon	ΠΕΤΡΑ <i>nf</i>	rock
ΠΑΡΑΔ(Ε)ΙΣΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Paradise,	πέτρα	
ΠΑΡΑΪΩΣ	Eden	ΠΗΓΗ, ΠΥΓΗ <i>nf</i>	fountain, well
παράδεισος		πηγή	
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to summon,	ΠΙΝΑΞ <i>nm</i>	plate, dish
παρακαλέω	beseech	πίναξ	
ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ <i>adj</i>	lawless,	ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to believe,
παράνομος, -ον	criminal	πιστεύω	have faith
ΠΑΡΤΑΛΗΣ <i>nf</i>	panther	ΠΙΣΤΙΣ <i>nf</i>	faith
πάρδαλις		πίστις	
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ <i>nf</i>	virgin	ΠΙΣΤΟΣ <i>adj</i>	faithful,
παρθένος		πιστός, -ά, -όν	trustworthy
ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	presence,	ΠΛΑΝΑ <i>vb</i>	to mislead
παρουσία	stay	πλανη	lead astray
ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	free speech	πλανήω	
παρησία		ΠΛΑΝΗ <i>nf</i>	deceit,
ΠΑΤΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i>	to beat, strike	πλάνη	imposture
πατάσσω		ΠΛΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vagabond,
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ <i>nm</i>	Patriarch	πλάνος	imposter
πατριάρχης		ΠΛΑΞ <i>nm</i>	flat stone
Π(Ε)ΙΘΕ <i>vb</i>	to persuade,	πλάξ <i>nf</i>	
πείθω	agree with	ΠΛΑΣΜΑ <i>nm</i>	form, figure,
Π(Ε)ΙΡΑΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to put to test,	πλάσμα <i>nm</i>	
πειράζε, πύραζε	to seduce	ΠΛΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i>	to form,
πειράζω		πλάσσω	create

ΠΑΛΗΓΗ, ΠΑΛΓΗ <i>nf</i>	wound	ΠΟΡΝΙΑ <i>nf</i>	fornication
πληγή		πορνεία	
ΠΑΛΗ <i>conj</i>	except, save	ΠΟΣΩ <i>adv</i>	how much?
πλήν		πόσῳ	
ΠΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ <i>nf</i>	certainty,	ΠΟΤΕ <i>adv</i>	when?,
πληροφορία	fullness of	πότε	at what time?
	assurance	ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	palace of the
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ (ΠΝᾶ) <i>nm</i>	spirit, ghost	πραιτώριον <i>nm</i>	governor
πνεῦμα <i>nn</i>		(lat. <i>praetorium</i>)	
ΠΝΙΚΩΝ <i>adj</i>	spiritual	ΠΡΑΞΙΣ <i>nf</i>	deed, act
(ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ, -ΟΝ)		πράξις	
πνευματικός, -ά, -όν		ΠΡΕΠΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to suit, be
ΠΗΟΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	poet	πρέπω	fitting
(for ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ)		ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	priest
ποιητής		πρεσβύτερος	
ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to fight,	ΠΡΟΖΗΡΕΣΙΣ <i>nf</i>	purpose, plan
πολῶμαι	quarrel	προαίρεσις	
ΠΟΛΕΜΕΩ		ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕ(Ι) <i>vb</i>	to advance
ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	war, quarrel	προκόπτω	
πολέμος		ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ <i>nm</i>	ordinance,
ΠΟΛΙΣ <i>nf</i>	city, town	πρόσταγμα <i>nm</i>	command
πόλις		ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ <i>nf</i>	donation,
ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ <i>nf</i>	ascetic labour	προσφορά	Eucharist
πολῆτια		ΠΡΟΣΩΠΩΝ <i>nm</i>	person, mask
πολιτεία		πρόσωπον <i>nm</i>	
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to perform	ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	prophet
πολῆτευε	ascetic	προφήτης	
πολιτεύω	labours	ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ <i>nf</i>	gift of
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	patrician	προφητεία	prophecy
πολιτευτής		ΠΥΓΗ, ΠΥΛΗ <i>nf</i>	door, gate
ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i>	worthless,	πύλη	
πονηρός, -ά, -όν	evil, wicked	ΠΩΣ <i>adv</i>	how?
ΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to prostitute,	πῶς	
πορνεύω	fornicate		

φορε(ι), φωρει <i>vb</i> φορέω	to bear, wear	χωρα <i>nf</i> χώρα	region, county, land
φυλη <i>nf</i> φυλή	tribe, clan	χωρις <i>prep</i> χωρίς	without
φυσις <i>nf</i> φύσις	origin, nature	φ	
φυσι <i>adv</i> (έν φύσει)	verily, truly	φαλλει <i>vb</i> ψάλλω	to sing psalms
χ		φαλλος <i>nm</i> ψαλμός	psalm
χαρις <i>nf</i> χάρις	grace, favour	ψυχη <i>nf</i> ψυχοογε <i>pl</i> ψυχή	soul
χαριζε <i>vb</i> χαρίζομαι	to grant, donate	ω	
χιμων <i>nm</i> χειμών	winter, tempest	ω <i>interj</i> ὦ	oh
χιροδονει <i>vb</i> χειροτονέω	to elect, appoint	ζ	
χιρα <i>nf</i> χήρα	widow	ζαγιος, -α <i>adj</i> ἅγιος, -α, ον	holy
χρεωσται <i>vb</i> χρεστέω	to be in debt, owe	ζαμην <i>interj</i> ἀμήν	Amen
χρια <i>nf</i> χρεία	need, want	ζαπαξ <i>adv</i> ἄπαξ	briefly, in short
χρ(ε)ιστιανος <i>nm</i> χριστιανος	Christian	ζαπαως, ζαπαος <i>adv</i> ἀπλῶς	briefly
χριστιανός		ζαρμα <i>nm</i> ἄρμα <i>nm</i>	chariot
χρημα <i>nm</i> χρῆμα <i>nm</i>	property, capital, thing,	ζεβδομας <i>nf</i> ἐβδομάς	week
χc (χριστος) <i>nm</i> χριστός	Christ	ζεθος <i>nm</i> ἔθος	custom, habit
χωρηγει, χορηγει <i>vb</i> χορηγέω	to lead choir, provide	ζελλην <i>nm</i> ζελλην, ζαλλην ἑλλην	Greek, pagan

ζεπιζε <i>vb</i> ἐλπίζω	to look for, hope	ζομολογει <i>vb</i> ὁμολογέω	to admit, agree
ζεπις <i>nf</i> ἐλπίς	expectation, hope	ζορομα <i>nm</i> ὄραμα	vision, dream
ζερμинеγε <i>vb</i> ζερμενεγε ἐρμηνεύω	to translate, explain, interpret	ζυπορα <i>nf</i> ὀπώρα	fruit
ζερμενεγτης <i>nm</i> ἐρμηνευτής	interpreter	ζορη <i>nf</i> ὄρμη	onrush, assault
ζεγεμων <i>nm</i> ἡγεμών	general, governor	(εν) ζοcon <i>conj</i> έν ὅσον	as long as, while
ζεδони <i>nf</i> ἡδονή	pleasure	ζотан <i>conj</i> όταν	as soon as, when
ζεθος <i>nm</i> ἥθος	custom, habit	ζελη <i>nf</i> ὕλη	forest, matter
ζε(ε)ικων <i>nf</i> εἰκῶν	image	ζεμνεγε <i>vb</i> ὕμνειω	to sing hymns
ζεакия, згакия <i>nf</i> ἡλικία	age, youth	ζεπεретис <i>nm</i> ὕπηρέτης	servant, attendant
зепаp <i>nm</i> ἡπαρ <i>nm</i>	liver	ζεпографе <i>vb</i> ὕπογράφω	to sign
зедиотис <i>nm</i> зедиотис ιδιώτης	unsophisticated person, layman	ζεπομине <i>vb</i> ὕπομένω	to endure, be patient
зеппегс <i>nm</i> ἵππεύς	cavalry man	ζεπομονи <i>nf</i> ὕπομονή	endurance, patience
зеиторизе <i>vb</i> ἱστορέω	to record	ζεпоптеге <i>vb</i> ὕποπτεύω	to suspect, guess
золотинос <i>nm</i> ὀλοκόττινος (golden coin)	holokottinos (golden coin)	зепотассе <i>vb</i> ὕποτάσσω	to subdue, make subject
зoлoц, зoлoц <i>adv</i> ὅλως	wholly, entirely	зoц <i>prep</i> ὥς	like, as, that, as if
зоμεаи <i>vb</i> ὀμιλέω	to address, deal with	зoцте, conj зoцae ὥστε	so that, in order that

Glossary of linguistic terms

- Adjectives** In Coptic, there is no special word class of "adjectives". To ascribe properties to individuals, the attributive construction is used, where property-denoting expressions may appear as head or dependent nouns. §3.1.3
- Adverbs** Adverbs are modifying expressions which bear a close semantic link to the verb; they locate the state of affairs that is described in space and time, or provide additional information about the way in which it came about. §3.3
- Allomorphs** Allomorphs are two alternative realizations of one and the same morpheme. §2.2.1
- Appositions** Appositions are extra-clausal noun phrases, which have the same referent as the proper name or pronoun they modify. §3.1.6

Aspect	Aspectual distinctions present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described.	§6.2.1, §7.3.4
Case	Case is the morpho-syntactic encoding of the syntactic dependency between the verbal predicate and its arguments.	§6.3.1.3
Causatives	Analytical causatives are complex predicates consisting of two verbs, which share one argument. The shared argument functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb.	§6.4.3
Cleft sentence	Cleft sentences are focusing constructions, which are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, viz. an initial focus and a relative clause construction that contains the backgrounded proposition.	§11.3
Conditional sentences	Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis).	§12.2.1

Cognate objects	Cognate objects constitute a subclass of manner adverbs that contain a copy of the main verb, e.g. <i>to laugh a mirthless laugh</i> .	§3.3.4
Control	The notion of "control" describes a special case of anaphoric relation between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and a noun phrase it is co-referenced with. In Coptic, control by the matrix subject is clearly the predominant pattern, but cases of object control also occur.	§12.3.2
Dependent	The non-head or dependent constituent of a phrase is the element with a more peripheral function: it can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire expression.	§3.1.1
Determiners	Determiners are grammatical prefixes that indicate the information status or identifiability of the referent of the determined noun. Coptic makes a three-way contrast between definite, indefinite and zero-determined noun phrases.	§2.2
Expletive pronouns	Expletive pronouns have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3
Epenthesis	Epenthesis is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4

Eventive-Stativ alternation	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
Evidentials	Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or functional words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.	§8.2.4
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like <i>know</i> presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause.	§12.1.2.1
Focus	The focus of a sentence is the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse.	§10.1
Free-choice pronouns	Free choice pronouns like <i>any</i> are indefinite pronouns that refer to any representative member of a given category.	§4.3.4
Free relative clause	A relative clause that occurs without a pivot in all nominal positions of the clause.	§11.2
Generic interpretation	The referent of a generically interpreted noun phrase is not a particular entity or object, but rather a class or type of entity or object.	§2.2.2.1
Head	The head of the phrase is the element that determines its syntactic category.	§3.1.1
Iconic ordering	Iconicity is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1

Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1
In-situ	A term that refers to the clause-internal position of a question word or focus constituent	§7.2
Left-dislocation	Left-dislocation is a syntactic operation in the course of which a nominal expression (noun or pronoun) is moved to the left periphery of the clause. The grammatical role (subject, object) of the left-dislocated constituent is indicated by a resumptive pronoun in the associated clause.	§2.4.3.2
Light verbs	Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate.	§6.4.1
Mandative constructions	Mandative constructions (from English <i>command</i>) typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives.	§12.1.1.2
Modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2
Negative scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or be more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.2-3

Open vs. remote conditionals	Open or realis conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability. Remote or hypothetical conditionals, on the other hand, present a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible.	§12.2.1
Possession	Possessive noun phrases consist of a possessed and a possessor noun, the latter being marked by a linkage morpheme. A variety of different semantic relations fall under the rubric of possession, ranging from ownership in the narrow sense to the expression of kinship.	§3.1.4
Prefix	Prefixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the right of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
Pronouns	Personal pronouns express person deixis, i.e. the reference to participants, present or absent, of the speech situation.	§2.4
Proximal vs. distal deixis	Proximal and distal demonstratives are deictically contrastive: the former refer to items close to the speaker and the latter to items located at some distance away from the speaker.	§4.1.1
Reduplication	Reduplication is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4

Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses	Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification, or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse.	§11.1.5.3
Reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content.	§12.1.3
Resumptive pronouns	Resumptive pronouns are pronominal placeholders inside a clause that occur in the syntactic position from which a nominal constituent has been extracted, e.g. the pivot of a relative clause.	§11.1.3
Rhetorical questions	Rhetorical questions are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the guise of a question.	§4.2.3
Roots	Roots represent an abstract lexical item which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
Scrambling	Scrambling is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Second Tenses	Coptic uses special inflectional morphology, traditionally referred to as "second tense", in relative clauses, questions and focus constructions.	§7.2

Subject-verb inversion	Inversion involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.	§10.1.5
Suffix	Suffixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the left of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
Specific and non-specific indefinites	Both specific and non-specific indefinites involve reference to an individual or object, which is not identifiable to the addressee. When the indefinite noun phrase refers to a particular entity, it has a specific reading. If, on the other hand, an indefinite noun phrase refers to any arbitrary member of a particular class, it adopts a non-specific interpretation.	§2.2.2.2
Stem pattern	The surface form of the root is called the stem. In Coptic, verbal stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morphosyntactic and semantic properties.	§6.1.3
Switch reference	Switch reference designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
Tense	Tense is a deictic category which describes the location of events in time. Absolute tenses relate an event with respect to a fixed temporal reference point (the present moment), while relative tenses relate an event with respect to another event.	§7.1, §8.1

Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3
Universal quantifiers	Universal quantifiers like <i>all</i> in <i>all birds fly</i> are associated with an exhaustive interpretation and make reference to the entirety of some discourse domain.	§4.3.2
Unergative vs. unaccusative intransitives	Intransitive verbs fall into two classes, namely unergative verbs with agentive subjects (e.g. <i>nnhbe</i> 'to swim') and unaccusative verbs with non-agentive subjects (e.g. <i>nece-</i> , <i>necw</i> 'to be beautiful').	§6.3.4
Wh-questions	<i>Wh-</i> or constituent questions are questions that address the validity or the truth of some statement.	§4.2.2
Yes-no questions	A question in which the truth of a proposition is at issue. Yes-no questions require "yes" or "no" as an answer and lack question words.	§4.2.2

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